

Educational Development Theories in Korea during the 1960s-1980s: A Critical Examination of B.M. Chung's Theory on Education Development

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Abstract

Bom Mo Chung lead developmental education of South Korea and his work of studies evolved over time while portraying what the development signified at each stage of development and how it shaped and determined a new society with a larger economy. As this study investigated Chung's theory from the 60s throughout the 80s, from the early development philosophy to the emergence of post-developmentalism, it found three key features that penetrate the entire trajectory of Chung's developmental theory; its chronological perspective, its interpretation by the stages of development, and its dichotomous classification. While Korea intends to share its development experience in education with developing countries, it is significant to reveal that education development theories in Korea have changed chronologically according to the relations and responses of education to social and political change. Conclusively, education development should be carefully considered as a major road toward national development, accompanied with social and political needs and situations of developing countries.

*Key words : Bom Mo Chung, Education Development,
Modernization, Development Theories, South Korea*

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I . Introduction

SUFFERING from Japanese colonization in the beginning of the 20th century and the severe Korean War in the 50s, Korea had been a nation full of despair. Now, however, after a half century, Korea has transformed herself into one of the leading countries around the world. Simply comparing the per capita GNP in the 60s and in 2009 - which respectively accounts for less than 100 dollars and almost reaching 20,000 dollars - Korea has achieved high and rapid economic growth, altering her status from the "Aided Nation to Aiding Nation" (Chung, 2010, p. 14).

As a response to the heated request by developing countries in order to benchmark and exemplify her previous experiences, Korea has been on a mission to investigate and scrutinize some of the key factors for her drastic leap in the economy. One of those factors that is often brought up is her education, of which linkage towards the nation's prosperity had been discovered, hence, widely referred.

The process of thinking underneath this equation is quite simple: Education plays a supportive role in providing adequate manpower which is essential to the developing industry (Lee et al., 2010, p. 419). Not to mention its extrinsic value, it is desirable as itself as basic human rights, opening doors to freedom, health, wider options and an opportunity of income. With this phenomenon expanded to the state level, accumulation of the nation's wealth is to be expected and at the same time, with a stretch of time, future generations can also be nurtured allowing a sustainable growth (Green, 2010, pp. 60-61).

With this in mind, Korea had been successful taking in the benefits of education and transforming it into a catalyst for her dynamic progress in the second half of the 20th century. Interestingly however, despite the world renowned spotlight on Korea's binominal structure of education and development, not much has been studied nor examined, thereby arousing more questions on Korean education from the early developing era of the 6's to the thriving 80s.

When investigating the early Korean education or tracing backwards the history of Korean education, its origin or the groundwork often coincides with one scholar, Bom Mo Chung. Chung has been well known to establish the foundation of education theories in Korea and strengthened education in association of national development. He is still a living icon of education discipline itself in Korea. In his earlier works in the 60s, Chung promoted education to achieve national development because getting on the ladder of progress was top priority of the nation. For Chung, national development was "to create those social conditions wherein the people in society can achieve their fullest possible self-realization" (Chung, 2010, p. 37). And hereby, he was assumed to be very careful and alert not to degenerate education as an instrument setting the ultimate goal of national development as every individual's self-realization.

Although his previous studies on education was heavily dependent on achieving economic development, only after two decades, in his book titled *Alternatives of the Future*, Chung (1989) asserted post-developmentalism, focusing more on the traditional values of education, emphasizing that they are more than producing manpower, but simply are desirable in themselves.

Thus, this study, by presenting Chung's theoretical shifts in accordance to the economic progress of Korea, intends to reflect the ideal human being, whom the field of education at each developmental stage strived to nurture. This research aims to address how the mainstream educational development theory, such as the one by Chung, influenced the education realm, providing the guidance on what should be focused in order to nurture desirable future Koreans.

For further consideration, this piece directs its purpose to provoke more studies on the similar issue; the shift of the educational development theory and its perspective toward an ideal human being. Although education's fundamental purpose as self-realization was constantly overlooked during Korea's hasty developing era, history evidences that however detrimental its outcome was, education played a critical role in terms of

tackling down poverty (Lee et al., 2010, p. 419). In this sense, it is agreeable that this mere attribution of education deserves a profound understanding.

II. Human Capital Theory and the Emergence of Chung's ED Theory

Chung, whose major theories are covered in this paper, is known to be the living icon and the founding father of Korean educational theory. With his trilogy of education - *Educational Evaluation* (1955), *Statistical Methods* (1955), and *Educational Curriculum* (1956) - released in the 50s, his interest in the fundamental education ranged from the micro- to the macro-level; from the efficiency of each class to the effects of public education. Moreover, from this educational approach at the national level or specifically, his focus on the education's role in terms of the society's development, was where his studies on educational development originated (Lee, 1994, p. 17).

