

GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN KOREA 1910-1945

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This paper makes an attempt to review the growth of public school education under the colonial regime. It focuses on: 1) the structural aspects of its spread of educational growth which in itself reflects the colonial policy on education and the reaction to this of the old status-bound educational system; and 2) the over-all effects on manpower development.

Toward the end of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), there began a short-lived enlightenment movement among *yangban* elites. Helpless in the face of intrusions and external influences from the rapidly modernizing Japan, Imperial Russia, China and other interested European countries the elites reacted with a form of self-criticism. This was an occasion for a critical evaluation of the status-bound traditional system of education which was limited not only in its content but also in its accessibility. In 1895 the Korean government, in line with its renovation of the entire administration, introduced a new educational system with an emphasis on wider or universal public access and rational, practical knowledge. Along with the government effort in this respect there emerged considerable private schooling pushed forward by some national leaders who viewed the new school education as the only means to 'modernizing' or 'awakening' the long-isolated hermit nation. Private schooling was also encouraged, to some extent, by alien missionaries then working in Korea, who propagated the new education as part of their missionary movement.

Because movement was initiated by *yangban* elites who had monopolized the status prerogatives in the traditional society there was little opposition to eliminating status boundaries and making education widely accessible.

The traditional system of higher education, *sungkyunkwan* and *sahak* and *hyangkyo* (equivalent to college or university and high school), as well as the civil service entrance exams, were abolished in the same year.¹ The *sohtang* system, private system of elementary education, remained the same, however.²

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1. On the system of education in traditional Korea, in general, see Sangbeck Lee, *Hankuk-sa* (The History of Korea), (Seoul, 1962), pp. 268-278; Manabu Watanabe, "Chosen kyoiku-shi kenkyu ni okeru 'kinse' to kindai no 'dansetsu' ni tsuite" (On 'Discontinuity', the Early Period and the Modern Period in the Study of the History of Korean Education), *Chōsen Kenkyu Keppō* (Korean Studies Monthly), Vol. 30, (June, 1964), pp. 53-63; C.I. Eugene Kim, "Japan's Colonial Education and Korea's Nation-Building", in C.I. Eugene Kim (ed.), *Korea: A Pattern of Political Development*, (The Korea Research and Publications, Inc., 1964), pp. 1-16; and R. Nishimura, *Chōsen kyōiku taikan* (Survey of Korean Education), (Seoul, 1932), pp.3-10.
2. *Sohtang* is the private system of elementary education in traditional Korean society which varied in size, operation and the forms of recruiting students. Instruction was largely limited to reading simple Chinese characters and elementary readers in Chinese literature. The *sohtang* education in traditional Korea was, however, limited largely to the children from

During the fifteen years from 1895 to the Annexation in 1910, public elementary school education gradually spread among the Korean population. In 1909, there were 101 elementary and 20 vocational schools. In addition there were established: two boys' high schools, a girls' high school, a law school, a normal school and a foreign language school.³

On the annexation of Korea (1910) the Japanese Government-General rapidly centralized the administration of public education under its own aegis and with the political intention of holding firm control of the growth of private schools sponsored both by Korean leaders and missionaries. The school curriculum also became standardized and made consistent with new textbooks compiled by the Government-General.

The two major functions initially conceived by the Japanese authorities for the new education were, first, to emphasize moral character and thorough propagation of the "national language" (Japanese) and thereby inculcate the quality and character of a loyal subject of the Empire; and second, to rationalize education for rather practical purposes.⁴ It is in the latter sense that the new education stood in contrast with the traditional education. Traditional education served as an entry for the *yangban* elites into administrative positions, but even at the advanced level consisted mainly of reading Confucian literature centering on the metaphysical view of the cosmos and the place of the individual within this order. Since this knowledge of Confucian literature was not actually applicable in administration, advanced education either existed for its own sake or retained only nominal functions.⁵ The new education on the other hand, partly served as a mechanism through which rational knowledge was distributed at different levels thus helping to stress practical ways of thinking.

The curriculum of the primary school included arithmetics, history of Korea and Japan, elementary natural science, and geography, besides the Japanese language, ethics, Koreans, and Chinese, calligraphy and physical education.

