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An International College in South Korea as a Third Space between Korean and US Models of Higher Education

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Stephanie Kim

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Under the slogan of internationalization, Korean universities have opened international colleges that promise an educational experience on par with elite universities anywhere in the world. These colleges conduct their classes in English and hire Western faculty members as a way to create campus settings that better attract and accommodate foreign students. What is the meaning of "international" in this context? Based on 12 months of fieldwork, my dissertation offers an ethnographic study of an international college in South Korea to uncover underlying assumptions and meanings in the internationalization of higher education.

By using an international college as a point of entry, I argue that internationalization reforms equate to the adoption of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms by which Korean universities have been modeled after in the internationalization of higher education more broadly. With international colleges in particular, the kinds of research activities that count as

international are not just being adopted, but the knowledge workers themselves—"imported" faculty members from the United States and Western Europe—are brought into a Korean university setting as a way to attract as many foreign students as possible. However, the majority of students who enroll at an international college are not foreign but Korean, and thus, what these international colleges have turned into are actually domestic alternatives for Korean students who would otherwise study abroad. What is created when Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms confront a primarily Korean student body is a Third Space of hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interactions that I explore and analyze. At the same time, meanings of international take on racialized and paradoxical undertones whereby Western faculty members are strategically appropriated as a commodity for an international college while the Korean students who attend struggle to integrate within the larger Korean university because their affiliation with an international college positions them as outsiders. The tensions and contradictions that a Korean university faces in its internationalization agenda speak to a broader conception of how South Korea sees its place within a multicultural landscape.

The dissertation of Stephanie Kim is approved.

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2014

in loving memory of JaHyun Kim Haboush

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INTRODUCTION

A quick survey of university marketing materials will reveal commonly used terms that boast of the internationalization efforts taken by the institution. But when we hear the term "international," it is important to consider the actual practice and not just the rhetoric of such endeavors. Close examination of an international college in South Korea indicates that there is a clear discrepancy between the practice and rhetoric whereby what is advertised to be a form of internationalization actually functions as something much more complex—and even contrary to the idealized tenets of globalization that profess a free flow of people across national borders.

This dissertation reveals underlying assumptions in the internationalization of higher education in South Korea as it relates to globalization. In particular, it explores racialized and paradoxical meanings of international that speak to a broader conception of how South Korea sees its place within a multicultural landscape. Scholars in several fields have explored meanings of "international" in this context. Within Education, Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2007) have defined the internationalization of higher education as a measured response to the economic, political, and societal forces of globalization, while Nelly P. Stromquist (2007) has connected internationalization strategies with a pursuit for greater student markets domestically and abroad. Within Korean Studies, meanwhile, Gi-Wook Shin (2006) has revealed the intensification of Korean ethnic identity in reaction to globalization processes. However, the intersection of the internationalization of higher education with increased Korean ethnic nationalism has not yet been given sufficient attention. In this section, I will highlight how, under the slogan of internationalization, an international college in South Korea adopts strategies that actually further

an agenda of Korean ethnic nationalism, and how this creates a Third Space that redefines how we understand the meaning of international.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AS ETHNIC NATIONALISM

A postmodern approach to globalization conceptualizes the phenomenon as a "heterogeneity of processes" that is heavily laden with colonialist and imperialist discourses like "modernization" (D. Kellner, 1998). And as globalization has become the focal point of higher education, competition has become a central preoccupation. Competition is closely connected with a global free-market economy. Combined with the impact of globalization and the development of the global knowledge economy, these competitive forces have resulted in the global competition phenomenon that is currently reshaping higher education. Many developments characterize the global competition phenomenon in higher education, including the rise of global university rankings, a continuing neoliberal trend of academic capitalism, declarations by nations to have a world-class university, and cross-border quality assurance practices.

The Korean approach to the global competition phenomenon in higher education parallels the Korean approach to globalization in general. What is most notable about globalization in South Korea is that it is best understood not as a force that challenges the power and sovereignty of the nation-state (A. Appadurai, 1996) but as a state-managed process through which the Korean government sets policies in education, science, and technology to remain competitive as a nation-state in relation to other nation-states (G.-W. Shin, 2006), also called the *segyehwa* drive, that has its roots in the Korean modernization process. And while globalization does mean that South Korea is becoming more interconnected with the rest of the world, the Korean response to globalization has developed in such a way that the Korean nationalist spirit gives momentum to

the *segyehwa* drive with the government as the primary driver. In fact, the Korean approach to globalization finds nationalism and globalization as interrelated phenomena. According to Gi-Wook Shin (2006), globalization, like modernization, can be proactively maximized as a way to "take advantage of any opportunities that globalization could bring to the nation" (p. 214). At the same time, because globalization inevitably disrupts social and cultural norms, national identity becomes increasingly important as the process of globalization continues because it "satisfies the people's need for cultural fulfillment, rootedness, security, and fraternity in the face of tumult" (p. 214). What this has led to is an intensification of ethnic identity in reaction to globalization processes. Paradoxically, it is the very nationalism that globalization processes appear to threaten that reinforces itself, surviving in new circumstances dictated by global forces.

Through the power of the state, then, the Korean approach to globalization has not only been to appropriate globalization for national interests (*segyehwa* drive) but also to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the face of rapid changes. And such an approach to globalization mirrors South Korea's internationalization efforts in the higher education sector. Jane Knight (2004; 2010), and Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2007), define internationalization not as synonymous to globalization but as choice-based actions and responses to globalization. These scholars define globalization as the "economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement" (P. G. Altbach & J. Knight, 2007, p. 290). Internationalization, then, is the response to economic, political, and societal forces that refers to "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, function, or delivery of post-secondary education" (J. Knight, 2004, p. 11). The methods through which higher education institutions respond to globalization, and ultimately

how they internationalize themselves, depends on the mission and competitive strategies an institution chooses to pursue (J. Knight, 2010).

Internationalization policies adopted in the Korean higher education sector are certainly one facet of the *segyehwa* drive that aim to raise the prestige of South Korea as a nation-state by raising the competitiveness of its universities within a global higher education system. In particular, Korean universities have identified the need to improve institutional quality and increase the number of incoming foreign students as a way to counteract their shrinking pool of domestic students (K. Byun & M. Kim, 2010)—and the rise of international colleges is a relatively new phenomenon arising out of the need for greater student markets. With the increasing number of Korean students going abroad for their undergraduate degrees, Korean universities are looking to foreign students as additional sources of tuition revenue. In order to attract more foreign students, Korean universities have opened international colleges that promise an educational experience on par with elite universities anywhere in the world. These colleges conduct their classes in English and hire Western faculty members as a way to create campus settings that better attract and accommodate foreign students. With international colleges in particular, the kinds of research activities that count as international are not just being adopted, but the knowledge workers themselves—"imported" faculty members from the United States and Western Europe—are brought into a Korean university setting as a way to attract as many foreign students as possible. In such a way, internationalization reforms equate to an extreme interpretation of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms by which Korean universities have been modeled after in the internationalization of higher education more broadly. The phenomenon began with the opening of Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University in 2006.

Shortly after, Scranton College of Ewha Womans University opened its doors in 2007, and since then, a handful of other universities have opened similar programs.

However, the rhetoric of international colleges is quite different from the practice. Through the examination of one particular international college, I show how the institution does not necessarily function to recruit as many foreign students as possible but actually functions to retain Korean students who would otherwise study abroad at universities in Western countries. By conducting their courses entirely in English and hiring only Western faculty members, an international college capitalizes on Korean students' anxieties that the accumulation of global capital is essential for professional advancement by offering a Western learning ecology within a Korean university setting. In such a way, Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms are not blindly adopted but are strategically appropriated in the competition for greater student markets. Thus, under the slogan of internationalization, international colleges actually function to retain Korean students who would otherwise study abroad in order to perpetuate a form of ethnic purity in the higher education sector in reaction to globalization processes that accelerate the flow of people across national borders. This strategy preserves a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector that follows a pattern of increased Korean ethnic nationalism in reaction to the globalization processes that appear to threaten it.

CONCEPTUALIZING A THIRD SPACE

Space, according to Henri Lefebvre (1991/2012), encompasses all interrelationships and their coexistence and simultaneity, their relative order and disorder. The space of a place encompasses a place's reality with its ideality, the practical with the symbolic. Social space contains objects that are both natural and social, including "the networks and pathways which facilitate the

exchange of material things and information" (p. 77), and in this sense, objects are not just things but also relations. At the same time, this space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production, and rearranges the objects' positions and configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality. Space is then a social relationship inherent within property relationships. In South Korea, space can also become inherent within the will of the state that rearranges national, local, and civic interests into differential elements to reproduce power relations (R. Oppenheim, 2008).

But Lefebvre's analysis also reveals more than just a binary—the reality with the ideality, the practical with the symbolic—and deconstructing this binary opposition is what allows us to conceptualize a Third Space. Beyond the binary is always a third term that disrupts relative order and disorder, according to Lefebvre, and that designates the relationship between the center and periphery as permanently open and flexible. This space is not merely located in between the center and periphery but is what bell hooks (1984/2000) might define as a "space of radical openness"—to be "part of the whole but outside the main body" (p. xvi)—that allows those within that space to develop an oppositional world-view of outsider looking in, and insider looking out. Indeed, hooks and other Black feminist scholars question the totalizing binary within feminist scholarship that defines oppression as between men and women, oppressor and oppressed, and introduce intersections of race, gender, and class that allow us to understand the multiplicity of oppression and the possibility of resistance. It is through this evolution of Lefebvre's analysis that we can also shift our understanding of Third Space within a postcolonial framework.

Perhaps the best way to introduce a discussion of Third Space within a postcolonial framework is with a quote by Edward W. Soja (1996):

> I find it useful to understand the postcolonial critique as a product of still another critical thirding-as-Othering, an assertively different and intentionally disruptive way of (re)interpreting the relation between the colonizer and the colonized, the center and the periphery, Firstworlds and Thirdworlds. More specifically, the critique addresses two metanarratives that have overarchingly dominated the Firstworld discourse on coloniality: a fundamentally capitalist metanarrative of *development* that wraps world history in the necessity for continuous progress and modernization; and a predominantly Marxist or socialist metanarrative of *social justice* that requires radical if not revolutionary transformation for social justice to be achieved. (p. 126)

Soja's strategy of "thirding-as-Othering," that he developed out of Lefebvre's work, involves locating a diametrical opposition and then introducing a third possibility that is more than just an in-between position within the binary. Thirding-as-Othering involves introducing another choice that "speaks and critiques through its otherness" (p. 61) and that deconstructs the presumed totalizing choices of the original binary. Hence, the above quote by Soja maps out an inherent binary within postcolonial discourse—Hegelian metanarratives of development, and Marxist metanarratives of social justice—that both presume the totality of one or the other. Just as hooks and other Black feminist scholars reveal the totalizing binary within feminist scholarship to redefine oppression, postcolonial scholars of Third Space reveal the totalizing binary within postcolonial scholarship to redefine culture.

In particular, Homi Bhabha (1994/2004) conceptualizes a Third Space as the contested ideological terrain between the "first space" of native cultural expression and the "second space" of imposed colonial structures. But such a space is not merely the conflict of the two but is a form of "cultural hybridity" that, in fact, all cultures are. As such, Bhabha defines culture as "difference" (as opposed to "diversity") that denies the essentialism that comes with tracing cultural origins. He rejects the Western liberal discourse of multiculturalism that celebrates cultural diversity as an inherent binary between national versus global, plain versus exotic, and reconfigures all cultures as those of hybridity that negotiate in-between spaces. For Bhabha, a

Third Space is a space of enunciation, which "challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People" (p. 54). In other words, Bhabha challenges the narrative of a unifying past based on internal homogeneity and external autonomy so often used to stir up nationalist sentiment in order to reject colonial authority, what Benedict Anderson (1983/1991) would call an "imagined community." Hence, a Third Space rejects both totalizing definitions of native cultural expression and imposed colonial structures, and instead redefines all cultures as hybrid cultures that appropriate colonial structures while articulating native identity within it. It is in such a way that an international college in South Korea that adopts Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms as a way to retain Korean students can be placed within this larger discussion of Third Space within a postcolonial framework.

Hence, what happens when Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms confront a primarily Korean student body is a Third Space that I explore and analyze in this dissertation. By using Bhabha's notion of a Third Space that defines culture as "difference," I conceptualize a Third Space as the difference between the "first space" of existing norms, practices, and rituals of a longstanding academic community in South Korea with the "second space" of the extreme interpretation of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms within an international college. Hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interaction lie within this Third Space. By using the thirding-as-Othering strategy, I reveal underlying meanings of "international" that take on racialized and paradoxical undertones and that unsettle the totalizing binary of domestic versus foreign within current discussions on international education. Such meanings force us to redefine the meaning of international more broadly.

At the same time, the Western faculty members who are recruited to come work for an international college are indicative not of a totalizing Anglo-Saxon agenda but of a Korean university's strategic appropriation of Western traditions in the competition for greater student markets. In extending the idea of a Third Space that strategically appropriates useful facets of a colonial structure to the advantage of the colonized state, I conceptualize a Third Space as a kind of semi-periphery, peripheral states that seek to improve their relative position in a world-economic system that favors the core at the expense of the periphery (I. Wallerstein, 1974/2004). Within this semi-periphery, the "major concern is to keep themselves from slipping into the periphery and to do what they can to advance themselves towards the core" (p. 29). But tensions between the colonial structure and the local learning ecology create a Third Space that still privileges the expression of native identity. A Third Space of an international college thus emerges that strategically appropriates Western faculty members within a Korean university setting in a way that reflects a deeply rooted sense of ethnic nationalism that arises in reaction to globalization processes. In the spirit of the *segyehwa* drive, Korean universities are recruiting Western faculty members not to transform into Western universities but, ironically, to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector.

But meanings of Korean become blurred in this context when examining the Korean students who attend an international college and struggle to integrate within the larger Korean university. Though the students who attend an international college are of the same ethnic background as traditional students at a Korean university, they become marginalized by virtue of their affiliation with an international college, where labels of "international" position those students as outsiders. Moreover, many of the students at an international college are *gyopos* (Korean citizens living abroad), and the language that they speak is neither standard Korean nor

standard English but a mix of both languages in which Korean and English are used interchangeably in a communication style uniquely attributed to them. Such a language is emblematic of a Third Space of hybrid linguistic practices. As such, the concept of the Borderlands is used to guide my explorations into what is ultimately students' consciousness and identity shaped by their linguistic abilities and inabilities. Indeed, overlapping with the postcolonial critique of a Third Space is Gloria Anzaldúa's notion of the Borderlands. Anzaldúa (1987/2012) writes of the Borderlands as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary" and its inhabitants, "prohibited and forbidden," as transgressors (p. 25). Anzaldúa describes herself as a "border woman" who grew up between the borders and cultures of Mexico and the United States, and in doing so, she has been able to shift her liminal positionality into its own consciousness, what she calls a new mestiza. In many ways, the novel learning ecology of an international college is a kind of Borderland formed by the unnatural boundary between Western and Korean learning ecologies. The transgressors who fill this space are also caught between two borders and cultures through which they develop their own consciousness and identity, particularly through the language that they use. Thus, the linguistic abilities and inabilities of the students present a spatial framework through which to understand their consciousness and identity as inhabitants of a border territory created by an international college.