This correlation of education and development, or education escaped from the traditional aspect of consumption goods and reborn as a future investment for the economic development, shared similar ideas with the field of economics of education. The economics of education, conceived either as a specialized branch of economics or as a separate area of educational studies, was born somewhere around the time (Blaug, 1985, p. 17) when Theodore Schultz announced the birth of human capital theory in 1960 (Blaug, 1976, p. 827). Schultz often enjoyed quoting Irving Fisher, an American economist, how he approached the term, capital. He classified that all scarce entities that render economic services are forms of capital and that the services from the stock of capital at any given date are the available income streams (Social Development Research Center, 1983, p. 102).

Motivated by the perspective above, Schultz envisioned education not just as a restricted sense of satisfactory consumption, but also as a set of profit-rendering investment. He tried to scrutinize what obtaining education meant and there he

concluded that education is driven by the purpose of acquiring capabilities that enhance the future earnings of the person as a productive agent. Education has functioned not only as a consumer good, but also occurred to him as a producer good (Schultz, 1971, p. 78).

Sure, there existed some educators who felt that the principal function of education was to prepare better, happier citizens, not inputs, into the production process (Carnoy, 1977, pp. 431-432). Simply put, the basic equation of human in the economic theory seemed to reduce man, once again, to a mere material component to something akin to property. However, often referred as the protagonist of human capital theory, Schultz clarified that the human wealth exists only for the advantage of people and by investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choices available to them. For him, investment in humans is rather a way for free men to enhance their welfare (Schultz, 1971, p. 26).

While the school of human capitalists approached education as an activity that increase the stock of abilities that benefit the respective human being (Social Development Research Center, 1983, p. 104), Chung, the educator whose theory this paper intends to analyze, considered education as an investment of the mass, a collective form of individuals, the growth of which accumulates into the social prosperity for all.

"Unlike the past when the impact of society, economy, or the politics on education was highlighted, nowadays education's influence on society's economy or politics became more focused. Here situates education directly to the national development" (Bom Mo Chung, National Development and Education, 1978, p. 15).

Uplifting the field of education to the scientific level in the 50s, and later participating in the crowd of Korean developmentalism in the 60s, Chung endeavored to relocate education at the center of society; education reconfigured as the main engine of the nation's development. 'Education for development', which involved education to be implemented as a catalyst in encouraging the nation's development, was inevitable

in a sense that Korea's number one national goal in the 60s was all about eradicating poverty. In a land filled with ashes and cinders from the double tragedy of Japanese colonization and Korean War, Koreans, left with nothing but a sharp alert, were aware that they needed to get out of poverty or at least escape from the daily threat of unpromising food security. Thus for Koreans in the 60s, development was tacitly agreed in a narrowed-down perspective of an economic growth (Lee, 1994, p. 17); further, under the risk of sacrificing human being as a tool, education was still blindfolded and implemented to promote economic prosperity.

When Chung first published his books on educational development theory in the late 60s, he tried to provide an adequate role of education by considering the transitional stage of society that Koreans were living in. He stated in his book called "Introduction to Development" that it is important to distinguish the characteristics of the traditional society from those of the modernized world so that they can be fully prepared and incorporated with the newest values of the upcoming developed world (Chung, 1967, pp. 187-188). This transitional process was very crucial for Chung, as he believes that development should not only encompass the tangible outcome of social development but also the inner development of each individual. Without this modernization of human being, he thought the exterior improvement of society would simply display a "magnificent scene" (Chung, 1967, p. 194) and often result in regression back to the old days of poverty, which he represented as the main trait of the traditional world.

Similar to how the social role of education was rearranged in the book quoted previously, analyzing various aspects of the developed society, especially addressing what development brings to the sector of economy, politics and society, was essential in framing Chung's theory. While specifying these three aspects of society, he posited the modernized status of each sectors based on the individual's self-realization (Chung, 1966, p. 13). Modernization - another name of development; a drastic leap from the traditional society - signified adapting science in terms

of economic growth. Chung asserted that science fundamentally meant a challenge against the nature. It is not about maintaining one's life according to what the nature has offered. Rather, it deals with conquering nature by cutting, breaking and extracting using manpower. Nature does not determine life. Instead, people are in charge of determining their own life and in this sense, economic modernization or economic development extends its meaning to the self-realization.