Furthermore the new system of education began to incorporate practical vocational knowledge as part of the curriculum.⁶ The first vocational school was founded in 1904 and this was followed in 1906 by a private commercial school and three government schools for forestry, commerce and engineering. After 1910, while controlling the expansion of general high school education for Koreans, the colonial administration emphasized vocational education in accordance with the changing economic policy.⁷

A growing emphasis on the practical aspects of higher education was also witnessed among Korean leaders who, in the course of the colonial period, came to the conclusion that the training of the lay population in higher education was the sole solution of the 'national problem.'⁸

yangban, (noble class) families. On the *sohtang* education, see, The Government-General of Chosen, *Manual of Education in Chosen* (Seoul, 1920), p.93; Kenichi Ono, *Chōsen kyōiku mondai kanken*, (Collected Documents on the Problems of Korean Education), (Seoul, 1936), pp. 244-247.

3. Hamakichi Takahashi, "Kyoiku, renei" (Education and Training), in Keijo nipposha, *Chōsen nenkan* (Korean Yearbook), (1945), pp. 180-194; and *Chōsen kyōikushi-ko* (A Study on the History of Korean Education), (Seoul, 1930), pp. 99-334.
4. C.I. Eugene Kim, *op. cit.*, p.2.
5. Sangbeck Lee; *op. cit.*, p.268.
6. O.R. Avison, "Chōsen no kyōiku", (Education in Korea), *The Chōsen* (Korea), No. 85, (March, 1922), pp.91-98.
7. Helen Kim, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea* (New York, 1931), cited in C.I. Eugene Kim, *op. cit.*, p.4.
8. Chonsok Oh, *Hankuk sin kyoyuksa* (The History of New Education in Korea), (Seoul, 1964), p.87.

Table 1.

Number of Schools and Students Enrolled for Selective Years

Year	Primary School*				High School**				College		University	
	No. of Schools	Number of Students			No. of Schools	Number of Students			Number of		Number of	
		Total	Male	Female		Total	Male	Female	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1910	171	20,174	—	—	32	1,631	1,237	394	3	315	—	—
1915	429	60,690	55,027	5,663	107	4,429	4,151	378	3	490	—	—
1920	681	109,365	94,939	12,426	114	5,386	4,673	713	7	454	—	—
1925	1,322	385,687	327,603	58,048	147	18,591	16,383	2,208	10	1,114	1	46
1930	1,831	459,457	379,752	79,705	130	27,753	22,724	5,029	13	1,761	1	190
1935	2,361	720,757	571,595	149,162	241***	39,238	32,671	6,557	15	2,824	1	210
1940	2,985	1,385,944	1,018,692	367,252	350***	68,291	57,008	11,282	18	3,615	1	250

* This consists only of those exclusively for Koreans.

** This includes vocational and normal schools, as well as ordinary high schools.

*** Supplementary schools are added.

Source : *Chōsen sōtokufu tokei nempō*, 1925, 1927, and 1940.

Formal education in traditional Korea was not available to the majority of the population and was almost entirely closed to women.

The continued emphasis after Annexation, on the maintenance of the same traditional values served, paradoxically by the alien power, to change the function of education. Education, on the level of the elementary school, became rather widely accessible to the lay population. But this was so only in the terminology of the government propaganda in appraising the colonial administration. Actually, there were never enough school facilities to meet the rising educational aspiration of Koreans and to enroll all applicants at the elementary level. Beyond the elementary school level, as will be shown later, was confined to a small privileged minority.

The colonial authorities also set up a policy to provide for the Japanese youth in Korea, separate public education with a different curriculum in a different school from that for Koreans. Thus, while it was true that the traditional status element was removed in public education with the beginning of the colonial era, it was simply replaced by an ethnic barrier discriminating Koreans from the Japanese.

Perhaps the most notable change in this respect was the educational emancipation of women and their gradually increasing participation at both primary and secondary school levels.⁹ The early breakthrough in providing formal education to women was primarily initiated by the Christian missionaries around the turn of the century. In fact, throughout the entire Japanese period, there had been only three women's colleges, one of which was run by missionaries.¹⁰

Since the Annexation, public education at various levels proceeded gradually, but rather selectively in terms of age, sex, region and ethnic factors.

The Government-General Statistical Yearbook¹¹ provides fairly detailed information on schools and education for the entire colonial period. Table 1 and 2¹² indicate the changes in the structure of education in Korea over a thirty year period, showing the number of students enrolled at each level of school by sex.

Colonial policy on public education was almost exclusively centered on the diffusion of elementary school education which was viewed as the major mechanism through which the effective assimilation of Koreans with Japanese culture would be attained. The first Korean Education Ordinance was promulgated in 1910, stipulating the aim, content and administration of educations. In the same year there were about 170 elementary schools, three-fourths were public. The remaining private schools, including missionary schools, had a total enrollment of 20,000 students. Table 1 summarizes the number of schools and their enrollment at each level of education.