ABOUT THE DISSERTATION

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover meanings of international through the examination of an international college in South Korea. In doing so, my research makes several important contributions to the field of Education. First, there is very little research investigating the

phenomenon of international colleges in South Korea, and this dissertation is arguably the first in-depth study to do so. Of previous studies conducted on the internationalization of higher education in South Korea more generally, my research takes an antithetical approach within the larger body of scholarship. While several notable scholars argue that internationalization strategies function to recruit as many foreign students as possible to Korean universities (K. Byun & M. Kim, 2010; E. Y. Kim & S. Choi, 2011; J.-E. Jon & E.-Y. Kim, 2011; J. D. Palmer & Y. H. Cho, 2011; J. D. Palmer & Y. H. Cho, 2012), I argue that internationalization strategies actually function to retain domestic students who would otherwise study abroad in order to perpetuate a form of ethnic purity in the higher education sector in reaction to globalization processes that accelerate the flow of people across national borders. Second, the recent and continuing increase of Western faculty members within Korean universities makes it critical for Education scholarship to explore arising intercultural issues. By placing Western faculty members within the larger phenomenon of international colleges and analyzing their experiences in navigating Korean academic culture within such context, my research has implications for how universities approach the hiring of faculty members in the pursuit of international education—particularly for other Asian universities (and, to some extent, all universities in non-Western countries) that are recruiting Western faculty members on a large scale as a way of bringing international education into the region. Third, and finally, studies on student intercultural issues arising from international education have focused primarily on the interactions between domestic students and foreign students. However, my research reveals how *gyopos* (Korean citizens living abroad) return to South Korea for their university education by enrolling at an international college and have trouble adjusting to the norms and expectations of

traditional students at a Korean university. Thus, my research reveals the *intraethnic* tensions that are often overlooked in the discussions on international education.

My research also makes a unique contribution to the field of Korean Studies. South Korea has recently begun to experience changing demographics and heightened awareness of difference through rapid economic advancements and urbanization that has resulted in high growth rates of immigration and mixed marriages. However, my research at an international college complicates how we talk about the changing demographics within the larger multicultural discourse in South Korea that goes beyond identifying people as "multicultural" based solely on racial difference. By highlighting linguistic and cultural differences that *gyopos* face when they return to South Korea for their university education, I challenge a conceptual schema of race, language, and culture and reconstruct meanings of Korean through the interactions between traditional students and *gyopos* at a Korean university. Moreover, the process of conducting this research involves reflecting on my own position as a "liminal being" (Turner, 1967) and its influence on my interpretation of the field. The particularity in my case has been the need to construct my own identity spectrum between Korean heritage and American citizenry, and I use my liminal position to reflect on and reinterpret meanings of Korean in tandem with meanings of international.

The dissertation is organized into two parts. Part I (chapters 1-2) provides an overview of Korean higher education reform as a way to highlight the broader issues surrounding the phenomenon of international colleges in South Korea. Chapter 1, "Education Fever: A Korean Learning Ecology," focuses on the domestic issues by tracing the historical development of Korean higher education with the rise of Korean nationalism. In particular, the feverous pursuit of higher education stems from Korean nationalism that influenced the importance of university

education to Korean peoples' lives. Korean nationalism resonates even further via the global competition phenomenon in higher education. Hence, chapter 2, "Framing the Globalization Debate in Korean Higher Education," focuses on the global issues by connecting the internationalization strategies adopted by Korean universities to the broader discussion of globalization and higher education, especially as globalization gives rise not only to new economic dynamics but also to new social relations. This chapter explains how internationalization reforms adopted in the Korean higher education sector equate to the adoption of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms, and also how such an internationalization agenda relates to Korean nationalism.

Part II (chapters 3-7) offers an ethnographic study of an international college in South Korea conceptualized as a Third Space, a hybrid space that strategically appropriates colonial structures while articulating the native identity within it. Each chapter is organized as a thematic case study of three different levels of an international college: institutional, faculty, and students. My objective is to uncover meanings of "international" comprised of a spatial understanding of human relations along those three different levels. Chapter 3, "Research Design and Researcher Identity," outlines my research questions, data collection and analytic procedures, theoretical frameworks, and the implications of my identity as a researcher to the research process. Chapter 4, "The College: Tensions and Contradictions," describes the ways in which an international college fits into the larger Korean university while teasing out the educational, linguistic, and social spaces that are formed in between the college's carefully constructed institutional image and the barriers to entry for its legitimacy. This chapter focuses on the institutional frameworks that create an international college while examining the underlying cultures within it to reveal the hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interactions of a Third Space. Chapter 5,

"The Faculty: Surviving Academia in a Korean University," analyzes the experiences of Western faculty members who work for an international college in navigating the promises, pitfalls, and challenges of Korean academic culture within their designated role. In particular, this chapter positions Western faculty members as a strategically appropriated commodity for the Korean university that reveals the privileging of native identity within a Third Space at hand. Chapter 6, "The Students: Language, Consciousness, and Identity," explores the hopes, ambitions, and goals of the Korean students who attend an international college against the backdrop of their linguistic abilities and inabilities as they carve out a place for themselves within the larger Korean university and, to a larger extent, within South Korea. Specifically, the students of an international college speak neither standard Korean nor standard English but a mix of both, and embedded within each language is the tension between the language of the natives (Korean) and the language of the privileged (English) that causes students of an international college to feel like misfits within their own university. Ultimately, by revealing the tensions and contradictions that a Korean university faces in its internationalization agenda, I hope to reveal a broader conception of how South Korea sees its place within a multicultural landscape.

NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND ROMANIZATION

In order to keep close to the subject matter and adequately reflect the participants' voices, I have chosen to reflect the use of Korean language in its original form with my English translation following. Whenever Korean terminology is Romanized, I have used the Revised Romanization system to do so, unless there is a commonly used form of Romanization that dictates otherwise for famous names. I have also kept the traditional order of Korean names whereby the family name precedes the given name, and appended the two-syllable given name into one word without

the use of a hyphen. However, I have occasionally used the Western format whereby the given name precedes the family name if referring to a scholar who writes primarily in a Western language. In the bibliography, I have maintained the preferred Romanization and hyphen use of the authors as they were published.

PART I

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION FEVER: A KOREAN LEARNING ECOLOGY

South Korea has achieved remarkable educational development. From its accomplishment of universal primary and secondary education to the highest attainment rate in higher education, South Korea of today is one of the most educated nations in the world. At the same time, South Korea faces several problems associated with the competitiveness of its educational institutions, particularly as it relates to the attainment of higher education. In fact, pundits have put forth the term *gyoyukyeol* (education fever) to describe Korean people's zealous dedication to the pursuit of higher education. The Korean fever for higher education can be described as a cultural tradition that developed out of a complicated history of class struggle and the development of a Korean national consciousness. It is in this way that a distinctly Korean learning ecology can be defined by the rampant education fever in the pursuit of higher education that has its roots in Korean nationalism.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the historical development of Korean higher education and connect it with the rise of Korean nationalism while highlighting the language practices intertwined with such issues. American Protestant missionaries established the first universities in Korea in the late nineteenth century, and the newly emerging definitions of Korean nationalism formed as a complementary catalyst along with the Western ideas that took root in the Korean consciousness. Korean nationalism reached its peak in its efforts to define a Korean national identity through education and language during the Japanese colonial period. Following colonial rule, American military efforts aided in the rapid expansion of the Korean education sector, and the ideals of democratic education were certainly hoped for through

American efforts to rid the Korean education system of colonial and communist influences. Yet American efforts to expand the education system were largely limited because of the reluctance to make rapid and substantial changes for fear of communist subversion, and thus, entrance into higher education tracks maintained many of its restrictive qualities imposed by the Japanese. As South Korea adopted industrialization policies that aligned access to education with the needs of the labor economy by eliminating entrance exams at the middle and high school levels, the university entrance exam hence evolved as the one-chance exam that would determine a Korean student's future. Today, as higher education is aggressively pursued, shadow education has become increasingly more institutionalized while the financial burden of education costs has fallen onto Korean families. Still, the Korean fever for higher education has certainly not dwindled, while education policies try to address the rising inequalities in the attainment of higher education. Such historical context allows us to understand how the feverous pursuit of higher education stems from Korean nationalism that influenced the importance of university education to Korean peoples' lives today.

THE ROLE OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Christian missionary work had a great impact on Korean higher education when American Protestant missionaries established the first universities in Korea in the late nineteenth century. By the 1880s, Western missionary efforts were quite active in establishing education reforms in Korea (H. H. Underwood, 1926). During this time, the Joseon kingdom was facing internal unrest and external threats from foreign powers, and the Confucian bureaucrats did not welcome foreign religions. Recognizing this difficulty, missionaries turned to education as a means of establishing Christianity in Korea.

The political climate of the late Joseon era (1880-1910) was one of political unrest. Korean peasants were highly resentful of the ruling class *yangban*, who composed of only fifteen percent of Korean society and exclusively enjoyed the privileges of land ownership, civil service, and education as a birthright (L. Yuh, 2008). By the nineteenth century, the Joseon state's tax base had narrowed considerably and imposed most of the burden upon the peasantry that would benefit the aristocratic elite. To increase their funds during recent financial crises, the Royal Government began to sell *yangban* titles to wealthy merchants and commoners. Since those with *yangban* status were exempt from military service and taxes, this only served to further contract the tax base and place a heavier burden on fewer taxpayers (L. Yuh, 2008). Additionally, the Neo-Confucian society of the Joseon era allowed for no upward social mobility for the peasants, and the *yangban* secured their positions through the inheritance of status and land.[1] This translated into the *yangban* exclusively dominating educational opportunities, participation in civil service exams, and the highest government ranks. The *yangban* used their positions and influence to impose restraints on the power of the throne for personal gain. Without the power to sustain public education for the masses, the Royal Government did not pursue a clear educational agenda for the majority of the population.

Education was an integral part of the preservation of power for the elite. It is important to note, though, that education had a very different kind of meaning in the Joseon era than it does today. The public education institutions run by the Royal Government were mostly those of higher learning, which only allowed access to the *yangban* class in which the primary purpose of education was to acquaint students with Confucian philosophy and ethics through a course of

[1] Neo-Confucianism was a political theory that took hold during the Joseon era that "articulated a vision of the moral universe in which the state of the human mind was directly linked to the universal moral order" whereby each person "could at least do his share to uphold the moral order even if he could not and did not have the chance to make a visible difference in the workings of government" (J. Kim Haboush, 1988/2001, p. 8-9).

study composed of Chinese classics. Schools, if they did exist, primarily served as centers of registration, test-taking, and ritual observance. Furthermore, the civil service exam[2] was administered on the evaluation of Chinese classics for the sole purpose of allowing entry intro government office. It became an important avenue for prestige for the *yangban* class because it was the only way to attain government office and thus the primary way to secure wealth and perpetuate one's lineage.[3] Though the exam was intended to be administered on a merit basis, in practice it was overtaken by the elites who dominated education tracks through the hiring of private tutors and the systematic elimination of rival clans using private resources and political influence (L. Yuh, 2008).

Because the Royal Government did not provide any kind of public education for the masses, there was a large void for education of the general population that was filled by the Christian mission schools. Missionaries acted on the idea that education was for everyone regardless of social class. It is important to note, though, that missionary education was primarily a means to spread Christianity. Horace Horton Underwood (1926), son of Horace Grant Underwood, wrote on the mission schools in Korea that "education is offered as a means to overcome prejudices and attract the native to the religion which is preached… [and a] providing of certain social institutions to serve as samples of the fruit of developed Christianity" (p. 22). Still, missionaries were pioneers in democratic education by teaching literacy in the form of

[2] The implementation of the civil service exam can be traced back to the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). The Goryeo Dynasty marks the adoption of the Chinese-style civil service exam system and the implementation of Chinese laws. The civil service exam originally consisted of the civil and miscellaneous exams, then included the military exam by the time of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) (J. B. Duncan, J. C. Lee, J.-i. Lee, M. Ahn, & J. A. Davey, 2009). Early Goryeo kings also brought about the rise of a new social order in which the aristocracy held the highest ranks of civil and military positions. This marks the point in which family clans such as the Kim and Yi clans, no longer bound by the bone-rank system that determined one's social status through familial proximity to the king, could now dominate the civil service exam, and thus, formed the beginning of the *yangban* class.

[3] While the civil service exam was administered on the evaluation of Chinese classics for the sole purpose of allowing entry into government office, there were other exams called *chapgwa* that were administered to allow for entry into the military, medical, language, astronomy, painting, and other specialized technical fields. Though these exams were open to commoners, in practice they were monopolized by a hereditary caste of *jungin* (middle people) (K. M. Hwang, 2005).

modern mass education as a means for understanding Christianity. Three mission schools opened during the early period of missionary education: in 1885 the American Methodist missionary Henry Appenzeller opened the Paechae School for Boys; in 1886 the American Methodist Episcopal missionary Mary F. Scranton opened the Ewha Mission School for Girls; and also in 1886 the American Protestant missionary Horace Grant Underwood opened the Gyeongsin School. The schools were modeled after an American school system that focused on reading, composition, spelling, history, geography, arithmetic, natural philosophy, science, and physical education. These schools also did away with the Chinese classics and instead emphasized Korean language and tradition. The Royal Government also recognized the necessity for modern schools to train government cadres in the increasing negotiations and conflicts with Western powers and thus established the Government School in 1883 and the Royal English School in 1886. Missionaries were invited to teach in the Royal English School with English as the medium of instruction. Lastly, missionaries opened the first modern universities in Korea: in 1885 Yonsei University, and in 1886 Ewha Womans University. These two universities formed the beginning of the modern university system during a time when there was no established form of higher education in Korea.[4]

Yonsei University originally began as medical college after the first modern hospital, Gwanghyewon, opened in 1885 by the American Protestant missionary Horace Newton Allen. The hospital was later renamed as Jejungwon and coalesced into a medical college while Dr. O.R. Avison, a professor at the University of Toronto Medical School, headed the medical curriculum. This marked not only the birth of Yonsei University but also the beginning of modern medical education in Korea. Jejungwon admitted its first class of 16 medical students one year after its

[4] In 1885, there was only one higher education institution, Seonggyungwan, where teachings were mainly in Chinese classics aimed at preparing students to pass the civil service exam to enter government service.

establishment. By 1899, Jejungwon Medical School was an independent, officially recognized institution. In 1904, through a large donation from the American philanthropist Louis Severance, the school was renamed into Severance Medical College. By 1912, the school began to receive medical staff, school faculty, and financial support from the Union Council of Korean Missionaries. Around this time, more colleges were being formed by missionary endeavors. One of these was established in 1915 by Horace Grant Underwood as Chosun Christian College, the first private college in Korea with programs in the humanities, mathematics, physics, business, agriculture, and theology. In 1917, the school was renamed to Yonhi College as it merged with Severance Medical College to form Yonhi University, with Underwood serving as the university's first president.