Self-realization can also be applied to the other aspects of the society. In political spheres, similar to how science was a self-determined challenge, pioneer and creativity that fight against the fateful condition, modernization implied a conscious and active participation in the political and social scenes. Similarly, social development focused on the liberalization of individuals. It guaranteed each individual's freedom from all the exterior factors, such as religion, country, extended family system, and other social institutions, but from oneself (Chung, 1966, pp. 14-16). To sum up, whether it has to do with the economy, politics or society, the fundamental spirit of development never surrenders to the given situation; rather, it intends to challenge, pioneer and create under the spirit of self-realization.

Accomplishing the economic prosperity, the democratic order, and the liberal society do not seem to demand any victim. Interestingly however, at the flip side of flashing economic development, the reality of mechanical engineers was nothing but a complete human alienation, justified as a trade-off to the nation's economic growth. It is true that this so-called self-realization of individuals was considered as the deep down desire for every human being; the instinctive aspire vaguely but constantly collided when it came to the collectiveness of the society (Chung, 1978, p. 22).

Even though Chung delivered his educational development theory based on the individual's self-realization and warned the innate possibility of human alienation in the economy-driven society, he clearly supported the instrumental value of education permeated into his educational development theory. Until the

late 70s however, Chung took an immense theoretical swerve and declared that it is time to escape from the era of economic developmentalism. It was quite a significant change from his former theories, where he confessed in the prologue of his book, *Alternatives of the Future* (1989), that even he himself did not expect to insist on post-development in 20 years.

Chung's post-developmentalism (1989) was directed to bring out more topics of development, such as political or cultural aspect of society, transcending from the previous developmental policies heavily dependent on the nation's economic growth. It was about rectifying and overcoming distorted social situations that were caused by the rapid economic development, and redefining what development implies in the economically progressed environment that Koreans have newly encountered.

Above was the overarching outline of the educational development theory that Chung had established since his commemorative book "Educational Directions" in 1966. Despite the fact that he had sailed through almost all the areas of formal education attributing to the basic structures of modern Korean formal education in the 20th century, the following chapter mainly deals with the drastic theoretical transition from the self-realization theory in the 60s to the post-developmentalism. As it was already clarified in the pages of the introduction, this paper is interested in investigating the ideal human being within the time range of an exponential economic growth that Korea had enjoyed in the second half of the 20th century. The self-realization or self-determination theory will be discussed and examined from Chung's literatures of *Educative Directions* (1966) and *Introduction to Development* (1967). With *The Future of Korean Education* (1972) and *National Development and Education* (1978), changes and possible criticisms from his previous theory will be discussed. The post-developmentalism in *Alternatives of Future* (1989) offers another analytical point of view to focus on how Chung portrayed and suggested the guideline of a successful future in Korea, differentiated by the timeline of the economic development of the 60s to the comparatively prosperous days of the late 80s.

III. Evolution of Chung's ED Theory during the 1960s through 1980s

A. Education for Modernization: Chung's ED Theory in the 1960s

1. National Development and Modernization

During the time of industrialization in Korea, three words, 'Development', 'Progress', and 'Modernization', were often quoted and favored by the press, which rather seemed to be widely spread out as a social trend in the 60s. Actually, it was considered more than a passing-by phenomenon since its impact was highly significant that it embodied a spiritual desire of the Koreans with the message of "*It is time for us to have a better life*" (Chung, 1966, p. 4). This message, however, was originally derived from the lyrics of a song that the Park administration, in the year of 1962, implemented, dominating the periodical spirit of Korea in the 60s and throughout the 70s.

The Park administration, with its first appearance of mounting a coup on the 16th of May, 1961, disseminated its distinctive military color of governance to all sectors of the society. "The five year economic development plan," praised till now for its pivotal role it played in the Korean development, was released and carried out by the institute of economic planification, which traces back its origin to the ministry of economic reconstruction led by the minister who was a former colonel denominated after the coup in 1961 (Kang, 2004b, p. 127). It is true that there had been some amounting criticism on this military regime as to how it distorted the political atmosphere to a complete war-time scene (Kang, 2004b, p. 127); yet, it thoroughly enjoyed the fastest track of ultimate bureaucracy, speeding up the process of national plans despite the doubts on their effectiveness in a longer spectrum.

In the mean time, Park's extreme governing patterns were constantly in search of a theoretical background, and there he found in a timely fashion an American economist, Rostow with

his literature of "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto." In his piece, Rostow listed 5 stages of society and he pointed out the military's take-over as a powerful resource for political leadership in harnessing the modernization of the society from the stage of the 'Preconditions for the take-off' to the 'Take-off' (Kang, 2004c, p. 20). Not only was this adapted as the legitimate justification for Park's violent military regime, but the theory was overall welcomed by the leaders in developing countries since it affirmed and envisioned the realization of the kind of economic prosperity, to the level that took the developed countries to achieve in more than a century.