Until 1913 the Government-General set up a goal of establishing one elementary school in every Bu or Gun; by the period 1928-1936 this had reached one in every three Myons.¹³ Although showing an impressive rate of increase, by 1944 the proportion of boys aged 6 to 12 enrolled at elementary school was still less than fifty per cent.

Further efforts were made by Korean leaders and missionaries, in the early colonial

9. On the position of women in traditional Korea, see, H.B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1906), pp. 342-371.

10. Hakwonsa, *Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages* (Seoul: Hakwonsa, 1960), p. 366.

11. Chōsen Sōtokufu (The Government-General, Korea), *Chōsen sōtokufu tokei Nempō*, 1910-42.

12. Table 2 was derived by comparing the figures in Table 1 with the census data on the relevant age categories in four census years.

13. Manabu Watanabe, *op. cit.* Bu, Gun and Myon are administrative units: Bu is the incorporated municipality; Gun, the unincorporated town; Myon, the subdivision of Gun.

Table 2. School Attendance Among Youths by Age Group and by Sex, 1925-40

Age	Per Cent of Age Group Attending School*			
	1925	1930	1935	1940
All Youths				
Total 6-24**	5.54	6.06	8.73	15.60
6-12	12.33	13.53	19.18	32.74
13-18	.78	1.06	1.47	2.39
19-24	.06	.09	.13	.17
Male				
Total 6-24	—	—	—	—
6-12	20.24	21.72	29.72	46.96
13-18	1.35	1.71	2.37	3.92
19-24	—	—	—	—
Female				
Total 6-24	—	—	—	—
6-12	3.85	4.84	8.13	17.97
13-18	.17	.36	.51	.81
19-24	—	—	—	—

* Although annual statistics on school and education continued to be collected until 1944, we only have available the data up to 1940.

** Students enrolled at colleges or university were not distinguished by sex.

Source : *Chōsen sōtokufu tōkei nempō*.

period, to provide education at the primary level to those who at the appropriate age had missed the opportunity, and to school-age children in remote villages without public schools. As Table 3 indicates, there existed a large number of supplementary schools shortly after the Annexation. Mostly small in size, with less than one hundred students divided into two grades, the supplementary school provided instruction over a period lasting from eight months to two years per grade. Later in 1935, supplementary school education came under the control of the colonial administration and elementary education equivalent to the first three years in public schools was expected to be completed within two years. There was one class for each two grades, taught by one teacher.¹⁴ The establishment of additional supplementary schools, however, was restricted and gradually a good portion of them became public schools.¹⁵ The number of supplementary schools, as shown in Table 3, decreased markedly after 1920 although the total student enrolment increased somewhat.

Within this limit, both primary and secondary school attendance among girls of school age was much more restricted than among boys. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the percentage of girls aged from 6 to 12 years enrolled at primary school was gradually increasing. Although the percentage of girls attending the elementary school was disproportionately smaller than that of boys and their opportunity for attaining higher education was almost negligible, the mere fact that educational opportunity was open ideally to girls indicates significant change in the status of women. In 1940, three decades after Annexation, however, there were still less than twenty per cent of girls aged from 6 to 12 atten-

14. Ohno, *op.cit.*, p.252.

15. Manabu Watanabe, "Chōsen ni okeru 'hukuji' teki shōto kyōiku shisetsu (ke)" (Supplementary Primary Schools in Korea (2)) in *Musashino taigaku kiyō, dai niken* (Collected Essays of Musashino University, Vol. 2, 1964).

ding primary schools. This is partly due to the educational policy discriminating in terms of sex,¹⁶ and partly to the traditional, conservative attitude on the part of Koreans respecting educational opportunities for women.

Table 3. **Number of Supplementary Primary Schools and Students Enrolled for Selective Years, 1910-1940**

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students		
		Total	Male	Female
1910	2,085	--	—	—
1915	1,090	51,724	—	—
1920	661	51,003	—	—
1925	635	57,895	—	—
1930	490	46,040	—	—
1935	412	70,123	51,642	18,486
1940	300	69,981	46,836	23,145

Source: *Chōsen sōtokufu tōkei nempō*, 1925, 1927 and 1940.