Ewha Womans University[5] traces its roots to the Ewha Mission School for Girls that opened as a counterpart to the Paechae School for Boys. It is particularly noteworthy that missionaries advocated for female education. A girls' school was a contradiction to all the inherited ideas of Korea of that day, and conditions for female education were lacking (H. H. Underwood, 1926). However, rather than modeling Korean girls into Western women, Mary F. Scranton asserted about the students, "They, the girls, are not being made over again after our foreign way of living. […] We take pleasure in making Koreans better Koreans only. We want Korea to be proud of Korean things, and more, that it is a perfect Korea through Christ and his teachings" (*The Gospel in All Lands*, 1888, p. 373). Missionaries who worked alongside Scranton added that "the aim is to develop [the girls] in such ways as to make them model

[5] According to an article entitled "Ohaebanneun Hakgyo Yeongmun Pyogi, 'Womans' University [The Misunderstood School English Name, 'Womans' University]" in *The Ewha Weekly* (March 9, 2009) by Jeonghi Jo, Ewha Womans University is the correct spelling. The choice to use the singular "woman" in the university's name has a special origin. The school's early founders believed that each and every woman is worthy of respect and therefore avoided lumping students together under the word "women." The addition of the "s" effectively recognizes the plural body of enrolled women.

housewives under the conditions in which they must pass their lives and to make them missionaries of the Cross among their relatives and associates" (G. W. Gilmore, 1892, p. 300). Because the school created an unorthodox practice of educating Korean women, recruiting students became the school's biggest obstacle. The school opened with only one student, and by 1888, only seven students were enrolled, all of whom were orphans or from poor families (M. F. Scranton, 1896). Though the goal of women's education was to bring them out of the home to attend school only to return home to fulfill their traditional roles as mothers and housewives, the efforts of missionary education to include women in the public sphere, albeit temporarily, were a revolutionary milestone in Korean society.

Beyond establishing the first accessible schools in Korea, Christian missionaries also arranged for Koreans to study in the United States. Part of this early group of Koreans who studied in the United States in the period before 1910 include Yu Gilchun and Seo Jaepil. Yu and Seo, along with their successor Chu Sigyeong, became the first "language entrepreneurs" (R. King, 1998) of Korea by inducing structural changes in the everyday use of language from Chinese to Korean script for the purpose of spreading literacy to all classes of people.

For over a millennium until the late nineteenth century, the language situation in Korea was one of diglossia whereby people used Korean as the spoken language but that only an educated elite used Classical Chinese as the written language.[6] Diglossia refers to a sociolinguistic situation in which two or more languages are used by a society whereby one is considered superior to the others. The high language is perceived as more advanced and hence reserved exclusively for education, literature, government, religion, and other forms of public

[6] However, this description is a simplification of the actual linguistic situation in Korea at that time. There were a variety of linguistic practices when the Korean script was used, such as in Chinese poetry that was "vernacularized" into the Korean script (P. Kornicki, 2008), which suggests a more complex historical narrative than one of inevitable diglossia (S. Wang, forthcoming, 2014). However, for purposes of describing the general linguistic situation in Korea during the Joseon era within this chapter, the term diglossia should suffice.

functions. In contrast, the low language is devalued as vulgar and not worthy of study, even if it is the native language of the populace for colloquial purposes. When Koreans came into contact with Chinese civilization, the Chinese script was adopted in the absence of any native Korean script, resulting in an elite class of highly educated Koreans proficient in the Chinese script as early as the fifth century AD (Yu Cho, 2002). However, in no time in Korean history did spoken Chinese dominate, and this unique diglossic situation led to a large population of Koreans who were illiterate.

Yu Giljun (1856-1914) was one of the first Koreans to study in Japan, where he enrolled at Keijō University in 1881, and then left for the United States the following year to study mathematics at The Governor's Academy in Massachusetts. He returned to Korea in 1883 when he was asked by one of Korea's leading activists and modernizers to help launch Korea's first newspaper. That same year, Yu published the first inaugural edition written in a new mixed style composed of Korean and Chinese scripts, and this was the first official document to be written in this way. Yu further established this style, known as the *gukhanmun* style, as the standard written style of Korean affairs. By 1886, three newspapers published under the printing auspices of Yu were running their publications in the *gukhanmun* style. He continued to favor this style following the 1894 Gabo Reforms. In 1895, Yu published the *Joseon Munjeon*, the first grammar book of Korean, and in 1909, published the *Daehan Munjeon*, a more detailed supplement and revision to his previous work.

Seo Jaepil (1864-1951) attended the Paechae School and also studied in Japan in 1883. He then returned to Korea the following year when his involvement in the failed coup d'etat of 1884 led to his fleeing to the United States, where he graduated from George Washington University School of Medicine in 1893. In 1895, he returned to Korea after charges of treason

were dropped and, in 1896, quickly secured government backing for a new newspaper called the *Dongnip Sinmun* (*The Independent*). This newspaper was the first to publish entirely in Korean script as opposed to the mixed script style of Yu Giljun's publications. The justification behind this move was to further spread literacy to all classes of people, and his radical call to eliminate the Chinese script influenced subsequent language reforms.

Chu Sigyeong (1876-1914) was also quite influential in Korea's language reforms, though he did not have much overseas experience. He was educated at the Paechae School for Boys and was a kind of mentee to Seo Jaepil. Chu believed that the phonetic writing system of the Korean script was the only true writing system and that writing systems of characters like the Chinese script were at best pictures and thus cannot be validated as a quotidian writing system because it requires the belabored learning of thousands of pictures over many years of wasted studying that was responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the masses (R. King, 1998). In a series of essays, he argues for the creation of a phonetic dictionary, a left-to-right writing system (as opposed to the traditional right-to-left, top-to-bottom order), and the necessity for a national language and script, many of which were published in the *Dongnip Sinmun* (*The Independent*). His views matured into a philosophy of language and nation that gave equal stress to the instrumental and symbolic functions of language in society, and his philosophy became pivotal in the future direction that Korea was to take in regards to nationalism and language planning (R. King, 1998).[7]

The late Joseon period was a time of great change in Korean society. Because the dynasty had experienced a long period of peace and prosperity, the military had fallen into a neglected state, and the Royal Government feared being next in line to succumb to Western Imperialist

[7] In fact, Ross King (1997) argues that Chu Sigyeong's philosophy was instrumental in defining North Korea's language policies that emphasize purism by actively eliminating Sino-Korean and other foreign words from its vocabulary.

forces by following the paths of China and Japan. Subsequently, by 1886, the Royal Government had signed treaties with Britain, Germany, Russia, France, and Italy to negotiate its status under the pressured opening of its ports. There was also much internal unrest brewing between an anti-foreign movement and a pro-Western movement that took political battle in Korea's reform measures. Some Koreans wanted to preserve their isolation and reject Western encroachment, while other Koreans insisted that to survive as an independent entity meant having to adopt contemporary Western practices. At the same time, under a wave of severe famines, Korean peasants staged massive uprisings against the Royal Government that gave rise to the Donghak Peasant Revolution of 1894 that embraced the humanistic ideas of class struggle. The Royal Government responded to the uprisings with the passing of the Gabo Reforms, which formally abolished the social status system, slavery, and the civil service exams. The reforms also sought to restructure all areas of Korean government and society. Most notably, it marked the end of the dynastic model of education for an elite segment of society and opened recruitment of government positions to men from all backgrounds regardless of their social status through a merit system. In effect, the reforms and the subsequent abolition of social discrimination led to the legitimacy of a wide source of learning opportunities, including missionary education, for all classes of people and raised the prestige of previously subordinate areas of training, including foreign language training, law, commerce, medicine, economics, history, and politics (K. M. Hwang, 2005). Ambitious Koreans with aspirations for government office in the new political order found avenues for social mobility through missionary education.

But the early American missionaries brought more than just a new curriculum for Koreans. They also brought modern scientific methods and contributed to the theory of teaching. Missionary education also embraced the importance of manual skills and consequently

emphasized the natural sciences and industrial education (G. L. Paik, 1973). Less tangibly, but more importantly, missionary education also brought Western democratic values of humanism, individual rights, representative government, and primacy of law. At the same time, missionary education emphasized Korean language and tradition so as to stimulate a pro-Korean attitude. This new awareness of democratic ideology and Korean pride became the nurturing ground for egalitarianism and unification of the masses as the Royal Government crumbled and sought to reform Korean government and society. Over time, more missionaries from America, Canada, and Australia established schools throughout Korea. Between 1885 and 1910, missionaries had established a total of 796 schools from the elementary to college levels, and this accounted for about thirty-five percent of the entire number of formal schools in Korea (I. Sohn, 1987). Western education and therefore Western ideas began to take root in Korean thought and culture. The fall of Joseon dynastic rule and the introduction of missionary education is significant in that it introduced progressive ideas into Korean society that would greatly influence its social trajectory. The new interest in and appreciation for modern mass education combined and evolved with a new era of modernization in Korea.

COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM

With a new era of modernization emerged a complex process of constructing Korea's national identity, and the newly emergent Korean nationalism was critical in launching a movement for national sovereignty during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). Japanese colonialism profoundly affected the development of Korean nationalism during the early twentieth century. As the only non-Western imperialist empire, Japan differed from its Western counterparts in major ways. The Japanese empire was essentially an "Asian" empire with Taiwan and Korea as

its most important colonies because they shared a racial and cultural heritage with Japan. This sense of cultural affinity with its subject peoples deeply shaped Japanese attitudes and policies towards its colonies (M. R. Peattie, 1984). Japan believed itself to be in support of pan-Asianism as a counterpart to the West, and the notion of Asianism was used by the Japanese to 'protect' East Asia from the cultural and political invasion of the West. As Asianism was the modernist discourse that assumed that Japan was the most modernized and therefore the most superior, this justified Japanese expansion throughout East Asia (D. Ham, 1993).

Colonial policies in Taiwan and Korea were largely similar, except that the conditions of rule were different largely through their education policies (E. P. Tsurumi, 1977; 1984). While there was already considerable Japanese influence in the Korean school system prior to the colonial period,[8] the Japanese created an education system in Korea whereby its primary purpose was to serve the needs of the Japanese empire. As a result, a pattern of tension emerged between the Korean public and the Japanese-run state.[9] Because the purpose of Japanese colonial education was not to provide training and preparation of Koreans for professional or administrative positions but to make them loyal subjects of Japan, oppressive education policies were imposed at the beginning of colonial rule (M. J. Seth, 2002). The Education Ordinance of 1911 was a comprehensive outline for a system of Korean education that was intended to reshape the school system for colonial education. There would be two education systems, one for Japanese residents and another for Koreans. The Japanese residents were to receive the same

[8] The Japanese influence on Korean education prior to 1910 was significant. Many Korean education reformers spent some time in Japan and maintained close contacts with Japanese education reformers. Japan was also a model for a younger generation of Koreans. By 1894, a large number of Japanese merchants appeared in Korean cities and, in some cases, established Japanese schools (M. J. Seth, 2002).

[9] Some scholars argue that Korea was resistant to colonial rule because of its pre-colonial education legacy whereby unique education policies already existed before the colonial period in various forms: claiming the cultural purity of Korea, favoring private education for the sake of national consciousness, and emphasizing that the Japanese way is not the only way to modernize (Y. Lee, 2000). However, the idea that Koreans were totally resistant and not at all complicit in the colonization of their country is a contested issue.

education using the same curricula as in Japan. At the time, the Japanese education track consisted of six years of primary schooling, five years of secondary or technical schooling, and three years of college or higher technical schooling. For Koreans, primary schooling was limited to four years of common school whereby upon completion the Korean student could attend four years of higher common school or four years of industrial school.

Despite the Japanese administration's efforts to expand government-sponsored schools to swiftly assimilate the populace into the colonial rule, most Koreans still favored private schools at the post-primary level (E. P. Tsurumi, 1984). Throughout the 1910s, the Japanese authorities frequently reported instances of the private school problem in Korea. Terauchi Masatake, the Governor-General of the time, argued that the private schools encourage independence and incite rebellion against the Japanese empire (E. P. Tsurumi, 1984). Japanese colonialists were particularly suspicious of the curriculum and instruction in the mission schools that used the Korean language as the medium of instruction and taught ideologies of freedom and self-determination. Constant pressure was placed on mission schools for their instructors to be proficient in Japanese, and a series of strict regulations and organizational requirements made it increasingly difficult to open new mission schools. However, the Japanese delayed the Education Ordinance on mission schools for up to ten years in order to avoid a diplomatic incident with the United States (M. J. Seth, 2002). But eventually, the Japanese also tightly regulated the mission schools. Because it was a matter of acquiescing or leaving, the mission schools reluctantly conformed to the new government standards in order to protect their institutions (J. Fisher, 1970). Smaller institutions were especially hit hard due to the stringent requirements, and many were forced to shut down. The first decade of colonial rule saw a large drop in the number of private

institutions: mission schools fell from 823 in 1909, to 279 in 1920; other private schools fell from 1,300 to 410 during the same period (M. J. Seth, 2002).

Yet the Korean national spirit remained, and the propensity for rebellion erupted in 1919 when Koreans held a nation-wide independence movement that lasted for approximately two months. Although the movement failed in its objective to achieve Korean independence, the movement was successful in that it stimulated a broad base of anti-Japanese support that the movement lacked prior to 1910 (M. E. Robinson, 1988). Following the violence of the independence movement, the Japanese inaugurated a softer policy that aimed at gaining the cooperation of moderate nationalist leaders by issuing the Education Ordinance of 1922. The ordinance extended elementary education from four to six years, extended secondary education from four to five years, and added a three-year college preparatory or advanced technical school—while combining all post-primary facilities of both Koreans and Japanese into one system.[10] Private schools were also permitted to teach religion and allowed the use of Korean language and special subjects related to Korean culture. However, all textbooks and teachers still had to be approved by the Bureau of Education, and Japanese language, history, geography, and ethics were required subjects at all levels.

At the tertiary level, the Japanese opened Keijō Imperial University[11] in 1926 that became the only legitimate university in Korea while downgrading all other established institutions to three-year, non-degree-granting institutions. This was primarily done as a political maneuver to undercut Korean nationalists who were collecting funds for a private People's

[10] While the new policy promised a basic principle of separate but equal at the primary school level, in reality the schools designated for Koreans were poorly funded, inferior in quality, and insufficient in number for the growing demand for education. And while a Korean student could attend a Japanese school beyond the primary level, in practice relatively few were admitted—though admission to secondary schools became more common in the 1930s (Y.-i. Kim, 1984).