All in all, for Koreans in the 60s, not to mention the protagonists of the May coup or the ordinary middle schoolers, Rostow's economic theory was perceived as a form of religion, hypnotizing the entire nation into an economy-driven national development with his simple line of "Korea is finally at her stage of the take-off" (Kang, 2004c, p. 22). His theory, which became a social trend of the era, made Koreans fall for the myth that Korea was on her way to the heavy economic growth, adding more weight to the economy-oriented development which consequently affected the education field to naturally come up with the developmental education theory, such as the one by Chung.

Since the nation's prosperity was the utmost priority in the overall Korean society, Chung, as an educator who had provided the backbone of education realm especially in the part of formal education, heavily focused on the term of 'National Development' or 'Modernization' in his literature of "Educative Directions" (1966).

The use of the two terms, 'National Development' and 'Modernization', are often mingled in the text of Chung's educational development theory. To classify the two however, Chung asserted that the modernization signified the factual direction of social change that could be derived from the trajectory of developed countries. Further, development, branched out from the factual direction of social changes, also involved

the normative and value-driven judgment which could be interpreted as an extended form of modernization (Chung, 1966, p. 17). Even so, these two terms, clearly distinguished by their further understandings, are considered as synonyms under the umbrella of Chung's educational development theory since the spiritual message that they shared were equally a "Better living." In the following section, a further discussion is provided on the conceptual framework of these two terms, mainly on their implications in the educational development field.

2. Modernization: As an Escape from the Traditional Society

In his literature of "Introduction to Development," Chung (1967) elaborated the phases of society by dichotomizing them into the modern and the traditional, pointing out the in-between situation of Korea in the 60s and how the national education played a critical role in this transitional stage toward reaching the modernization of Korea. Because of a unique situation that Korea was passing through, he mentioned in his book that the society displayed some of those characteristics that can be traced back from the traditional society and others from the modern world (Chung, 1967, p. 187). An overall difference between the traditional and the modernized society lied within the attitude that the people in these two respective societies have: whereas people in the traditional society turn themselves into the fate, where the obedience to the nature dominates the social atmosphere, people in the modern world have every reason to fight, challenge, manipulate and pioneer against the nature, society or the unknown future under the spirit of self-determination.

This contrast is reflected in every sector of the society. From the economic perspective, the traditional society is generally poor (Chung, 1967, p. 188). Sometimes, it is even considered virtuous to stay poor. There are some countries which remained at the stage of the traditional society still being prosperous; however, they were affluent by what God had given, the natural inheritance. The modern world, on the other hand, is man-made.

It grows upon the basis of self-determinant economy that challenges, manipulates and innovates the given conditions. Thus, science and technology, as a spiritual challenge and a methodical instrument, are crucial in a modern society. Unlike the past when the wealth was granted by nature, human beings now have to extract it from the nature.

In a similar sense in the field of politics, the traditional society lacks self-determination. Accordingly, a spirit of participation can be a starting point toward political modernization. The modernized political sphere can only be established when the individual's rights and responsibilities are guaranteed in the decision-making process of the public. In social terms, the traditional society is defined as a blockade society while modernization means the liberalization of a society. Liberalization hereby signifies being free from all the exterior factors, such as parents, family, region or hierarchy, that had been limiting the individual's social activities and rather being focused on himself/herself that all the social structures, activities, social norms and paths are finally open and screened solely by his/her achievement and capacity.

From the cultural perspective, a symbol of the modernized world is individualism. The commencement of modernization in the West is often considered as the emergence of the Renaissance, as it reckons human-being not as a part of nature, religion or mass, but highlights each individual by advocating self-consciousness (Chung, 1967, pp. 189-190). Chung metaphorically depicts the progress toward the modernization as a lonesome, insecure and hurtful growth, flying away from the arms of the parents. This pain comes from the conflict between tradition and modernization, and also regression and development. In this sense, to challenge, pioneer and realize under the spirit of self-realization catalyzes the transition of a stagnant traditional society to establishing a well-rounded modernized society.