For the first ten years, perhaps as a reaction against the rapidly permeating new educational system and the colonial control over the establishment of private schools,¹⁷ the number of *sohtang* and its students as indicated in Table 4 also increased rather rapidly. At the peak of its growth in 1917, there were more than seven thousand *sohtangs* scattered over the country, averaging one for every four *dongs* or villages¹⁸. Further spread of the *sohtang* education was restricted by the Regulations on *sohtang* passed by the Japanese authorities in 1918.¹⁹ Since then, this traditional education setting has gradually given way to the new education system. It is, however, interesting to note that while the number of male students reportedly enrolled at *sohtang* decreased after 1920, the female students increased rather markedly. If we take our data at their face value, the number of women currently receiving the traditional education increased more than twenty times over twenty years from 1920 to 1940, while the modern elementary school education was spreading. Since the *sohtangs* were mostly located in rural areas, especially where schools were not of easy access, and since the opportunity for formal education was relatively restricted for girls, compared with boys, it appears that the traditional education, though on the wane, became an accepted avenue of achievement for girls, who have traditionally been kept away from education.

Secondary education, as it was conceived by the colonial regime, was not so much an intermediary stage leading to higher education as it was a mere extension of primary education. Education at the secondary level consisted of what was called higher common education, in which boys and girls were segregated, and vocational training. From the viewpoint of the colonial administration, higher education was to be avoided, for inevitably it was likely to create unnecessary ideological strains for the administration.²⁰ It is not surprising that a special policy was set up for close supervision of private high schools established mostly by either Koreans or Christian Missionaries. There also was the thought

16. As late as 1944, the Government-General set up a policy to enroll 90 per cent of boys and 50 per cent of girls in school ages by 1946. The Pacific War ended in 1945. See Hamakichi Takahashi, *op. cit.*, (1944), p.184.

17. Manabu Watanabe, *op. cit.*, (May, 1964).

18. *Ibid.*, p.51.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

20. The Student Movement in 1929 was a good example. See Ohno, *op. cit.*, pp.189-190.

that Korean men of higher education would be competing for professional and administrative jobs with the Japanese.

Table 4. Number of Sohtang and Students Enrolled for Selective Years, 1910-1940

Year	Number of Sohtang	Number of Students		
		Total	Male	Female
1910*	16,540	141,604	—	—
1915	23,441	229,550	229,028	522
1920	25,482	292,625	290,983	1,642
1925	16,873	208,310	203,580	4,730
1930	10,036	150,892	144,913	5,979
1935	6,209	161,774	142,468	19,306
1940	4,105	158,320	121,837	36,483

* 1911 statistics.

Source: *Chōsen Sōtokufu tōkei nempō*, 1925, 1927, 1940.

Unlike elementary education, secondary school education and schooling above this level was limited to a minority throughout the colonial period. Compared with the changes in the primary school system, the increase in the number of high schools was slow. Less than 10 per cent of the population aged 20 to 24 years received high school education and as Table 2 shows, the proportion of youths aged 13 to 18 who enrolled in high schools never exceeded four per cent.

Among those boys who received elementary school education the competition for proceeding to higher education was extremely keen. In 1940 there were about 20 elementary students for every high school student. The chance for Koreans to receive education above the college level was indeed scanty.

The ethnic differentiation in educational opportunities on the level of secondary education, as is apparent from Table 2, typically reflects colonial policy in the advanced training of manpower. As mentioned above, throughout the entire colonial period the Japanese youth in Korea received his education, primary or secondary, exclusively at the school established for Japanese *per se*.

The first regulation on four-year college education was promulgated in 1919 and was subsequently followed by the establishment of four colleges in 1920 intended for professional training in law, medicine, engineering and agriculture. Besides these colleges, sponsored by the colonial regime a few private colleges were established by Korean national leaders and Christian missionaries. As Table 1 indicates, the number of colleges, public and private together, never exceeded 20. In 1940 there were 18 colleges in Korea, of which 10 were private institutions responsible for more than 70 per cent of Korean students. The number of Koreans attending the Japanese sponsored colleges constituted roughly three-fifths of the total, while the rest were Japanese. With the principal emphasis on the training of Koreans loyal to the Japanese authorities and the pragmatic (vocational) aspect of education in connection with the economic policy, the expansion of professional training was not as urgently needed. Most Korean college graduates seeking jobs in the professional sector, such as in the civil service, as lawyers, engineers, etc., found them mostly occupied by Japanese. Colonial economic policy was such that new jobs which required highly trained personnel were not increasing substantially,²¹ perhaps with the exception of

21. See Yunshik Chang, *Population in Early Modernization: Korea* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), (Princeton University, 1966), Chapter 2.

the medical profession.