[11] At the end of WWII, Keijō Imperial University was renamed to Gyeongseong Jeguk University but closed by US Military Ordinance in 1946. It later merged with nine other colleges to become Seoul National University. It is currently the medical campus of Seoul National University.

University (C. J. Eckert, K.-B. Lee, Y. I. Lew, M. Robinson, & E. W. Wagner, 1990; M. E. Robinson, 1988). Keijō Imperial University followed a centralized governance system and limited its admissions to a narrow segment of the Korean population. The political motive behind this reform was to suppress Korean nationalism and substitute it with an indoctrination of the Korean elite with Japanese nationalism. Since the Japanese state invested little in higher education for Koreans, private institutions were the most influential at the tertiary level. The Japanese viewed these private colleges with suspicion, and most were eventually shut down. The ones that survived owed their existence in large part to the protection of missionaries.

Koreans also used higher education as a tool for political resistance. Shortly after the Korea-Japan Protocol was signed in 1904 that was a precursor to Japanese rule, Korea University was established in 1905 (originally as Bosung College) by Lee Yongik. Lee went into exile shortly after the university's establishment to lead the resistance movement against Japan while Sohn Byunghee, a leader of the Korean nationalist and religious movement *Cheondogyo*,[12] took over the management of the institution. During this time, Korea University became a symbol of national pride for Korean sovereignty, with its faculty members and students especially active in the resistance movement.

The resistance movement of the 1920s produced a diverse group of Korean activists. Some former nationalists cooperated with the Japanese during the 1920s, accepting their occupation as inevitable and perceiving the 1919 failed uprising as a defeat. Others advocated working within the political limits of the colony to create a gradual program of education and economic development as the basic framework for future national independence. Radical

[12] *Cheondogyo* (Heavenly Way) is based on the nineteenth century *Donghak* (Eastern Learning) movement. It combines elements of Korean Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, shamanism, and some Christian influences. Following the persecution of *Donghak* members by the Japanese colonial government, Sohn Byunghee decided to modernize the *Donghak* religion by renaming it to *Cheondogyo*.

nationalists formed anti-colonialist alliances with communist groups.[13] The common goal was to establish Korea as a modern nation-state based on pride in its past and hope for its future.

Korean awareness of its language and writing system evolved and reached its peak through the resistance movement. After the failed independence movement of 1919, there was an even stronger sense of urgency in developing and preserving a national language. During the 1920s, when there was a burgeoning of literary works and a revitalization of the vernacular press, cultural production involved the publication of articles on politics, social problems, and international events stemming from a previous cultural policy of censorship under Japanese rule. Koreans pushed the limits in the publishing world through trial and error attempts, and offensive editorials were repressed and recovered, seized and redistributed. Two nationalist newspapers emerged in 1920, the *Dong-A Ilbo* (*East Asia Daily*) and the *Chosun Ilbo* (*Korea Daily*), that became the major foci of political and social life in the colony. The new papers marked a substantial leap forward in that they were well financed, supported by the sale of public stock, and distributed in the tens of thousands that far exceeded the circulation of their pre-colonial predecessors such as the *Dongnip Sinmun* (Robinson, 1988). Modern culture also flourished through the publication of novels, short stories, political essays, international news, and political cartoons. Politically, the new press took on the roles of spreading advanced ideas in the colony and representing the nation as a spokesman (Robinson, 1988). The inaugural edition of the *Dong-A Ilbo* (*East Asia Daily*) announced the paper's intention to represent *minjung* (the people) and to encourage the spread of *munhwa chui* (cultural development). The leading newspapers

[13] The anti-colonial communist movement of the 1920s grew throughout the 1930s but eventually divided between differing goals: to establish an independent capitalist nation, or to establish an anti-imperialist socialist nation. The difference intensified during the period of heavy Japanese militarization in the 1940s, eventually contributing to a split in North and South Korea (P. H. Lee, 1993).

extolled the virtues of the Korean script, although they continued publishing in the mixed script style.[14]

The link between ethnicity and nation was certainly advanced during the colonial period. One particular nationalist historian, Shin Chaeho (1880-1936), published two seminal works that laid out the *minjok* (ethnic nation) linear history of Korea, *Doksa Sillon* (*A New Reading of History*) and *Joseon Sanggosa* (*Ancient History of Korea*). The *Doksa Sillon* was published serially in the *Chosun Ilbo* and finally published into a book in 1908. The *Joseon Sanggosa* was also published serially in the *Chosun Ilbo* and finally published into a volume in 1948. Shin's identification of *minjung* (the people) as the ones who would carry out the revolution that would free Korea from Japanese rule and Shin's tracing of Korean history as that of a unitary race formed the idea that there is an essential racial unity to the history of a nation that can be traced back thousands of years (J. M. Allen, 2001). This was in stark contrast to the Confucian perspective of historical legitimacy maintained in the *Samguk Sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*), which emphasized Korea's links with the Chinese emperors, and instead pushed towards a new emphasis on the *Samguk Yusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*), which gave initial prominence to the Dangun Wanggeom as the legendary founder of the first Korean kingdom and the indigenous progenitor of the Korean race (A. Schmid, 2002).

It is in this sense that Korea as *minjok* came to be a modern construct that mobilized a more democratic and more inclusive form of political action against Japanese rule, especially as the status distinctions between *yangban* (aristocracy), *jungin* (middle people), *sangmin* (commoners), and *cheonmin* (base people) were blurring. The concept of "Korea" as a nation-state would have been both strange and uncivilized to the ruling classes in the pre-colonial era as anything outside the realm of Chinese culture was considered barbaric (C. J. Eckert et al., 1990).

[14] This ambiguous use of mixed script continues to exist today in South Korea.

However, organizing movements for independence, self-strengthening, and human rights found the *minjok* concept an effective political tool to create an imagined Korean identity when the Korean people held the most loyalty to their clans and family lineages, and this new generation of political activists felt the need to redefine Korea in terms of internal homogeneity and external autonomy (H. H. Em, 1999). Benedict Anderson (1983/1991) would argue that such ties would have been "imagined as a community" because, regardless of actual inequality, the nation is always conceived as a "deep, horizontal comradeship." The role of Korean education and language accorded within the framework of *minjung* (the people) and *minjok* (ethnic nation) as consciousness of the masses and of ethnic solidarity required a national language via education that embodied the new national identity. What may be called Koreanism thus emerged as the Korean national consciousness embraced the ideas of pride in the nation as a consequence of colonialism.

But by the 1930s, Koreanism was abruptly shut down by the Japanese. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese became fearful of Koreans studying their own past for fear that it would provoke nationalist sentiments. Thus, the Governor-General established the Education Ordinance of 1938 that revised the structure of Korean education once again. Japanese was established as the language of instruction. Japanese history, geography, and ethics became required subjects. Textbooks and school curricula had to be approved by the Bureau of Education. All of Korea's teachers colleges were shut down. Private schools were placed under the supervision of the Bureau of Education and were only allowed to continue operating if the Japanese language was used along with Korean. By 1941, all Korean language instruction was prohibited in schools and even as casual use on school grounds (M. J. Seth, 2002). What effectively happened was a policy of forced assimilation, or Japanization,

throughout the 1930s and 1940s. However, in order to reinforce the power relationship over Korea, assimilation of Koreans was equated with cultivation of loyalty to Japan and keeping Koreans in a permanent position of colonial inferiority (S.-Y. Pak & K. Hwang, 2011). Subsequent Education Ordinances further prohibited Korean language and emphasized technical education by shortening school tracks for Koreans. Particularly during the war years, colonial education policies in Korea became so harsh that Korea resembled more of a military camp than a colony.

EXPANSION AND PRIVATIZATION

Following Korean independence in 1945, American influences took significantly more direct avenues of influence in South Korea via US military involvement. The primary goal of US military involvement was to help South Korea establish an independent democratic nation, and the education system was regarded as one of the critical areas needed to dispel remnants of Japanese colonialism. The United States established a military government (1945-1948) and adopted a clear strategy for reshaping Korean education. First, the strategy entailed the immediate reopening of all schools that were shut down during the colonial period. After the reopening of all schools, the military government then sought to reorganize the entire education system. To administer education reforms, the military government set up a dual structure of authority with Americans assuming the key administrative posts and Korean counterparts who acted as advisers. In 1945, the military government established the National Committee on Educational Planning (NCEP) whose purpose was to develop the Korean education system based on democratic values. The military government affected the development of Korean education in

two important ways: reorganization and expansion of the entire education system, and changes in the education curriculum.

The military government sought to reorganize and expand the entire education system. The most significant step in reorganization of was to transform it into the 6-3-3-4-year system based on the American model: six years of primary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and four years of college. The NCEP also recommended that the dual system of vocational and academic (university-bound) secondary schooling be abolished for a single track that would be aligned with the principle of equal opportunity of a democratic society, though there was subsequent pushback to this reform. At the primary and secondary levels, the most dramatic increases in enrollment happened during the three-year occupation by the US military government because of the idea of universal education as a basic right and because of pent-up social demand during the colonial period (M. J. Seth, 2002). Some sources estimate that the percentage of children attending primary school increased from below forty percent to over seventy percent during the three-year period (N. F. McGinn, D. Snodgrass, Y. B. Kim, S.-b. Kim, & Q.-Y. Kim, 1980). While only a privileged elite received a secondary education prior to 1945, within two years the number of secondary schools grew from 62 to 250 with enrollment increasing by six times (B. H. Nam, 1962). As for higher education, in 1945 there were 19 higher education institutions enrolling a little over 3,000 students, but by the end of 1947, there were 29 higher education institutions enrolling over 20,000 students. Additionally, the literacy rate for women rose from an estimated 20 percent for women and 25 percent for men to an official combined rate of 71 percent by the end of 1947.[15] The military government encouraged

[15] Statistics from the Summation of the U.S. Army Military Government Activities in Korea, USAMGIK (1945-1948).

education and placed no major impediments to its growth to accommodate the burgeoning population of students.

The second development facilitated by the military government involved substantial changes in the curriculum. Democratic values were encouraged when defining objectives in the content of education, and Korean history, geography, and literature assumed a central role in the curriculum. New teacher preparatory schools and teachers colleges were opened in order to address the shortage of Korean teachers. Most significantly, the Koreanization of education was carried out with great zeal through its textbooks. Korean language was designated as the medium of instruction, and the National Language Purification Committee (NLPC) was established in 1946 to set guidelines for the publication of textbooks and for general written materials in Korean. Textbooks that had been written in Japanese were replaced with Korean ones. Books were also translated and included a suitable national history that taught democratic values.[16] With American aid, thirteen million textbooks were printed and distributed between 1945 and 1948.[17]

Perhaps because the measures by the military government to transform the education system were done so swiftly and efficiently, little was actually done during the American occupation period to substantially put the ideas of democratic education into practice or to implement reforms proposed by the NCEP. American teaching methodology had little impact on Korean teaching. Furthermore, Americans did not radically depart from the culture of schooling established by the Japanese so that Korean classes remained teacher-centered and textbook-focused. This is partly due to the brevity of the US occupation, partly due to the expediency of

[16] Naturally, many books were rapidly written given the short time period of reform, and many of these were merely translations from American texts. However, they served as suitable provisional arrangements during the period of military government (M. J. Seth, 2002).

[17] Statistics from the Summation of the U.S. Army Military Government Activities in Korea, USAMGIK (1945-1948).

using existing schools from the inherited system, and partly due to the military government's concern with maintaining political stability in fear of communist subversion. Indeed, education became entangled in a political struggle between the left and right, particularly over the division of the two Koreas following World War II. Almost immediately after the start of military occupation, many student organizations showed sympathy for communist and other radical movements and maintained deep hostility towards the military government. Student demonstrations against authority had appeared sporadically under the Japanese and now became a chronic symptom of the American occupation—so much so that the military government officially banned student protests. Additionally, while the military government struggled with student unrest, it also sought to root out subversive elements amongst teachers. Worried about communist influences in schools, the military government closed all teacher organizations and arrested hundreds of teachers suspected to have communist sympathies.

Despite the failure to form an entirely new education system, there was still an incredible spread of education throughout the population during the reform period. There was an exuberant rush to education that took place once restrictions on educational opportunity had been removed, and this burst of enthusiasm translated to hundreds of private institutions at the primary, secondary, and higher education levels. Individual Koreans also organized literacy campaigns and travelled throughout the countryside to set up informal schools that taught basic literacy. Other types of institutions, including informal night schools and educational foundations, appeared rapidly. Though the military government encouraged and assisted mass education, the USAMGIK could hardly keep up with the new demand for education, hence spurring the massive private movement that characterizes South Korea's current education landscape. As a

result, education statistics for these years are highly inconsistent and make it difficult to gauge the actual magnitude of education expansion (M. J. Seth, 2002).

The most significant difference between the Japanese model and the American model that influenced the education system in Korea is the greater emphasis on access to the upper levels of education. The former adopted an elitist approach by limiting higher education to a narrow segment of the population. During the reform period, the question of how open the education system should be at the higher levels became the central issue of education law. Many policymakers were older members of government who had received their higher education in Japan or in Korea under Japanese rule. They sought to align Korea's education system with the needs of the economy through shorter schooling and more vocational training, and believed that technical education was the key to Korea's successful modernization. Proponents of dual-track secondary schooling cited the case of Germany, where the bifurcation of secondary education between the *Realschule* and the *Gymnasium* was touted as an example of professional excellence and a realistic approach to schooling (M. J. Seth, 2002). Eventually, a dual-track education system was adopted that separated students with academic versus vocational aspirations during their secondary schooling. The secondary schools then divided students amongst academic, technical, agricultural, and fishery schools. However, students from any secondary school could be allowed to sit for the university entrance exam, and all students took a common core of courses that would prepare them for these exams. Though the purely egalitarian model was passed over, the final outcome reflected support for the concept that education should be uniform and broadly accessible inasmuch as access to higher education was expanded and supported.

Much research has been conducted on the rapid expansion of the schooling system in connection with South Korea's economic development (I. Jeong & J. M. Armer, 1994; M.-L. Lee,

B.-C. Liu & P. Wang, 1994) and in connection with South Korea's broad cultural dedication to education (C. W. Sorensen, 1994; M. J. Seth, 2002). The ideals of American education were a strong influence on the rapid expansion and privatization of education during the occupation period, particularly in the primary and secondary levels. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the United States invested heavily in educational aid programs to South Korea that were a substantial influence in expanding its higher education sector. The aid programs ranged from educational missions, teacher-training workshops, faculty exchanges, and coordination of the curriculum of select Korean universities with that of American universities. Between 1953 and 1967, the United States invested over $19 million in Korean aid programs, and a total of 2,883 Koreans received advanced training in the United States and other Western countries (H. W. Dodge, 1971). It is worth noting that the principle behind aid programs was based on the following statement quoted in selected documents between 1941 to 1951 by the American Foreign Policy: "The object of the Aid program is to ensure nations to maintain freedom and national integrity under the threat of aggression by totalitarian states in accordance with the aspirations of the United Nations." Based on the Truman Doctrine, American aid in South Korea was carried out from the vested interest of the United States to spread democracy and curtail communism during an era of Cold War politics. Notwithstanding their political agenda, the leadership roles played by US-trained scholars at Korean colleges and universities extended into almost every aspect of administration, governance, financing, and curriculum development. Through the increased emphasis on higher education, aid programs reshaped existing colleges and universities and encouraged the rapid expansion of and enrollment in higher education institutions.