3. National Development as Self-realization

Whether Chung explained the transition from the tradition to the modernization or the development instead of regression, 'self-realization' or 'self-determination' was always the spirit implemented amidst various sectors of the society, analyzing how it is interpreted and realized under those terms. Modernization - another name of development; a drastic leap from the traditional society - signified adapting science in terms of economic growth. It is not about maintaining one's life according to what the nature has offered. Rather, it is about conquering nature by cutting, breaking and extracting using human power. Nature does not determine life; instead, people are in charge of determining their own life and in this sense, economic development extends to self-realization. Self-realization in political spheres implied a conscious and active participation in political and social conditions. Further, social development underscores the liberalization of individuals. It guaranteed each individual's freedom from all the exterior factors, such as religion, country, extended family system, and other social institutions but from oneself (Chung, 1966, pp. 14-16). To sum up, whether it has to do with economy, politics or society, the fundamental spirit of development never relies on the given situation, but intends to challenge, pioneer and create under the spirit of self-realization; and the remaining task is to design and embody this process by the work of education (Chung, 1978, p. 20).

B. Philosophical Turn for Human Development: Chung's Education Theory in the 70s

1. Philosophical Problem of Educational Development

In newly established countries or developing countries, education is very much attached to the nation's overall development (Chung, 1972, pp. 223-224). In the economic sector, for example, education is expected to provide technological

manpower for the modernized industry, and it is believed that education lessens the internal conflict and promotes social cohesion. In cultural terms, it helps to escape from the obsolete orders and mind-sets to accept and construct new ones for the new society.

Education's role to meet the needs of the transitional society is for the development as a whole at the national level, which makes it easier for education to overlook what individuals aspire in the level of their own. This argument can be narrowed down to the ever-lasting question; "What is more important, the individual or society?"

Accomplishing economic prosperity, democratic political order and liberal society at the surface level do not seem to demand any sacrifices from the individuals. Interestingly however, when delved into the real developmental scenes, at the bottom of economic development, the reality of mechanical engineers entails the possibility of human alienation, justified as a trade-off for the nation's economic growth. Although this self-realization of the individuals is taken into account as a deeply rooted desire for human beings, this instinctive aspire vaguely but constantly collides against the collectivity of society. Nonetheless, Chung's theory is rather inclined to the individual-oriented philosophy, reflecting that its conceptual framework is based on the self-realization of a human-being; further, he posits that national development is to create those social conditions wherein the people in the society can achieve their fullest possible self-realization (Chung, 1978, p. 22).

2. The Death of Chun Tae-il: A Symbol of Human Alienation in the 70s

As mentioned in the previous section, the sufferings from the side effects of Park's developmental dictatorship were disclosed in the form of an extreme poverty gap and the exploitation of workers in the early 70s. In this desperate situation, there occurred a symbolic incident where a young tailor, Chun Tae-il, at the age of 23, covered himself with oil,

lighted fire and killed himself shouting for the 'Labor Standard Act' with the message that workers should not be treated like machines (Kang, 2004a, p. 96).

Chun's death, as a result, simply threw the entire society into a state of panic. It shattered not only the college students of his age but also the intellectuals of the time, alerting that the blind spots forgotten within the glory of economic development should not be neglected. Among the intellectuals, the death of Chun was interpreted as an act of resistance against the suppression of power and capital, and a challenge against the structure of knowledge that was closely associated with the hierarchical mechanism overruling the 70s (Kang, 2004a, p. 104) while such incidents were products of growing socio-political conflicts among the rich and the poor as well as strengthening ideological differentiation owing to the mood of the global Cold War. In a similar sense, Chung, as a representative of educational realm at the time, also conducted a critical and philosophical appraisal on his early developmental education as a response to the social demand aroused commemoratively by the tragic death of a young man in November 1970.

3. Education Modernization in Progress

As Chung pointed out how modernization and development shaped all sectors of the society in the 60s, in *National Development and Education* (1978), he talks about the modernization of education, suggesting there should also be a progress in four different dimensions of education, which are the aspect of depth, length, width and technology (Chung, 1978, pp. 24-26).

First, he brings out the topic of educational depth. It deals with the power of education, delving how deep it can reach in terms of influencing the characteristics of human behavior such as knowledge, technique, thinking, attitude, values and personalities. Education at that time had only planned and achieved the limited progress of knowledge and technique, leaving the rest of the in-depth human behaviors untouched.

Chung named this phenomenon, the 'under-developedness of education' (Chung, 1978, p. 24). In order to accomplish a well-rounded development of education, Chung believed that the educational development theory should entail the theoretical background and realistic measures in order to incorporate the deep characteristics, such as entrepreneurship, motivation and creation into education.

For the case of educational length, it reconsiders the range of school age, emphasizing the importance of age 6 and below (before primary education) and 22 and above (after tertiary education). Especially from the developmental perspective, the age above 22 is critical since those are the years when people actively participate in the working society; moreover, due to the drastic and dynamic changes in the modern world, the necessity of lifelong learning increased as a part of adult education.