In 1922 the Korean Educational Ordinance recognized university education and in 1926 the first and only university, which was preceded by the two year preparatory college,²² was established in Korea. The Korean students attending the university were always out-

Table 5. Years of Schooling by Age and Sex, Koreans, 1944

Age	Total	None	Some but not graduated	Primary or more	High School or more	College or more	University
Male							
Below 14	4,045,707	3,854,557	67,053	171,197	1,197	—	—
15-19	1,124,484	599,645	130,625	480,770	39,387	145	9
20-24	888,641	559,916	119,411	291,842	58,426	4,125	676
25-29	812,857	576,230	114,217	204,584	40,150	6,927	2,137
30-34	768,254	586,354	114,229	156,079	30,976	4,753	1,543
35-39	675,127	558,731	104,471	100,520	25,937	3,860	1,212
40-44	575,437	516,680	90,061	51,242	15,240	2,599	789
45 and above	2,105,121	2,043,135	314,491	53,896	17,317	3,418	906
Total	10,995,628	9,295,248	1,054,558	1,510,130	228,640	25,827	7,272
(Per Cent)							
Below 14	100.00	95.27	1.66	4.23	.03	—	—
15-19	100.00	53.33	11.62	42.75	3.50	.01	—
20-24	100.00	63.00	13.44	32.84	6.58	.46	.08
25-29	100.00	70.88	14.05	25.17	4.94	.85	.26
30-34	100.00	76.32	14.87	20.32	4.03	.62	.20
35-39	100.00	82.76	15.47	14.89	3.84	.57	.18
40-44	100.00	89.78	14.94	8.90	2.65	.45	.13
45 and over	100.00	97.06	9.59	2.56	.82	.16	.04
Total	100.00	84.53	10.82	13.73	2.08	.23	.07
Female							
Below 14	4,550,590	4,465,032	38,757	74,355	586	—	—
15-19	1,154,120	969,363	57,844	164,757	15,855	448	1
20-24	979,774	888,660	30,998	77,415	14,504	1,297	21
25-29	858,645	806,599	19,171	43,312	8,301	816	21
30-34	799,204	767,686	12,834	25,991	5,679	507	18
35-39	681,636	667,791	7,527	11,087	3,018	332	17
40-44	563,422	557,802	4,430	4,464	1,213	172	15
45 and over	2,210,747	2,204,716	8,808	4,533	1,226	89	9
Total	11,798,138	11,327,649	180,369	405,934	50,382	3,611	102
(Per Cent)							
Below 14	100.00	98.12	.85	1.63	.01	—	—
15-19	100.00	83.99	5.01	14.28	1.37	.03	—
20-24	100.00	90.70	3.16	7.90	1.45	.13	—
25-29	100.00	93.94	2.23	5.04	.97	.10	—
30-34	100.00	96.06	1.61	3.25	.71	.06	.002
35-39	100.00	97.97	1.10	1.63	.44	.05	.002
40-44	100.00	99.00	.79	.79	.22	.02	.003
45 and over	100.00	99.73	.40	.20	.06	.004	.0004
Total	100.00	96.01	1.53	3.44	.43	.03	.0008

Source: *Jinkō chosa kekka hōkoku, shōwa jūkiu nen go-gatsu ichijitsu* (Report of Population survey results, 1944), Vol. II, Table 6, pp. 142-143.

22. Ohno, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

numbered by the Japanese students. As Table 5 shows, the number of Korean university students has never been larger than 250. It is important to note that more Korean students sought their university education in Japan than in Korea. In 1935, for example, there were 350 Korean students attending public and private universities in Japan and only 200 enrolled at the university in Korea. The net result of university education in the Japanese period is that there were some 7,000 people with university diplomas in 1944 comprising less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total population.

The level of school attendance at various grades in Korea in 1940 approximated that in Japan in 1880. In 1940, 99.6 per cent of the Japanese children of school age were enrolled at primary schools; 46 per cent of population aged 12 to 16 (male, 51.5 per cent and female, 40.4 per cent) at secondary school and 34 per cent of the same age group (male, 48.5 per cent and female, 24.8 per cent) at semi-secondary school; and 3.7 per cent of population aged 17 to 21 (male, 6.5 per cent and female, 0.8 per cent) were at colleges and/or university.