Since the mid-1960s, South Korea has achieved significant progress in the rapid expansion of its higher education system and is often heralded as one of the few developing countries to have achieved such rapid economic and social development.

Table 1.1
Expansion of Korean Higher Education, 1960-2010

Year	Number of Institutions[18]	% Increase	Enrollment	% Increase
1960	85	--	101,041	--
1965	199	134%	141,636	40%
1970	232	17%	201,436	42%
1975	287	24%	318,683	58%
1980	357	24%	615,452	93%
1985[19]	343	-4%	1,451,297	134%
1990	451	31%	1,691,681	17%
1995	694	54%	2,343,894	39%
2000	1,185	71%	3,363,549	44%
2005	1,436	21%	3,548,728	6%
2010	1,509	5%	3,644,158	3%

Source: Brief Statistics on Korean Education, MEST (1990-2012)

Along with the aid programs, a number of other factors can be attributed to the rapid expansion of higher education. One reason is the sharp rise in the birthrate in the decades after the Korean War leading to a large population of students. Another reason is the increased demand for higher education (J.-E. Chae & H. K. Hong, 2009), and in particular an increased demand in regions outside of the Seoul metropolitan area. New fields of study and promising job opportunities also stimulated the expansion of higher education. In the early stages of economic development in the

[18] Number of institutions includes all tertiary institutions, including graduate schools attached to four-year universities.

[19] Throughout the 1980s, we can see a drop in the number of higher education institutions because of shutdown by the government. Following the assassination of Park Chunghee in 1979 and takeover by the military regime of South Korea, the government closed many universities out of fear of uprisings by students, who were viewed as a powerful force of resistance against the military regime. Despite the reduction in the number of higher education institutions, student enrollment surged in the same period as students flocked to universities and forged alliances with workers, politicians, and other dissidents to protest against the government while using the university as the site of a counterpublic sphere (N. Lee, 2002; 2007).

1960s, South Korea achieved high economic growth through export-oriented industries guided by government support. By the 1970s, policy emphasis shifted to capital-intensive heavy industries. Government support for science and technology education increased, and enrollment in vocational schools expanded rapidly. But most importantly, the social attitudes of Koreans evolved so that it viewed a college degree as essential for upward social mobility, thus becoming the driving force behind the mushrooming of the higher education system.

THE FEVEROUS PURSUIT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Max Weber (1904/2012) identified property, prestige, and power as three elements that form an unequal social hierarchy. In South Korea, higher education seems to operate as the key element that brings social unevenness or inequities to contemporary society. A high level of education is regarded as the most reliable marker of high social status in South Korea. To explain this special emphasis on education, pundits advanced the notion of *gyoyukyeol* (education fever), which refers to the Korean people's extraordinary enthusiasm for education, consequently motivating students to become self-disciplined and high-achieving. In reality, it would be more apt to say that Koreans place such strong emphasis on higher education not because they are feverous for education per se but because higher education leads to a desirable lifestyle.

There are several ways to frame *gyoyukyeol* as a social phenomenon. As a positive trait, it can be viewed as a source of motivation for educational achievement (J. Han, 1998). Taking the negative view, *gyoyukyeol* has also been described as the extreme desire for academic accomplishment (W. Oh, 2000) and is responsible for the current education problems in South Korea (B. Jung, 2008). The social and cultural conditions that form *gyoyukyeol* can be traced back to early modern history, and the purpose of the historical descriptions in the previous

sections is to show how foreign ideas influenced the way Koreans conceptualize education in their society. The Western ideas that took root in Korean society in the late nineteenth century subsequently led to the end of dynastic rule. Once the social status system, slavery, and the civil service exam were formally abolished and government service became open through channels of merit rather than lineage, education became the primary way for ambitious Koreans to pursue socioeconomic success in the new social order. There was great hunger for education that provided the foundation for modern mass education, aided by the efforts of Western missionaries. When Japanese colonial policies led to the discriminatory education practices for Koreans, that hunger was abruptly cut short—and instead manifested itself in the form of criticism against the Japanese and radical nationalism. Many Korean nationalist intellectuals devoted themselves to education. The Japanese had downgraded all existing Korean higher education institutions to three-year, non-degree granting institutions and established Keijō Imperial University as the only legitimate university in Korea, which effectively undercut Korean nationalists who were collecting funds for a private People's University. The Japanese also restricted access to Keijō Imperial University to a very small segment of the Korean population. During this time, the university had become a symbol of prestige for upper class and upwardly mobile Korean families, but also a symbol of unfulfilled desire and resentment due to its restricted access. Following liberation and the civil war, Koreans once again pursued educational opportunities with renewed vigor. The speed and efficiency through which democratic education reforms were employed by the US military government that led to incredible growth in the education sector also led to the rapid privatization of the education sector because the military government could not keep up with the Korean people's burgeoning demand for education. Combined with the inability and reluctance of the US military government to impose substantial changes in the culture of

schooling leftover from the Japanese colonial period, Korean education developed in a way that retained many of the restrictive qualities that the Japanese had imposed, even though it developed and continues to develop in the spirit of democratic values. These historical influences provide the context through which *gyoyukyeol* becomes meaningful in contemporary education practices.

While the support and investment of Korean parents in their children's education can change according to their available resources and the systemic environment in the country, there are three principles of *gyoyukyeol* that exist across all environmental factors: (1) the primary motivation for *gyoyukyeol* is for economic rewards; (2) *gyoyukyeol* is a direct means for gaining social prestige; and (3) students seek matriculation to schools with the best reputations (J.-G. Lee, 2003). Within this framework, it is important to emphasize that higher education is first and foremost a tool for achievement rather than a form of intellectual development in itself. However, higher education is not just a path to earn more money but also a way to achieve a high social position. The level of educational attainment has considerable influence in the way Korean society regards a person, and this has profound effects in cultivating one's dignity. In fact, the better a person's educational credentials, also known as *hakbeol*, the more highly regarded that person becomes. Consequently, this becomes the source of Korean people's motivation to attend schools with the best reputations. On the one hand, attending prestigious schools inherently leads to high social status because of the highly regarded academic credentials. On the other, it connects people into exclusive school networks that give much better chances at obtaining jobs that reward greater sums of money, and in turn, these further contribute to their high social status.[20] Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1977/1990) would argue that one's *hakbeol*

[20] A study by Sunhwa Lee and Mary C. Brinton (1996) found that private social capital (social capital through a person's family and friends) alone does not necessarily lead to a high paying job in South Korea. Instead, it is

endows students with symbolic capital that becomes important in cultivating economic and social capital throughout the rest of their lives. Thus, the value of *gyoyukyeol* in Korean society builds from the economic and social benefits that contribute to and are contributed by the symbolic capital that a well-credentialed *hakbeol* would endow.

A large part of *gyoyukyeol* is the test-taking culture that characterizes Korean education today, and this can be traced back to the rapid expansion and privatization of the education sector. The rapid expansion of primary school enrollment in the 1950s resulted in an even larger bulge in the demand for secondary education in the 1960s and 1970s, making middle and high school entrance highly competitive. At the time, quality amongst secondary schools differed substantially by institution. Under these circumstances, education had become highly polarized, and parents often relied on private tutoring to prepare their children for the entrance exams. In a larger context, the Park Chunghee regime of the 1960s and 1970s did not make public expenditure on education a major priority because of the government's belief that citizens were willing to pay for their children's education, leading to the demand for extracurricular expenses, private tutoring, and a basket of other "financially onerous strategies" (M. Seth, 2012, p. 21). Thus, in order to sustain industrial and economic growth, the government abolished the middle and high school entrance exams in order to eliminate rank order amongst secondary education institutions and further increase enrollment. This began with the abolition of the middle school entrance exam in 1971[21] and then the high school entrance exam in 1974.[22] However, the university entrance exam remained intact, which formed the beginning of the social stigma

institutional social capital (social capital through a person's university) that increases the probability of obtaining a high paying job in South Korea.

[21] The government passed the July 15 Educational Declaration in 1968 that led first to the abolition of the middle school entrance exam in Seoul in 1969 and then the rest of South Korea in 1971. As a result, the 14 most prestigious middle schools were converted into high schools so as to preserve their entrance exam requirements.

[22] The government passed the High School Equalization Policy that led first to the abolition of the high school entrance exam in Seoul and Busan in 1972 and then the rest of South Korea in 1974. In their replacement, the government initiated a lottery system for admission to high school within a student's district of residence.

surrounding the university entrance exam as the one-chance exam that would determine a Korean student's future.

In the 1980s, entrance to higher education became increasingly competitive and characterized by an ever-widening income gap. The early part of this decade also saw a reversion of modernization whereby South Korea was taken over by a military government following the 1979 assassination of Park Chunghee. While the military government sought to take over and shut down universities that exhibited pro-democracy activities (N. Lee, 2002; 2007), it also sought to maintain Korea's industrial and economic progress through increased education levels. In 1980, the military government passed the 7.30 Educational Reform that was brought by the need to systematically expand enrollment in universities. This reform banned universities from administering their own entrance exams and instead introduced a uniform high-stakes exam administered to all university-bound students. The entrance quota was also increased to expand the number of new students that universities could accept each year. Furthermore, all university students and schoolteachers were prohibited from earning money by offering private tutoring of any kind. Though illegal private tutoring still happened in secret, the policy was, to a large extent, successful in that it curtailed the existence of institutionalized shadow education.[23]

This policy of uniformity continued throughout the 1980s. But during the 1990s, there was a growth of shadow education at the primary and lower secondary levels. The Kim Youngsam administration responded with a series of policies in 1997 that enhanced the quality of public education that was intended to absorb demand for shadow education into public education. However, in 1998, the Kim Daejung administration tried to further reform the education system to meet the needs of a newly democratic society and the challenges of a

[23] Shadow education is defined as fee-based lessons outside of school that provide supplementary instruction to academic subjects that will help prepare students for high-stakes exams administered in the public education system (M. Bray, 1999).

postindustrial economy. While the 7.30 Educational Reform effectively diminished private tutoring at the secondary level, what this policy indirectly resulted in was secondary schools keeping students for hours of extra study to prepare students for the university entrance exam. Lee Haechan, who was Minister of Education from 1998 to 1999, wanted to reform this authoritarian school culture by banning the self-study program that forced high school students to remain at school until 10 p.m. Lee banned secondary schools from keeping students beyond 4 p.m. and forced universities to reform their entrance systems so that the entrance exam score alone could no longer decide admittance, with a special emphasis on encouraging universities to consider students' exceptional talents in areas outside of academics. The intention was to give students more free time so that they could participate in activities outside of school and pursue individual interests, but this reform only created the opposite effect. What happened was that students were sent straight from secondary school to private institutions, where they remained until late at night. The difference between keeping students at school to study versus students pursuing extracurricular study is that the economics of a private education market significantly dictate the cost of these activities. The Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s also had a profound effect on the shadow education market. With the collapse of the financial system and the distrust of the government, parents, fueled by their own economic insecurity, began to invest heavily in their children's education to ensure their children's success in a hypercompetitive and unpredictable society. The weight of education shifted from the state to the market.

In 2000, the Korean Constitutional Court, ruling on the 7.30 Educational Reform of 1980, declared that the law prohibiting private tutoring was unconstitutional. The rationale to the court's decision was that this infringed upon parents' and students' individual rights. What this did was further the rise of shadow education in South Korea. The rise of shadow education has

led to the institutionalization of private cram schools, also known as *hagweons*, that has become de rigeur as part of the public education system. *Hagweons*, driven by capitalist profit-making, are particularly nefarious because they exploit middle class anxieties by promoting further pressure to excel onto students and their parents via word-of-mouth networking strategies and by convincing students of the value of institute education that will give them an advantage in their regular schooling. This further fuels anxiety in those students who are not yet attending by prompting them to believe that regular schooling provides inadequate or incomplete education (M. Kim, 2012). A series of policies has responded to the institutionalization of *hagweons* and the problems of shadow education in a variety of ways. In 2004, the Roh Moohyun administration attempted to curtail the amount of spending on shadow education by improving the quality of public education. This differed from the 1997 policies in that supplementary tutoring and afterschool programs were incorporated into public education, especially at the primary level. In 2009, the Lee Myungbak administration adopted policies that also tried to enhance the public education system through increased public school competition and accountability, admissions reform, and regulations on shadow education institutions. In particular, public schools were given greater autonomy with respect to teacher recruitment and curriculum operation, and student achievement was evaluated at the national level in order to ensure a minimum level of academic achievement. Private and special-purpose high schools[24] were required to consider middle school records and principals' letters of recommendation in an effort to diversify the criteria for student selection into elite high schools. Universities were also given more autonomy for their own student recruitment. This has resulted in a shift towards

[24] Private and special-purpose high schools are allowed to administer their own entrance exams and are generally highly competitive to enter. These high schools may focus on a specialization, such as science, art, or foreign languages, but primarily focus on sending their students to top universities.

considering a wider range of student selection criteria, including high school records, letters of recommendation, and extracurricular activities.