The width of education is for schools to actively interact with the community it is involved with. It seeks more opportunities for schools, as a resource to attribute to the social dilemmas, and expects the vice versa to also occur. As a method to enhance its effect, education advocated an academic field called 'Educational Technology'. Just as the modern factory implements scientific principles to produce rapid, cheap and quality outcome, education with instruments, measures and methods strives to generate the characteristics of the individual's behavior in a similar term.

C. Post-developmentalism of Education: Chung's ED Theory in the late 80s

1. Social, Economic, Political Context of Korea in the 80's:

To name the most representative events that outstood the early and the late 80s respectively, the '5. 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement' and 'Seoul 1988 Summer Olympics' are always brought up at the top of the list, reaching high consensus among Koreans. Both events were thought to be quite influential, determining the atmosphere of the society in the 80s;

and they were interestingly intertwined in a way that the latter event was meticulously planned and implemented by the government as a response to the former event in order to numb the political spirit of the public (Kang, 2003a, p. 48) and prevent another 'rebellion' to happen during the period of their new military regime.

'Gwangju Democratization Movement', or '5.18 Civil Revolution' for short by the initial date of the movement, refers to a popular uprising in the city of Gwangju in May, 1980. The citizens rose against Chun Doo-hwan, the new military strongman after the assassination of Park Chung-hee; however, they were ultimately crushed by the South Korean army as Chun responded with a bloodbath that took away hundreds of lives of the citizens in Gwangju. And in two years, the Chun administration managed to drive all Koreans into the madness of baseball pro-league, and in 8 years, Seoul was hosting the Summer Olympics. Koreans in the 80s were deeply indulged in sports and were captivated in a celebrative mood (Kang, 2003a, p.112), paralyzing the democratic awareness and the rage of the public toward Chun's dictatorial military regime.

Adding to this uplifted social atmosphere, the Korean economy prospered owing to the triple booms of 'low oil price', 'low dollar exchange rate' and 'low interest' in the late 80s (Kang, 2003b, p. 114). this made Koreans fall for an on-going economic myth that a majority of Koreans are included in the middle class (Kang, 2003c, p. 198) - whereas only 36% of people in the urban area and 14% of people in the rural area were actually classified as the middle class - easily neglecting the existence of the bottom class (Kang, 2003c, p. 205) and blindfolding many detrimental side effects of the rapid economic growth accumulated from Park to Chun's military dictatorship.

All in all, since Chun Tae-il's death in the 70s and throughout the 80s, nothing much had changed. There were still workers fighting for their basic human rights, poverty gaps were still widening due to the overheated real estate speculation (Kang, 2003b, p. 117), and the developmental gap between the urban and rural area severed as young workers left their

hometown in search for more opportunities and wider variety of jobs in the city.

Amongst this social context emerged Chung's post-developmentalism of education. Ever since Chung first advocated the early developmental education in hopes of catalyzing economic growth for the nation, with a new era that Koreans came across in a better economic situation, it was rightful for him to rectify the economic side effects in terms of advocating a new developmental education theory, which this time was dealt in the context of post-developmental stage.

2. Chung's Post-developmentalism of Education

"Even I myself did not expect that I will be advocating post-developmentalism in 20 years" (Bom Mo Chung, *Alternatives of the Future*, 1989, 15).

'Even I myself did not expect' is the title of the prologue which was included in Chung's literature of post-developmentalism "Alternatives of the Future" released in 1989. There he starts his words by confessing that the world has changed in an unexpectedly rapid way, and it is about time to take an immense swerve towards the new theory of post-developmentalism. The main assertion of the literature was that although some of the early developmental philosophy, behavior or orientation was necessary for the initial stage of development, in order to aspire a broader development or a better quality of living it is about time to escape from them and search for a new orientation. As paradoxical as it may sound, Chung believed that surpassing the previous 'development' was rather critical in hopes of achieving a new development ahead (Chung, 1989, p. 8).

The concept of Chung's post-developmentalism (1989) was to bring out more topics of development, such as political or cultural aspect of society transcending from the previous developmental policies heavily dependent on the nation's economic growth. It was about rectifying and overcoming the distorted social situation that was caused by the rapid economic

development achieved in a short period of time, and redefining what development implies in the economically progressed environment that Koreans have newly encountered. Thus, he juxtaposed some of the social phenomena in the developed Korean world with the new orientation that should be aimed instead; 'Economism vs. Harmonization', 'Short-term vs. Long-term strategy' and 'Centralization vs. Decentralization'.