The 1944 census includes a rather detailed set of data on the state of education in the Korean population broken down by age, sex, province and years of schooling. Table 5, derived from this census volume, more or less summarizes the structure of educated human resources resulting from public education developed under the Japanese administration. As can be expected from the previous discussion, a notable improvement was made at the level of the elementary school. By the end of the Japanese administration, more than 40 per cent of the male population aged 15 to 19 had received elementary education or more. The proportion of population educated at this level varied inversely with age, and the increasing rate of the diffusion of elementary education was rather rapid. Yet more than half of the latest cohort who went through this school age had never been to school. Compulsory education was never instituted during the period of Japanese administration.²³ As the level of education goes up, the proportion of each age group receiving more education drops sharply. The latest cohort aged 20 to 24 in 1944 that went through the high school ages had only slightly more than 6 per cent having received higher education at this level. If we assume no significant difference in survivorship between those with and without high school education, the increasing rate of proportion educated at high school from the older to the younger cohort was not as marked as in primary education. The late start and limited accessibility to college and university education could very well account for the size of the highly educated population. The male cohort aged 25 to 29 went through the entire school ages at the last possible period had less than one per cent of college graduates and one quarter of one per cent of university graduates.

As to the education of girls, the opportunity was far more limited than for boys. If we look at the percentage of girls who finished elementary school by different age groups, it again is clear that public education at the elementary level, at least, had become more accessible. In fact, the growing proportion of the girls attending elementary school was rather rapid as the average age of the cohort decreased. In 1944, for the youngest cohort that completed the elementary school, the ratio of girls to boys who attended the school was one to three, the highest ever achieved. On the other hand, there were still more than 80 per cent of the same age group with no education at all.

Although the proportion of the educated population in each province varies, the propagation of the new education at the end of the Japanese period broken down by the level of education and sex in each province does not deviate greatly from the total population with the sole exception of Gyeonggi where the capital city is located. It is interesting

23. Takahashi, *op. cit.*, (1945).

to note that, as shown in Table 6, although the percentage of the male population with elementary schooling (or more) fluctuates within a very limited range, the lowest proportion is 9.5 per cent in Gangweon while the highest is 22.6 per cent in Gyeonggi. In general, it is indicated that the proportion is higher in the relatively non-agricultural northern province than in the predominantly agricultural southern provinces. Within a lower degree this also seems to be the case with the female population. Since most of the high schools were located in cities, it is not surprising that the most urbanized provinces such as Gyeonggi and Pyeongnam have a relatively higher percentage of the high school educated. But there also is some indication that the new industry developed in the northern provinces such as Hambug and Hamnam attracted the population with high school education and more.

Table 6. Percent of Korean Population Educated, Age above 15 by Province and Sex, 1944

Province	Total (Number)	None	Some but not graduated*	Primary or more	High School or more	College or more	University
Male							
Gyeonggi	1,257,529	67.93	9.45	22.62	5.06	.85	.25
Chungbug	434,325	84.66	5.40	9.95	1.21	.09	.03
Chungnam	715,464	82.91	6.59	10.50	1.26	.10	.03
Jeonbug	712,412	82.67	7.47	9.86	1.34	.12	.04
Jeonnam	1,170,059	79.28	10.22	10.50	1.28	.11	.03
Gyeongbuk	1,121,722	84.11	5.98	9.91	1.23	.11	.03
Gyeongnam	1,003,119	79.54	7.35	13.11	1.94	.14	.04
Whanghae	859,361	78.45	9.05	12.51	1.49	.18	.04
Pyeongnam	779,373	67.87	14.33	17.80	2.53	.33	.09
Pyeongbug	789,727	69.20	16.81	13.99	1.95	.18	.05
Gangweon	834,614	81.99	8.55	9.47	1.18	.10	.02
Hamnam	852,267	71.12	12.83	16.00	2.40	.24	.06
Hambug	465,656	68.27	10.35	21.38	3.19	.23	.05
Total	10,995,268	76.78	9.59	13.73	2.08	.23	.07
Female							
Gyeonggi	1,328,171	90.02	2.62	7.36	1.40	.14	.00
Chungbug	463,292	96.47	1.09	2.44	.22	.01	—
Chungnam	782,452	96.34	1.03	2.59	.20	.01	.00
Jeonbug	793,986	96.88	.85	2.26	.22	.01	.00
Jeonnam	1,331,939	96.87	.99	2.14	.17	.01	.00
Gyeongbug	1,234,467	96.69	.83	2.49	.21	.01	.00
Gyeongnam	1,102,058	95.26	1.35	3.39	.34	.01	.00
Whanghae	923,781	95.85	1.22	2.93	.32	.03	.00
Pyeongnam	816,068	93.77	1.91	4.31	.60	.04	.00
Pyeongbug	849,837	95.65	1.50	2.86	.34	.02	.00
Gangweon	853,819	96.61	1.77	2.22	.20	.01	.00
Hamnam	873,287	93.91	2.53	3.57	.46	.03	.00
Hambug	444,981	90.82	3.48	5.70	.53	.03	.00
Total	11,798,138	95.03	1.53	3.44	.43	.03	.00

* Includes those who went to the supplementary elementary school.