Today, one of the most important tasks of Korean education is to maintain an egalitarian model that prioritizes equality of educational opportunities. As access to educational opportunity, especially in the elite higher education tracks, has become highly stratified according to socioeconomic tiers, the government has passed a series of policy reforms to curb unfair competition. Unfortunately, the phenomenon of *gyoyukyeol* belies this task as Korean students and their parents pursue educational opportunities with tremendous zeal. Indeed, higher education attainment in South Korea is one of the highest in the world whereby 63 percent of 25-34 year-olds complete higher education—the highest amongst OECD countries (OECD, 2011). In fact, South Korea spends the highest on higher education amongst OECD countries at 2.51 percent of GNP—almost twice as high as the OECD average of 1.33 percent (S. Kim & J.-H. Lee, 2006). Furthermore, the higher education costs financed by private sources is by far the highest amongst OECD countries; only 16.7 percent of higher education costs are financed by public sources in South Korea, sharply below the OECD average of 77 percent (S. Kim & J.-H. Lee, 2006). And as higher education is aggressively pursued, shadow education has become increasingly more institutionalized while the financial burden of education costs has fallen onto Korean families. One study shows that the cost of shadow education has skyrocketed whereby expenditure on private tutoring during primary and secondary school accounted for 2.79 percent of GDP while tuition and fees for formal schools at the same educational levels accounted for 1.56 percent of GDP (K. Nam, 2007). Unfortunately, the economic ability of a household plays an important role in determining the level of private tutoring a student receives, and the students with the highest academic performance spend significantly more on private tutoring (S. Kim &

J.-H. Lee, 2010). Policy reforms have tried to address this problem in various measures, but each reform has had limited success in curbing shadow education and leveling education costs while some reforms have also had serious unintended consequences that exacerbate the problem. In South Korea today, attainment of higher education is highly determined by a family's socioeconomic background, and this occurs against the background of education policies that espouse equal opportunity. Indeed, South Korea presents a fascinating phenomenon whereby a democratic tradition is certainly not weakening but at the same time is thwarted by a market-driven education system that stems from the feverous pursuit of higher education rising out of Korean nationalism.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have shown two interrelated phenomena: (1) how Korean nationalism idealizes a democratic tradition that has guided the development of the Korean higher education system; and (2) how Korean nationalism also creates the feverous pursuit of higher education made more acute by a market-driven education system. The resulting tension is that the Korean higher education system must balance egalitarian and hierarchical pressures that both stem from Korean nationalism. Such a balancing act characterizes the domestic issues surrounding the development of international colleges in South Korea. But domestic issues are only one way to provide appropriate context. Tensions between different countries' higher education systems resulting from global competition are also relevant to understanding the issues surrounding development of international colleges in South Korea. I discuss such global issues and the role of Korean nationalism to those issues in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

FRAMING THE GLOBALIZATION DEBATE IN KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

In a continuing neoliberal trend in higher education reform, the Korean government has enacted a series of policy initiatives to recruit more foreign students as a means for generating more income for its universities that is a counterbalance to a shrinking population of domestic students. In effect, this policy shift underscores the need for Korean universities to improve institutional quality and to create campus settings that better accommodate foreign students. Indeed, higher education is undergoing substantial changes under globalization, and market forces are increasingly emphasized in educational decision-making. How to differentiate one's institution and in what ways global competitiveness can be enhanced have become increasingly important issues in higher education. Furthermore, worldwide massification and marketization have led to severe competition for funds, and thus, reform measures have evolved into predominantly a search for student markets domestically and abroad.

The purpose of this chapter is to connect the internationalization policies adopted by Korean universities to the broader discussion of globalization and higher education, especially as globalization gives rise not only to new economic dynamics but also to new social relations. While the terms "internationalization" and "globalization" have contested meanings, this chapter seeks to define such terms within the larger discourse of the internationalization of higher education. Specifically, this chapter offers a discussion of the market forces that create global competition in higher education, the contemporary landscape of student mobility in Asia as a product of global competition, the socioeconomic realities of South Korea that lead to specific

reforms in the higher education sector, contentious issues arising out of those reforms within Korean universities, and how the entire process relates to Korean nationalism.

The case of South Korea is indicative of what is happening throughout Asia, where competition for student markets has become more pronounced as Asian universities devise incentives and mechanisms for enhancing the inflow of foreign students. By examining South Korea's place in a global context, I reveal a local trajectory of a broader phenomenon whereby Asian universities respond and react to global competition in higher education. Global competition is certainly shaping higher education reform and student mobility trends in Asia. This phenomenon is clearly affecting higher education in South Korea, where universities are recruiting foreign students in order to remain competitive in a global landscape. Arising out of such reforms are contentious issues, specifically the rise of English as the academic lingua franca, the establishment of institutional standards that give preference to research-intensive universities, and a shift in governance models whereby university administrators are emerging as powerful decision-makers. Ultimately, the internationalization of higher education in South Korea is a measured response to the global competition phenomenon that is pursued through an aggressive search for student markets as a way to strengthen the Korean higher education sector, reflecting a larger phenomenon of increased Korean nationalism in response to globalization.

GLOBAL COMPETITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

As globalization has become the focal point of higher education, competition has become a central preoccupation. Competition is closely connected with a global free-market economy. Combined with the impact of globalization and the development of the global knowledge economy, these competitive forces have resulted in the global competition phenomenon that is

currently reshaping higher education. Many developments characterize the global competition phenomenon in higher education, including the rise of global university rankings, a continuing neoliberal trend of academic capitalism, declarations by nations to have a world-class university, and cross-border quality assurance practices.

Since the 1960s, higher education has been pushed towards worldwide massification, producing a diversified and complex academic environment (W. W. Y. Chan, 2004). The inevitable result of a massified and complex system is a ranking system. The first international ranking project was undertaken by Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education in 2003 with the title Academic Ranking of World Universities, followed by the *Times Higher Education*-QS World University Rankings that appeared from 2004 to 2009.[1] The *Times Higher Education* rankings differ from the Shanghai rankings in that it aims to put a British stamp on universities. The British claimed that the Chinese reports did not give the British the recognition they deserved. Both of these annual reports has "triggered the transformation of world higher education" (S. Marginson, 2010), first with national leaders in China, Germany, and France quickly initiating research and development policies that aimed to increase their higher education stature (E. Hazelkorn, 2008), and now with rankings influencing attitudes and behaviors to the point that every nation is now conscious of its global standing in higher education.

The Shanghai rankings focus on four indices related to research: (1) quality of education (the number of Nobel Prizes and Fields medals); (2) quality of faculty (the number of staff members who have won awards and the number of highly-cited researchers); (3) research output (papers published in top-ranked journals); and (4) per capita performance (adding weighted

[1] In 2009, *Times Higher Education* split with its original partner, Quacquarelli Symonds, and created a new ranking methodology whose citation database information is compiled in partnership with Thomson Reuters. Quacquarelli Symonds has continued to publish the QS World University Rankings. Currently, the Times rankings align more similarly to the Shanghai rankings and differ from the QS rankings in that they place less importance on reputation and heritage and give more weight to hard measures of research, teaching, and knowledge transfer.

scores of 1 to 3 and dividing by number of faculty members). The *Times Higher Education* rankings involve reviews by academics and employers, as well as university indicators such as faculty-student ratio and the number of citations per faculty member. Because the criteria used in the two rankings differ, they show quite different outcomes. When examining the top 100 institutions as they first appeared in the Shanghai and *Times Higher Education* rankings in 2003 and 2004, respectively, one can observe different results in the distribution of institutions by world region.

Table 2.1
Distribution of Top 100 in the Shanghai (2003) and THE (2004) Rankings

	Shanghai (2003)	THE (2004)
North America (USA)	64 (60)	38 (35)
Western Europe (UK)	28 (9)	35 (14)
Asia (Japan)	5 (5)	13 (4)
Australia	2	11
Other	1	3
	100	100

Though both rankings designate the highest ranked universities primarily in North America and Western Europe, within these groupings there is quite a difference. For example, UCLA was ranked 15th according to the 2003 Shanghai rankings and 26th according to the 2004 *Times Higher Education* rankings. Furthermore, the Shanghai rankings designate a much higher proportion of universities in the United States with 60 of the top 100 in the United States alone, while the *Times Higher Education* rankings have a broader distribution that encompasses North America, Western Europe, Asia, and Australia. It is clear that Asian universities have improved dramatically in recent years—for example, no Korean university ranked in the top 100 on either list when they first appeared, but now there are three Korean universities ranked in the top 100 in the 2012 *Times Higher Education* rankings—which reflects the rise of broader political and economic influence in Asia. On the other hand, one cannot find a single institution from Eastern

Europe, including Russia, on either list. This suggests that the geopolitical rise and decline of countries affects their institutions of higher education (L. M. Portnoi, S. S. Bagley, & V. D. Rust, 2010). In effect, these ranking are a byproduct of the global competition phenomenon; at the same time, they engender increased competition as universities clamor to make it to the top of the list, or to be represented at all.

A key feature in the global race is academic capitalism whereby knowledge is no longer a public good but a private commodity, higher education institutions are increasingly becoming suppliers and marketers of knowledge, and students are increasingly treated as customers of knowledge (S. Slaughter & G. Rhoades, 2004). In the evolving global system of higher education, being competitive becomes key, and global positioning is integral to competing with other nations and institutions (S. Marginson, 2006). Some scholars claim that universities are currently in a "reputation race" in which they compete for academic prestige (F. van Vught, 2008). Arguments have been made that "the more an individual university aspires to the top end of competition, the more significant global referencing becomes" (S. Marginson, 2006, p. 27). Universities, and the countries in which they are located, thus seek to project the best image possible in order to be poised to compete for research funding, the best and brightest students, and star faculty members. Moreover, there is gravitation towards an ideal type of institutional model, what Kathryn Mohrman, Wanhua Ma, and David Baker (2008) call the Emerging Global Model of the top stratum of research universities in the quest to reach world-class status.

Philip G. Altbach (2004a) said it best: "Everyone wants a world-class university. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one. Everyone, however, refers to the concept." The one thing we do know is that among the tens of thousands of universities in the

world, only a very few are world-class, and the most elite universities are located in a small number of countries. Still, higher education institutions, governments, and organizations compete to have their institutions reflected in the rankings. The one common outcome of the ranking systems is the tendency to establish a single set of criteria that shapes institutions. Because the ranking systems heavily weigh top scholarly output as a measure of institutional quality, the highest ranked institutions are the large research and development universities. Many countries are making large commitments to developing world-class universities through their research and development capability. For example, China's government policy is to create up to 39 world-class universities through the 985 Project that has provided participating institutions with generous funding to meet international standards of teaching and research. In other countries, competition is left to the institutions themselves. This hands-off, unregulated approach is a facet of free market economics that has encouraged competition on many levels in the higher education sector. Many of these countries are turning to private institutions to enhance their higher education status. The United Arab Emirates, for example, has chosen to import higher education programs and personnel from other countries, thus creating a "hybrid system in which rapid private provision is being encouraged and supported by governmental initiatives alongside the more modest expansion of federal institutions" (D. Kirk & B. B. Napier, 2010). Other hybrid public-private systems can be found in Kenya, Vietnam, and Malaysia (G. Wangenge-Ouma, 2010; A. Welch, 2010).

In this period of intense globalization, quality assurance has become a priority. The proliferation of institutions, the rapid expansion of students, the mobility of students in foreign parts, and other factors have forced policymakers to pay attention to accountability and quality. In the past, the major focus of most countries has been to increase access and enrollments. Now

the focus has begun to shift toward quality and achievement, not only amongst students but also amongst faculty members and administrators. However, because institutions are rapidly emerging that fall outside the normal boundaries of control whereby there is no mechanism for assessing these institutions, and because many countries have attempted or are attempting to establish accrediting agencies, these counties have turned to highly developed countries and their institutions to help define quality. Thus, quality assurance has become a contested issue. Some observers claim that it is nothing more than the cosmopolitan powers once again imposing their notions of quality on the rest of the world and universalizing the criteria by which quality is to be determined (I. Ntshoe & M. Letseka, 2010). This is made particularly acute as international forces confront local traditions when quality assurance standards involve a social as well as technical dimension (H. R. Gertel & A. D. Jacobo, 2010). Critics also point out that the reason countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom possess the most highly ranked universities stems from much larger socio-historical trajectories—histories, wealth, ability to attract top scholars and students worldwide, strong traditions of academic freedom, and academic cultures based on competition and meritocracy—and their significant head starts create centers and peripheries based on colonial legacy (P. G. Altbach, 2004b; 2009). Postcolonial criticisms aside, Western principles of quality and assurance often take the form of marketization of the university against the backdrop of international benchmarking and increased student mobility.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND STUDENT MOBILITY IN ASIA

Internationalization has become a premier topic of discussion in higher education. Jane Knight (2004; 2010), and Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2007), define internationalization not as synonymous to globalization but as choice-based actions and responses to globalization. These

scholars define globalization as the "economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement" (P. G. Altbach & J. Knight, 2007, p. 290). Internationalization, then, is the response to economic, political, and societal forces that refers to "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, function, or delivery of post-secondary education" (J. Knight, 2004, p. 11). The methods through which higher education institutions respond to globalization, and ultimately how they internationalize themselves, depends on the mission and competitive strategies an institution chooses to pursue (J. Knight, 2010).

Certainly, there are scholars who take a more holistic view of internationalization. Hans de Wit (2011) argues that the complexity of internationalization can refer to many things, including student mobility, curriculum-related changes, and intercultural competency, and therefore we should not conflate any one factor as synonymous with internationalization. However, Nelly P. Stromquist (2007) shows that while a basket of indicators can constitute the international qualities of an institution, under the name of internationalization, university administrators are emerging as powerful decisions-makers in recruiting faculty members and shaping academic content for the primary purpose of attracting greater numbers of students domestically and abroad, especially amongst private institutions that are more sensitive to global forces because they rely less on public institutions and more on tuition revenues. Furthermore, "competition for excellence leads to standardized norms of performance, both in quality and quantity of academic production" because students want academic programs that "promote their economic potential not their intellectual growth" and because faculty members "are becoming complicit in the ongoing transformations" (p. 101-102).

Asia has taken the internationalization agenda very seriously. International benchmarking by way of global university rankings is the commonly adopted approach to assess university performance. To become more internationalized, Asian universities have begun to change their teaching and learning strategies and to restructure their curricula. Instead of the conventional teacher-centered approach, Asian universities have tried to train students to become independent and self-directed learners in a broader attempt to prepare them for the challenges of globalization. In Hong Kong, for example, the University of Hong Kong now follows a common core curriculum that requires all undergraduate students to take six courses in four broad-based subject matters—humanities, global issues, Chinese culture, state, and society, and scientific and technological literacy—that was loosely modeled after the liberal arts curriculum in the United States (K. H. Mok & A. B.L. Cheung, 2011). Asian universities are also forming international exchanges and joint programs with Western counterparts. In fact, Chinese students have become the largest international student group in both the US and UK higher education systems. Chinese universities have also begun to adopt English as a medium of instruction alongside Standard Chinese. English mediated instruction can easily be found in other Asian societies like Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, and South Korea.

It is clear that internationalization is considerably shaping the student experience in Asia, and this cross-border transfer of pedagogical approaches can be referred to as transnational higher education. Futao Huang (2007) has identified three types of transnational higher education models: import-oriented, import-export, and transitional. The import-oriented type can be found primarily in developing countries such as Vietnam and Indonesia and is characterized by the seeking and accepting of Western academic norms through the importation of educational programs and institutions from Western countries. The import-export type can be found

primarily in emerging countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong and is characterized by the importation of foreign higher education activities from Western countries, on the one hand, and the exportation of their higher education activities to other Asian countries, on the other. The transitional type can be found primarily in China, Japan, and South Korea, where they import more foreign higher education activities than they export but have been making great efforts to export their own higher education activities to other countries and are thus transitioning between an import-oriented to an import-export type.

Meanwhile, dynamics of student mobility in Asia are also rapidly changing. For the past three decades, our observations of student mobility have been largely unidirectional: students from Asia going to North America or Western Europe for education, training, and degree acquisition. But things have begun to change. The number of students from Asian countries studying in other Asian countries reveals a sharp increase in student mobility within the region.