IV. Discussion

Along with the 'the Five-year Economic Development Plans' under the leadership of president Park and the desperate desire of the public toward the development in 1965, a year after, Chung's Educative Directions was published as a part of this social dynamic and had provided the backbone of the educational development theory, delivering the role of education amidst the development of many other social sectors. Since the emergence of the early developmental philosophy of the late 60s, a decade later, the theory was criticized for its innate limitations and began reflecting on itself and consequently in the late 80s, resulted in adopting post-developmentalism, which signified the transcending from the obsolete developmentalism in order to encounter a new developed era in Korea.

Chung's educational development theory from the late 60s throughout the late 80s can be analyzed and scrutinized by its three distinctive but intertwined features:

- 1) Its chronological perspective
- 2) Its interpretation by the stages of development
- 3) Its dichotomic classification

Discussing by the timeline of Chung's educational development theory from the 60s, his early developmental philosophy was evident in his writings of Educative Directions (1966) and Introduction to Development (1967). To compare the two, while both emphasized the definition and implication of the

term 'self-realization' or the 'self-determination' in the nature of the modernized world, Educative Directions inclined more toward investigating what 'development' meant in a diverse social context, and the other tried to analyze the transitional stage of the 60s so that it may suggest the guideline on how the Koreans in the modernized world should be instead.

His educational theory in the 70s, on top of taking in the basic spirit of 'self-realization', adds words to criticize, admit and respond to the innate problems that are inherited from the fundamental prerequisite of the educational development theory that each individual contributes to the development as a whole, which often results in the justification of human alienation in the society. Consequently in the 80s, Chung comes up with a completely distinctive school of thoughts with a terminology of 'post-developmentalism', transcending from the original development theory that it no longer guarantees the prosperity in the upcoming developed world.

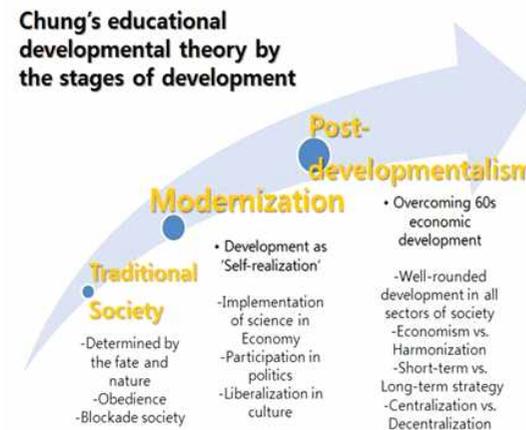


[Figure 1] Chung's Educational Development Theory in Chronological Orders

Not only analyzing Chung's theory on a time spectrum, it can also be dealt with in the different stages of development that the Korean society was involved with each times. In Introduction to Development (1967), Chung lamented the intermingled situations of the transitional society that Korea was passing through, regretting that some of the traits of the traditional society could still be found among Koreans. He directly pointed out that the traditional society is being economically poor since the only gateway to the accumulation of wealth is from the nature which is often fate-dependent.

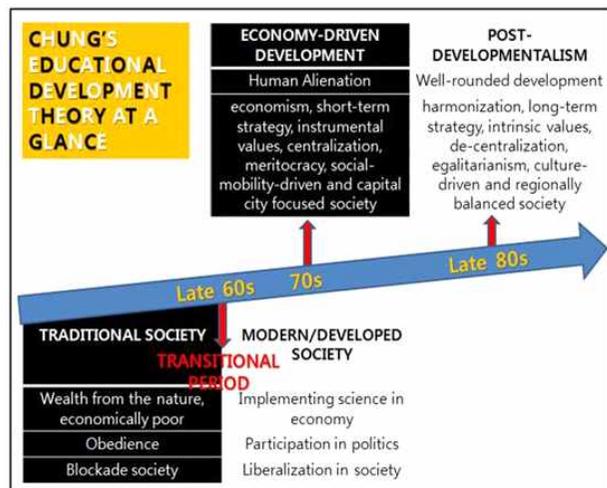
As an opposition to the traditional society, modern or developed society rather challenges against what God had given and extracts from it. In this process, science becomes an instrument to produce an outcome for the human beings. In political spheres, people tend to participate actively instead of obeying to the family, society or the country; further, they are also liberalized meaning they are only judged by their own talents and skills free from all the other exterior factors, such as family, region, race, gender or hierarchy, but themselves. And the overall spirit that dominates the developed society is self-realization; the nature does not determine the fate of the people; instead, individuals build their own destiny and they determine their own future.