Source: *Jinkō chōsa kekka hōkoku, shōwa jūku'nen go-gatsu ichijitsu* (Report of Population Survey Results, 1944), Vol. II, Table 6, pp. 142-143.

Owing to the lack of census information regarding the educated population on different levels for previous census years, we attempted to estimate back the proportion of educated

males in 1925, 1930, 1935 and 1940 by age on the basis of the 1944 data in order to show the regional distribution of the male population having primary school education or more. Assuming that the educated males are subject to the same survivorship as the uneducated males, we estimated the approximate number of men aged from 20 to 30 with elementary school education and more for three previous census years.²⁴ Although the proportion varies from province to province in each year, each province experienced a slight increase of educated manpower over the decade and a half toward the end of the colonial period,

Table 7. Percentage of Men Aged 20 to 30 With Primary School Education or More Based on Cohort As of 1944

Province	1944	Cohort Aged 20-30 in Specific Year		
		1940	1935	1930
All Korea	29.2	22.8	16.4	11.4
Gyeonggi	43.5	34.4	28.0	21.6
Chungbug	22.8	17.3	13.7	9.4
Chungnam	24.4	18.9	14.7	10.0
Gyeongbug	22.2	17.1	13.4	9.2
Gyeongnam	29.4	23.4	17.9	11.5
Jeonbug	23.2	18.0	13.9	9.3
Jeonnam	25.3	20.7	15.6	9.8
Whanghae	25.6	18.7	14.0	9.4
Pyeongnam	34.2	28.0	22.5	15.2
Pyeongbug	27.6	20.9	16.0	10.9
Gangweon	20.8	15.9	12.5	8.9
Hamnam	29.9	24.1	19.3	12.9
Hambug	27.9	31.1	23.1	14.5

Table 8. Proportion of Urban and Educated (Elementary School) Population in Each Province, 1930

Province	Per cent of population living in the place with more than 20,000 people	Per cent of Korean males aged 20 to 30 with elementary school education and above
All Korea	10.1	11.4
Gyeonggi	29.5	21.6
Hamnam	19.4	12.9
Pyeongnam	13.5	15.2
Gyeongnam	11.4	11.5
Hambug	11.1	14.5
Jeonnam	9.7	9.8
Gyeongbug	6.9	9.2
Jeonbug	6.3	9.3
Gangweon	3.3	8.9
Pyeongbug	3.1	10.9
Whanghae	3.1	9.4
Chungbug	2.6	9.4
Chungnam	1.6	10.0

24. Since the 1944 census recorded the amount of education of the population up to the age 45 and dumped together for the ages above 45, we were able to trace back to 1930 for this age group.

with the majority remaining uneducated.

For the three previous census years, as in 1944, the spread of the educated human resources did not vary too widely. Nevertheless, the variation of the proportion who attended the elementary school was somewhat related to the degree of city development of each province. When we subdivide the provinces into three classes in terms of the proportion of population living in the cities with more than 20,000 persons in 1930 as is shown in Table 8, the percentage of men aged 20 to 30 with the elementary education or more indicates a clear positive relationship. As we suggested earlier, educated young males tended to move into the urban areas. On the other hand, education was easier to obtain in these areas. Probably both factors help to account for this finding.

Summing up, public education propagated within the limit set by the colonial authorities was received favorably by Koreans with their traditional respect of and zeal for learning. The colonial regime exercised utmost care in controlling the growth and content of school education. That public education was not intended for the development of the colony itself but for the control of it was to have grave implications for the system and growth of education after Liberation.