Table 2.2
Distribution of Study Abroad Destinations of Students from East Asia and the Pacific, 2007

Destination	%	Change in % Points Relative to 1999
Arab States	0.2%	-0.3
Central and Eastern Europe	1.3%	-0.4
Central Asia	0.4%	+0.3
East Asia and the Pacific	41.8%	+6.0
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.2%	+0.1
North America	33.0%	-10.0
Western Europe	22.9%	+4.4
South and West Asia	0.2%	-0.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	0%	0

Source: Global Education Digest, UNESCO (2009)

Over 40 percent of tertiary-level students from East Asia and the Pacific studying abroad chose to study within the same region in 2007, making intra-Asian study abroad the region with the

greatest flow of student mobility. On the other hand, the flow of students from Asia to North America has drastically decreased in the last decade.

Indeed, an emerging pattern of intra-Asian student mobility is now replacing the unidirectional one, and this has profound implications. These students shed a new light on center-periphery criticisms whereby an emerging multi-center is fast becoming the dominant model of student mobility. Asian universities are also being conceptualized as both global and Asian in a way that reconfigures the global in Asian terms. For example, in Singapore, the National University of Singapore approaches student life and educational practices to produce students who are "global citizens" alongside "perspectives from Asia" that is emphasized through an increasing number of institutional partnerships with other Asian universities and the active encouragement of students to go beyond traditional study abroad destinations of North America and Western Europe (F. L. Collins & H. K. Chong, 2012). While it may be true that the "Anglo-Saxon paradigms" (K. H. Mok, 2007; R. Deem, K. H. Mok, & L. Lucas, 2008; S. W. Ng, 2012) do drive the global standards by which Asian universities follow, there is more than simply the borrowing of knowledge and institutions from the West. There is certainly a special developmental dynamism that is playing out throughout most of Asia, where Western principles are not blindly adopted but consciously parlayed into something distinctively Asian, and this has created a hybrid model of higher education East and West. Based loosely on their Confucian education traditions, these Asian systems form a Confucian Model of higher education (S. Marginson, 2011) that is characterized by strong nation-state supervision and control, universal tertiary participation financed by private resources, social competition and university hierarchy, and public investment in research.

Meanwhile, as international student mobility grows rapidly within Asia, competition amongst universities for student markets has become more pronounced. This is because the net flow of students in Asia is still negative—meaning that the number of outbound students from Asia still exceeds the number of inbound students to Asia. Even the Four Tigers—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan—continue to send more students to developed and high-income countries than they receive. Although China has become a major host country for the international student market, the number of outbound students from China considerably exceeds the number of inbound students to China. Only Japan is the exception in Asia, where it has a positive net flow of students. While intra-Asian student mobility has increased, it does not mean that Asia no longer sends great numbers of students to North America and Western Europe. In fact, Asian countries may even stress the importance of sending their students overseas to Western societies to acquire advanced knowledge and then have them return home to benefit their human capital formation. At the same time, under the name of internationalization, Asian countries have begun to devise incentives and mechanisms for enhancing the inflow of foreign students; however, the source of inbound students is primarily limited to other Asian countries. What has resulted is that "Asian countries actually compete in the same larger pool" of Asia itself for student markets (S.-J. Chan, 2012, p. 25). And with the emergence of new players in the region (e.g. China, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea) and a lack of strategies to attract students from outside Asia, the competition within Asia for Asian students will only become more fierce. In fact, competition amongst universities even within the same country has become further intensified, especially in South Korea.

INTERNATIONALIZATION POLICIES IN SOUTH KOREA

Far from immune to the phenomenon, South Korea is fully adopting internationalization policies in the higher education sector in order to remain competitive in a global landscape. Beginning in the early 2000s, the Korean government introduced a series of policy initiatives to recruit more foreign students as a means for generating more income for its universities that was a counterbalance to a shrinking population of domestic students. The initiatives eventually led to the reconsideration of quality standards for education and research in the global competition phenomenon in higher education.

To understand the driving forces behind Korean internationalization policies requires an examination of the socioeconomic changes in the last couple decades. In 1995 when the World Trade Organization was established and included higher education services in its list of trade negotiations, what began was a clear shift in the future direction of higher education reform. South Korea internalized this neoliberal turn in higher education on a domestic level with the Kim Youngsam administration's 1995 education reform plan. The reform plan emphasized that universities as sources of knowledge production should become more market-oriented and closely aligned to the needs of the labor market (S.-I. Park, 2000). While the real workings of Korean university governance models did not change much at all, there was an increase in market-oriented rhetoric surrounding higher education—with symbolic keywords like higher education industry, consumer orientation, competition, and marketization—that represented a clear shift in the formal purpose of higher education in South Korea (K. Byun, 2008). Further pushing the neoliberal turn was the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s. In the wake of the crisis, the Korean government has attempted to minimize the country's educational trade deficit

by pursuing measures that discourage domestic students from studying abroad while encouraging foreign students to come study in South Korea.

Behind the neoliberal turn in higher education is the dramatic demographic shifts happening in South Korea. The driving force behind Korean internationalization policies is that South Korea is experiencing an overall decline in its higher education student population. This is primarily due to a continuing growth in Korean students going abroad for their higher education.

Table 2.3
Korean Students in Higher Education Overseas, 1991-2011

Year	Number of Students	% Change
1991	53,875	--
1993	84,765	57%
1995	106,458	20%
1997	133,249	20%
1999	120,170	-10%
2001	149,933	25%
2003	159,903	6%
2005	192,254	20%
2007	217,959	13%
2009	240,949	11%
2011	289,288	20%

Source: Brief Statistics on Korean Education, MEST (1990-2012)

Increasingly, a larger proportion of Korean students are going overseas for their undergraduate degrees whereas going abroad was traditionally undertaken by students who pursued their graduate degrees. Before, the perception of studying abroad for an undergraduate degree was that it was for academically weak students who were trying to escape the competitive education system in South Korea. However, this perception has by and large disappeared as the proportion of undergraduate-level overseas study has increased dramatically since the 2000s, a large portion of which consists of students who graduated from top Korean high schools. The primary reason

behind this shift is because of the increasing demand for foreign-degree holders and English-language speakers in the Korean job market (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011). The continuing increase in outbound undergraduate students, coupled with a falling fertility rate since the 1990s resulting in an overall decline in the college-age population, has forced Korean universities to recruit from overseas. As the domestic population of students is quickly declining, and the need to increase the inflow of students sharpened, the Korean government has adopted aggressive plans for foreign student recruitment as part of Korean internationalization strategies.

Government interest in inbound foreign students has resulted in two large-scale initiatives intended to substantially increase foreign student enrollment. The first initiative was the Study Korea Project launched in 2004 and continuing today that actively targets foreign student enrollment in Korean universities. The second initiative was the Brain Korea 21 Project that was phased in two periods—1999 through 2005, and 2006 through 2012—that internationalizes the research capacity of Korean universities and thereby indirectly increases foreign student enrollment. More recently, the Korean government has also launched a large-scale initiative for the internationalization of research and academic staff through the World Class University Project that was rolled out from 2008 to 2013.

The Study Korea Project is a push by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) that expands cooperation and exchanges between Korean and foreign universities in order to increase foreign student enrollment. In order to realize this objective, the Ministry has promoted government scholarships, improved the study and living conditions for foreign students, and focused on administrative support capabilities. The goal is to establish South Korea as the education hub of Northeast Asia through the following key policy tasks as indicated in the Study Korea Project 2007 report: (1) improve infrastructure for foreign students;

(2) foster foreign student recruitment networks abroad; (3) increase publicity on study opportunities in South Korea; and (4) establish an effective administration and support system. In conjunction with the fast-growing Asian student market, the project has resulted in unprecedented growth in foreign student enrollment in Korean universities.

Table 2.4
Foreign Student Enrollment in Korean Higher Education Institutions, 2000-2012

Year	Enrollment	% Change	Degree Program	Language/Other Program
2000	3,963	--	--	--
2001	4,682	18%	--	--
2002	5,759	23%	--	--
2003	12,314	114%	7,962	4,352
2004	16,832	37%	11,121	5,711
2005	22,526	52%	15,577	6,949
2006	32,557	45%	22,624	9,933
2007	49,270	51%	32,056	17,214
2008	63,952	30%	40,585	23,367
2009	75,850	19%	50,591	25,259
2010	83,842	11%	60,000	23,842
2011	89,537	7%	63,653	25,884
2012	86,878	-3%	60,589	26,289

Source: Brief Statistics on Korean Education, MEST (2000-2012)

The original goal of the project was to increase foreign student enrollment to 50,000 by the year 2010, but because this figure was nearly attained as early as 2007, a second round of the Study Korea Project was announced in 2008 with the goal of increasing enrollment to 100,000 by the year 2012. While the objective behind the first round of the Study Korea Project was to generate income from increased foreign student enrollment, by contrast the second round of the project places heavier emphasis on the human resource development aspects of attracting foreign students by developing ambassadors for South Korea who can contribute to future international

business and trade relations. Notably, of the foreign student population in South Korea, a high percentage is from other Asian countries, particularly from China.[2]

The Brain Korea 21 Project (hereinafter BK21 Project) was an initiative to internationalize the research capacity of Korean universities to improve their global rankings and thereby indirectly increase foreign student enrollment. The project was funded by the Korea Research Foundation, a government-sponsored organization, and has materialized in two phases. Phase I lasted from 1999 until 2005, and Phase II lasted from 2006 until 2012. The project allocated resources to a selection of elite universities to nurture at least 10 of them into world-class universities based on research and development capability. The overall objectives of the BK21 Project were to: (1) achieve greater worldwide visibility for Korean research through publication in international journals; (2) support globally competitive researchers through scholarship programs; and (3) improve the overall competitiveness of the higher education system based on the quality of students and academic activities (M. Moon & K.-S. Kim, 2001; K. Byun & M. Kim, 2010). Phase I allocated funding totaling 1.34 trillion KRW to a group of 14 universities. The project measured its success primarily by the number of papers published in Science Citation Index (SCI) journals. In quantitative markers, the project proved to be a success as the number of papers published in SCI journals nearly doubled between 1998 and 2004.

[2] In 2011, Chinese students accounted for 66 percent of total foreign student enrollment followed by Japanese (5 percent), Mongolian (4 percent), American (3 percent), Vietnamese (2.5 percent), and Taiwanese (1.7 percent) students as reported in the Brief Statistics on Korean Education, MEST (2012).

Table 2.5
Scientific Citation Index Journal Publications in South Korea, 1998-2004

Year	Number of Publications	% Change	World Ranking
1998	9,444	--	18
2000	12,013	27%	16
2002	14,916	24%	13
2004	18,497	24%	13

Source: Brain Korea 21, MEST (2005)

Phase II allocated funding totaling 2.03 trillion KRW to cultivate graduate students and postgraduate researchers into globally competitive researchers and thereby enhance the human capital capability of South Korea. This was evaluated through a basket of qualitative indicators that measured the human resource capability of Korean universities. The primary difference between the first and second phases is that Phase I developed the general research capacity of universities by targeting the science and engineering fields whereas Phase II encouraged each university to choose the areas in which it wanted to concentrate its resources and differentiate itself from other universities (S. Seong, S. W. Popper, C. A. Goldman, & D. K. Evans, 2008). Since its adoption, the BK21 Project has changed the nature of Korean academic culture by instituting a results-oriented evaluative system whereby universities compete amongst each other in research output and faculty members are assessed by their research performance (J. C. Shin, 2009; J. C. Shin & Y. S. Jang, 2013).

More recently, the Korean government has launched a large-scale initiative for the internationalization of research and academic staff. The World Class University Project was rolled out from 2008 to 2013 as a higher education subsidy program that invites foreign scholars who possess advanced research capacities to collaborate with Korean faculty members. The primary motivation of this project was to counterbalance the outflow of prominent scholars in

South Korea and to increase the global rankings of Korean universities. This is the first time the government has attempted to "import" foreign scholars on this large of a scale. Foreign scholars were invited to establish new academic programs, particularly in key growth-generating fields. Foreign scholars were also recruited as full-time professors to conduct research and teaching activities within existing programs. Distinguished senior scholars were also recruited as visiting researchers and lecturers. The government has invested 825 billion KRW during the five-year project, which has resulted in substantial growth in foreign faculty members in the higher education sector.

Table 2.6
Full-Time Foreign Faculty Members in Korean Higher Education, 2005-2012

Year	Number of Faculty Members	% Change	% Total
2005	2,131	--	3.2%
2006	2,540	19%	3.7%
2007	2,919	15%	4.1%
2008	3,433	18%	4.7%
2009	4,127	20%	5.5%
2010	4,957	20%	6.4%
2011	5,462	10%	6.6%
2012	5,964	9%	7.0%

Source: Brief Statistics on Korean Education, MEST (2005-2012)

The policy direction highlighted by the three programs underscores the need for Korean universities to improve institutional quality and to create campus settings that better accommodate foreign students that has become a critical component to Korean internationalization strategies. In effect, it appears that the Korean government has enhanced the quality of education at domestic institutions as a way to direct resources toward incoming foreign students.

CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN KOREAN INTERNATIONALIZATION POLICIES

Because special funding is allocated on the basis of government evaluation, universities have responded aggressively towards government policy in a way that has spurred deep changes in their institutions. Some of the most tangible developments happening at Korean universities are the rise of English as the academic lingua franca, the establishment of institutional standards that preference research-intensive universities, and a shift in governance models whereby university administrators are emerging as powerful decision-makers.

English is certainly a contentious part of the process and consequence of Korean higher education reforms that affects a wide variety of practices in the university. The most visible component to these reforms is to convert a sizable proportion of university curricula into English to cater towards an international demographic. Following the launch of the Study Korea Project in 2004, the government began initiatives to provide Korean universities with financial support for increasing the number of English-taught courses. As a result, the proportion of English-taught courses has risen steeply. Today, top-tier private institutions such as Yonsei University and Korea University conduct up to a third of all their classes in English; others such as the Korea Advanced Institute for Science and Technology (KAIST) and the Pohang University of Science and Technology (POSTECH) have ambitiously pledged to adopt English as the only language of instruction. Even Seoul National University—a national university established by the Korean government to provide higher education in service of South Korea's national interests—conducts over 15 percent of its classes in English.

Arising out of the rapid integration of English-taught courses is the question of whether the English language medium is an effective setting for student learning in a context where English is not the primary language. English naturally brings a diverse population of students

into the same class, but how effective are the courses for the Korean students who are still the majority population at Korean universities? One study conducted at Korea University found that Korean students encountered difficulty in their understanding of course content due to language when taking English-taught courses (K. Byun, H. Chu, M. Kim, I. Park, S. Kim, & J. Jung, 2011). Furthermore, English-taught courses are not necessarily taught by foreign faculty members but are more often than not taught by Korean faculty members with the language prerequisites; however, due to limitations in language, Korean faculty members may be impeded in their teaching ability when required to teach in English. In fact, the same study conducted at Korea University found that Korean students thought that Korean faculty members would explain things too briefly and simply in those courses because certain concepts were too difficult to explain in a language not of their native tongue, and that Korean faculty members conceded to cover less material in their English-taught courses because of language limitations.