Post-developmentalism, as an escape from the early developmental theory of the 60s, emerged as a reflection of the economy-focused development as to how it degenerated each individuals like a bolt of a machine, neglecting human rights, and the spirit of self-realization causing human alienation in an economically prosperous era. Thus, similar to how he asserted the transition from the traditional to the modernized society, Chung argues in his book of Alternatives of the Future (1989) that in order to achieve a well-rounded development, Korea has to transcend from 'economism, short-term strategy, instrumental values, centralization, meritocracy, social-mobility-driven and capital-city-focused' society and achieve 'harmonization, long-term strategy, intrinsic values, de-centralization, egalitarianism, culture-driven and regionally-balanced' society, respectively.



[Figure 2] Chung's Educational Development Theory by the Stages of Development

Upon adding Chung's dichotomy implemented in terms of explaining the difference between the traditional vs. the modernized society and economy-driven development vs. post-developmentalism, Chung's educational development theory at a glance, including stages of development and spread out in chronological order, could be summarized as the following:



[Figure 3] Chung's Educational Development Theory at a Glance

V. Conclusion

Education is Koreans' pride. When developing countries request upon some of the key factors for Korea's drastic transition from the "Aided Nation to Aiding Nation" (Chung, 2010, p. 14), Koreans with no doubt bring out the education sector of how it played a pivotal role in the development as a whole. Further, it was once again affirmed by the outside world, especially favored by president Barack Obama in his speech at the Ghanaian parliament in 2009, that through education should be promoted development, and in this case, Korean education is worthy of emulation.

As a matter of fact, in Korea's economically expanding and dynamic era, there existed at the core of the education realm a field of study that was called 'Developmental Education'. It

emerged among the 60s spirit of "It is time for us to have a better life" (Chung, 1966, p. 4), when each and every sector of society was development-oriented, thus making it very natural for education to be tailored or transformed into the 'Developmental Education' in hopes of harnessing education as a tool to reach better living for all.

It was Bom Mo Chung who was in the lead of developmental education, and his work of studies evolved throughout while portraying what development signified at each stage of development; how it shaped and determined a new society with a larger economy. As an educator himself, he also envisioned - whether as a member of a collective society or as a respective individual - an ideal human being that can live the life that society required. He also had never forgotten to emphasize the development of the society to go in tandem with the individuals.

As this study investigated Chung's theory from the 60s throughout the 80s, from the early development philosophy to the emergence of post-developmentalism, it found three key features that penetrate the entire trajectory of Chung's developmental theory; its chronological perspective, its interpretation by the stages of development, and its dichotomous classification. For example, Chung in his early work of *Educative Directions* (1966) depicted development as a 'self-realization' - a symbol of modernized world - that can be clearly distinctive from the previous (time-wise) traditional society (stage-of-development-wise) in terms of juxtaposing (dichotomous classification) each traits of traditional society and modern society, such as economically fate/nature dependent vs. science-oriented. It was discussed in a similar fashion later in his books, such as *Alternatives of the Future* (1989), that early development philosophy and post-developmentalism were clearly distinguished with time, stages of development and also by some of the characters that they respectively had, such as 'economism vs. harmonization', 'instrumental values vs. intrinsic values', and 'centralization vs. de-centralization' to name a few.

Even after his last publication analyzed in this paper, Chung

had never ceased from providing educational discourses on the kind of human being that Korean education should be in charge of nurturing. In his literature of Human Self-Realization (1997), he defined the existence of human being as follows; 'a person amidst the ever-affluent possibility and the immersion within the process of creativity, who faces happy and sad moments in life but has the courage to transcend from them, according to his/her own 'free' choices' (Chung, 1997, p.321). Later in the 21st century, he listed that future human beings should be natural, holistic, public, productive, active and intrinsic. He/she should be flexible in between the past and the present, and the universality and the particularity. And constructing upon these visions on men, education acquires each pillars of its purposes, contents and methods.

Although his recent studies does not cling to the instrumental value of human education, throughout the course of Chung's career as an influential educator for more than half a century, he has never failed to acknowledge education within the equation of national development. He believed that education with power offers benefits and blessings to the individual growth and the national development, and on the contrary, education without power causes damage and disaster to the individual and the nation (Chung, 2011, p.288). Once again, Chung, in his recent literature of Development and Education (2010), carefully began his forewords by expressing metaphorically that, 'it is a story of the metamorphosis, commonly called national development, of a country from abject poverty to affluence with attendant socio-political changes and the flow of education related to its process.' While Korea has initiated global partnership of education development with developing countries since the early of 2000s, Chung's theory of education development may be re-examined and re-structured in order for more effective and educational ways of global partnership through knowledge sharing.

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