教 育 의 成 長 1910—1945

張 潤 植

新教育 即 學校教育이 始作된 것은 李朝末이었다. 1910年 朝鮮教育令의 發布와 더불어 이는 漸次 널리 普及되기 시작하였다. 總督府에서 發行한 統計年報에 學校教育에 關한 資料가 比較的 詳細히 수록되어 있다. 당시 학교교육의 特徵인 것은 먼저 普及面에서 限定되어 있고 年齡, 性, 人種別로 뚜렷하게 選別的이라는 것이다. 總督府의 教育方針은 主로 國民學校教育을 普及시키는데 있었으며 그 目的은 우리나라 사람들로 하여금 早速히 日本文化에 同化되게 하는데 있었다. 教育令이 發布된 1910년에 初等學校數는 約 170개로 그중 4分之3이 公立學校고 나머지는 教會系統의 學校를 包含하는 私立學校로 構成되었고, 總兒童數는 約 2萬名정도였다. 그 當時 總督府의 計劃을 보면 1913년까지 各府나 郡에 初等學校 1個, 그리고 1928년부터 1936년까지는 各面에 1個씩 設立할 豫定이었다. 初等學校就學率은 比較的 급속한 증가를 하였다고 하겠으나 1944年 國勢調査에 의하면 아직도 學齡兒童(6~12세)의 就學率은 38%를 넘지 못하고 있다. 이를 性別로 보면 男兒가 47%, 女兒가 約 18%로 상당한 差異를 보인다. 이는 總督府의 教育方針 自體가 女兒에 對해선 男兒에 비해 就學을 장려하지 않았다는 점 뿐 아니라 우리나라 社會構造內에 存在하고 있는 女兒가 教育을 받는데 對한 否定的인 傳統的 態度를 反映하는 것이라 생각할 수 있다. 그런데 이 期間에 있어서의 中高等教育普及狀況을 보면 이미 위에서 指摘했던 바와 같이 당시 教育방침이 初等教育에만 集中했던만큼 그 이상의 教育보급은 극히 미미한 것이었다. 日政期에 中高等學校教育은 專門教育을 위한 준비 단계교육이기 보다는 初等교육의 延長으로 문자 그대로 高等普通教育이거나 職業教育에 不過했다. 植民統治를 有効化하기 위해선 새로운 idea를 招致한다거나 必要以上으로 理念的인 모순을 自覺하게끔 하는 高等教育을 總督府는 注意깊게 피해 왔던 것이다. 그 당시 우리나라 사람들이나 教會系統에서 세운 私立學校에 對해서 嚴重한 감시를 했던 것이 이점에서 보면 놀라운 이야기는 아닐 것이다.

또 한便으로 初等 水準 이상의 教育을 억제한 이유로서는 總督府가 韓國인에게 高等교육을 보급함으로써 생기는 당시 韓國내에 존재하던 제한된 기술 전문직에 對한 韓國인과 日本人과의 경쟁을 방지하려는데도 있었다.

따라서 中等學校數의 증가는 國民학교에 비해 극히 느렸고 13~18歲까지의 中고등학교 연령층의 취학율은 4%를 넘지못하였다. 1940년대에 國民학교에서 中등학교로 進학한 율은 20分之1이었다. 4年制專門學校設立에 關한 教育令이 發布된것은 1919年이고 뒤이어 1920年에 法律, 醫學, 工業, 農業專門知識普及을 위한 公立專門學校가 넷 設立되었다. 이 以外에 우리나라 指導者와 教會系統에서 設立한 私立學校가 몇개 생기게 되었다.

1940년에 公私立을 포함한 專門學校數는 모두 18이었고 그 중 10개가 私立으로 韓國人大學生 7割 이상을 교육시키고 있었다. 公立專門學校를 다니는 大學生 총수의 5分之3이 우리나라 학생이었고 나머지는 日本學生이었다.

大學教育이 認定된 것은 1922年이고 1926년에 처음이자 唯一한 大學이 設立되었다. 이 大學은 주로 日人을 위한 教育機關으로 日本學生數가 우리나라 학생수를 압도하였다. 우리나라 학생수는 250명을 넘지 못했다. 흥미있는 사실은 日本유학을 하는 한국 대학생의 수가 우리나라에 있는 대학생수 보다 더 많았다는 것이다. 결과적으로 1944年 統計에 나타난 것을 보면 大學을 나온 사람수가 통털어 7천명으로 전국적으로 볼 때 약 2,500명에 한명 꼴이었다.

植民地 統治를 위해 뚜렷한 目的을 가지고 制限된 범위내에서 보급된 學校教育은 傳統的으로 내려오는 강한 한국인의 教育熱이 기대이외의 호응을 나타내자 총독부 당국은 教育의 보급 및 내용등에 관한 세심한 통제를 통해 植民地 自體의 發展보다는 統治를 위해 필요한 教育이 되도록 주의를 기우렸다. 이러한 제한된 教育成長이 갖는 의의는 植民統治가 끝나면서 야기되는 문제에서 여실히 나타나나 本論文에서는 논의의 성격상 피하기로 한다.