The rapid rise of English has also created an English language divide between students who are good at English and those who are not. Another study conducted at Korea University found that English-taught courses used a fixed grading scale while Korean-taught courses used a forced grading curve whereby receiving an A was much harder to come by. Those students who were not confident in their English ability generally avoided taking English-taught courses, and thus, received much lower grades than those who took more English-taught courses, leading to a rising sense of unfairness amongst the students because those with greater English fluency usually come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (J.-E. Jon & E.-Y. Kim, 2011). Additionally, the same study found that there was also increased resentment from students who believed that more English-taught courses did not make their campus more "international" but instead more "American" that echoes postcolonial criticisms of the pervasive adoption of English

loan words in the Korean language (J. Lee, M. W. Han, & R. E. McKerrow, 2010) and English fever in Korean society in general (D. Shim & J. S.-Y. Park, 2008). Bearing in mind that Korea University now requires that all undergraduate students take a certain number of English-taught courses in order to graduate and that all faculty hired after 2003 must teach all their courses in English, the rapid integration of the English language medium is certainly affecting the student learning experience in this institution. It is not a far stretch to surmise that the same issues raised at Korea University are prevalent in varying degrees throughout all Korean universities that have rapidly integrated the English language medium.

In turn, the dramatic increase in English-taught courses also fuels a demand for faculty members able to teach in English. Many Korean universities mandate that newly hired faculty members teach at least some courses in English. Furthermore, because SCI journals are predominantly English-language publications, English is quickly evolving into the primary language for publication of scholarly work as part of a reward mechanism for employment, promotion, and tenure. Criteria for hiring and promoting faculty members has certainly shifted to include their ability to conduct classes in English and the number of articles that have been published in SCI journals. What this has indirectly resulted in is a preference for foreign degree holders, particularly from the United States. Korean faculty members who have completed their bachelor's and master's degrees in South Korea opt to pursue their doctoral studies in the United States, even if their end goal is to return to the Korean academe as a faculty member (J.-C. Shin, 2012). Whether desirable or not, higher education trends in South Korea are pushing English as the primary language of scholarly communication, and deeply embedded within this change is the perception that Korean higher education is becoming more Americanized.

At the same time, special funding on the basis of government evaluation has also resulted in the establishment of institutional standards that preference research-intensive universities, and thus, engenders competition amongst Korean universities. The BK21 Project has made research output the primary objective when determining a university's funding status. The way that the project measures research output is by the number of papers published in SCI journals by institution. Though the project proved to be a success as the number of papers published in SCI journals nearly doubled between 1998 and 2004, the growth rate of research publications was not different from that of the United States or Japan, and even less than that of China (J. C. Shin, 2009). Hence, while the project contributed to the growth in publications for Korean universities, the project did not lessen the gap between Korean universities and world-class universities. What the project did, however, was establish a culture of research production as the primary means to evaluate a university's value. While several universities—primarily Seoul National University, KAIST, and POSTECH—have traditionally been the strong research universities of South Korea, others such as Yonsei University, Korea University, Sungkyungkwan University, and Hanyang University have emerged as strong contenders for world-class status. These four universities did not clearly posit themselves as research universities prior to the implementation of the BK21 Project in 1999, but the four outpaced the traditional three research universities in terms of growth in research production and subsequently came to define themselves as research universities of a similar stature (J. C. Shin, 2009). Thus, the effects of the BK21 Project are most apparent in the previously second-tier research universities that are actively reforming their systems to hire researchers and increase research output.

Encouraged by the results of the first phase, a second phase of the BK21 Project was implemented in order to cultivate graduate students and postgraduate researchers into globally

competitive researchers and thereby enhance the human capital capability of South Korea. In particular, Phase II has resulted in a clear cultural shift within Korean universities that aspire to world-class status. Since the BK21 Project, the Korean government has launched an initiative to deregulate universities in order to allow for more autonomy and thereby enhance the competitiveness of universities, and this was made particularly acute as Phase II encouraged universities to choose the areas in which it wanted to concentrate its resources and differentiate itself from other institutions. It is against this backdrop that Korean universities have adapted themselves to government policies based on special funding. For example, Seoul National University has made its evaluation for faculty much more rigid by not allowing automatic tenure status for associate professors; instead, associate professors are now required to publish a minimum number of papers if they wish to be promoted tenure, and must also acquire recommendation letters from distinguished scholars in the field if they wish to be promoted to full professor (J. C. Shin & Y. S. Jang, 2013). At POSTECH, newly hired assistant professors have seven years in which to apply for and pass their tenure review, and those who fail will have only a one-year grace period before they must leave. POSTECH is also one of the first champions of a performance-based salary system whereby the salary is not determined by seniority but by a faculty member's accomplishments over the preceding three years in research, teaching, and service (B. S. Rhee, 2011). In effect, these processes have forced junior faculty members to internalize the publish or perish mantra. Faculty members are also discouraged from doing service work because service activities may take away time from research.

Resistance in response to the effects of the BK21 Project has occurred from multiple directions. Resistance from academics has been the most vocal, and thus, a lot of policy changes implemented in research universities only affect newly hired faculty members. This has led to

direct conflicts between senior and junior faculty members. In a senior-based society like South Korea, senior faculty members assign service work to their juniors, which puts junior faculty members in a dilemma. On the one hand, junior faculty members must put more time into service activities; on the other, they are evaluated by more stringent publication requirements and are discouraged by the university to take on too much service work. In conjunction with new evaluation criteria that value meritocracy over seniority, this generational gap has only become more pronounced.

Resistance also comes inter-departmentally. One side effect of the BK21 Project is for universities to conform to a single set of criteria based on research output. Even within a single university, academic units (colleges and departments) have responded in conformist ways. Unfortunately, the criteria do not take into account differences by discipline, such as the hard sciences versus the humanities and social sciences, and this has caused tension between academic units within a university. In fact, the disciplinary divide is exacerbated in the way academic units respond to the project, with the hard disciplines responding aggressively and the soft disciplines responding defensively. Those in the soft disciplines argue that humanities and social science research has been isolated from research funding, and that stringent publication demands in their respective fields do not necessarily produce better researchers. The conflict between disciplines in combination with the conflict between senior and junior faculty members is unlikely to be mediated in the changing environment of Korean higher education.

University governance models are also changing rapidly. Historically within a Korean university, faculty members have a strong influence on academic but not administrative affairs, while the government has a strong influence on administrative but not academic affairs. Since the implementation of the BK21 Project and now the World Class University Project,

universities are now encouraged to handle administrative affairs on an institutional level. While the government may provide guidelines and conduct inspections within universities, the procedural affairs such as management, organization, finance, and personnel are left to the universities themselves. Still, the government directs an evaluation-based budget allocation, which impacts universities significantly. Because the evaluation-based budget allocation is determined by a report submitted by each university, most universities are realigning their institutional policies more closely to government guidelines regardless of their mission focus, regional location, and characteristics of their faculty members and student body (J. C. Shin, 2011). These guidelines also require new funding sources to support research-intensive endeavors, and to that end, universities are aggressively searching for external funding from public and private partnerships. Through this process, the influence of university presidents has increased tremendously, and shared governance is losing influence. Planning and evaluation as a result of the BK21 and World Class University Projects have empowered the university administration as the strongest actor in higher education governance that results in a highly centralized model within a university (J. C. Shin, 2011). And while these reforms result in a decentralized governance model across the Korean higher education sector, a side effect is that of a highly centralized governance model within a university (J. C. Shin & G. Harman, 2009). The combination of the evaluation-based budget allocation and a highly centralized governance model is rapidly transforming the Korean university into a "business university" (M. Kang, 2009) whereby the "research university has ended and the commercialization of university management has become dominant" (D. Bok, 2003; M. Kang, 2009, p. 197).

IN RELATION TO KOREAN NATIONALISM

It would seem that internationalization policies are implemented within Korean universities as a way to improve institutional quality in order to recruit more foreign students, despite the contentious issues that those policies may cause for domestic students and faculty members. By attracting more foreign students, Korean universities are improving their standing in global university rankings and attracting more tuition revenue to counterbalance the diminishing domestic student population. It is in this vein that the internationalization policies adopted are framed around an aggressive pursuit of student markets, and more specifically, foreign student markets.

However, this does not mean that Korean universities are prioritizing the needs of foreign students at the expense of domestic students and faculty members for the sake of international exchange in an increasingly global higher education system, even if contentious issues arise within Korean universities. Quite the contrary—foreign students brought into Korean universities are seen as a means through which Korean universities can achieve greater parity with world-class universities, thus strengthening the Korean higher education sector vis-à-vis other nations. In the global competition phenomenon, universities are less concerned with providing an environment for intellectual growth for students per se, and more concerned with providing an environment that attracts and retains greater student markets. Similarly, Korean universities are less concerned with providing an environment for the benefit of foreign students per se, and more concerned with creating campus settings that better accommodate foreign students in pursuit of greater student markets. This reflects positively on South Korea's standing in a global hierarchy of universities. In other words, in a global higher education system,

internationalization policies are pursued as a way to increase the prestige of South Korea as a nation-state.

The Korean approach to a global higher education system parallels the Korean approach to globalization in general. What is most notable about globalization in South Korea is that it is best understood not as a force that challenges the power and sovereignty of the nation-state (A. Appadurai, 1996), but as a state-managed process through which the Korean government sets policies in education, science, and technology to remain competitive as a nation-state in relation to other nation-states (G.-W. Shin, 2006), also called the *segyehwa* drive, that has its roots in the Korean modernization process. And while globalization does mean that South Korea is becoming more interconnected with the rest of the world, the Korean response to globalization has developed as a form of ethnic nationalism that promotes rather than constrains the *segyehwa* drive with the government as the primary driver (G.-W. Shin, 2006). In fact, the Korean approach to globalization finds nationalism and globalization as interrelated phenomena. According to Gi-Wook Shin (2006), globalization, like modernization, can be proactively maximized as a way to "take advantage of any opportunities that globalization could bring to the nation" (p. 214). At the same time, because globalization inevitably disrupts social and cultural norms, national identity becomes increasingly important as the process of globalization continues because it "satisfies the people's need for cultural fulfillment, rootedness, security, and fraternity in the face of tumult" (p. 214). What this has led to is an intensification of ethnic identity in reaction to globalization processes. Paradoxically, it is the very nationalism that globalization processes appear to threaten that reinforces itself, surviving in new circumstances dictated by global forces.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have emphasized how the pursuit for foreign students within Korean universities actually reflects a form of Korean nationalism because it strengthens Korean universities vis-à-vis other universities in the global competition phenomenon. Such a paradox whereby the internationalization of higher education is actually a form of nationalism characterizes the global issues surrounding the development of international colleges in South Korea. Indeed, the Korean approach to globalization means appropriating globalization for national interests (*segyehwa* drive); still, an important component to the *segyehwa* drive is also to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the face of rapid changes. But if internationalization strategies in the higher education sector are primarily concerned with a search for foreign student markets, how do these strategies also preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector? The answer to this question is perhaps best illustrated through the paradoxical role of international colleges in South Korea that I will discuss in part II of the dissertation.

PART II

AN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE IN SOUTH KOREA

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESEARCHER IDENTITY

Internationalization has been widely debated across many Education subfields. Within Higher Education, scholars such as Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2007) define internationalization not as synonymous to globalization but as choice-based actions and responses to globalization. Within Comparative Education, scholars such as Ka Ho Mok (2007) criticize the "Anglo-Saxon paradigms" that drive the international standards that Asian universities follow, while scholars such as Simon Marginson (2011) argue that a hybrid model of higher education East and West forms a Confucian Model amongst Asian universities in the internationalization of higher education. Meanwhile, the Korean approach to globalization has not only been to appropriate globalization for national interests (*segyehwa* drive) but also to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the face of rapid changes. Internationalization policies in the higher education sector are certainly one facet of the *segyehwa* drive that aims to raise the prestige of South Korea as a nation-state via its universities. But if internationalization policies are primarily concerned with a search for foreign student markets, how do these policies also preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector? The answer to this question is perhaps best illustrated through the role of international colleges in South Korea. By using an international college as a point of entry, I uncover how meanings of "international" take on racialized and paradoxical undertones that reflect increased Korean ethnic nationalism in reaction to the globalization processes that profess a free flow of people across national borders.

THE SETTING

The rise of international colleges is a relatively new phenomenon that parallels the competition for greater student markets within South Korea. With the increasing number of Korean students going abroad for their undergraduate degrees, Korean universities have identified a need to increase the number of incoming foreign students as a way to counteract their shrinking pool of domestic students (see chapter 2). Thus, Korean universities have opened international colleges as a way to create campus settings that better attract and accommodate foreign students. The phenomenon began with the opening of Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University in 2006. Shortly after, Scranton College of Ewha Womans University opened its doors in 2007, and since then, a handful of other universities have opened similar programs. I have chosen to conduct an ethnographic study of Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University.

Underwood International College (UIC) takes its name in honor of Horace Grant Underwood, the American Presbyterian missionary who established Chosun Christian College and served as the first President of Yonsei University (then called Yonhi University). In 1885, American Protestant missionaries established Yonsei University as the first modern university in Korea (see chapter 1). UIC began as a small academic unit relative to the rest of Yonsei University and ran similar to an honors college within a large university setting. The 2006 spring inaugural class[1] began with just 107 students (79 Korean nationals; 28 foreign nationals) and 5 full-time faculty members (all foreign nationals) within a university that has over 21,000 undergraduate students, over 6,000 graduate students, and almost 3,000 full-time faculty members. Today, UIC is the umbrella name for several academic divisions/fields within it. In

[1] The Korean academic year runs on a spring-to-fall schedule. The Spring semester runs from March to June, and the Fall semester runs from September to December.

2006, UIC began with only the Underwood Division. In 2012, UIC added the Asian Studies Division and the Techno Arts Division. Then in 2013, UIC added the Integrated Social Sciences Division. UIC combined the three additional divisions into a unified Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (HASS) Field, and also added the Integrated Science and Engineering Division/Field. The Underwood Division remained its own division/field. As of the 2012 spring semester when the majority of my interviews were conducted, the Underwood Division had approximately 600 students and 15 full-time faculty members with 2 more full-time faculty members set to arrive in the fall semester. With the addition of several new divisions/fields, the size of the college has certainly expanded to the point where UIC is no longer a small academic unit relative to the rest of Yonsei University. However, the Underwood Division is still the core academic identity of UIC, even if it is overshadowed in size by the other divisions, and is where I focused my ethnographic study. Hereinafter and in the following chapters, I use the term UIC to mean specifically the Underwood Division and not all of UIC.

The full-time faculty members of UIC are of varied national and ethnic backgrounds. The system that UIC uses to determine whether a faculty member is eligible for hire is based upon his or her foreign citizenship. Though there is no formal policy that faculty members must be so, all advertisements for tenure-track faculty vacancies possess the following statement: "As part of Yonsei University's continuing effort to increase faculty diversity, we are only accepting applications from non-Korean citizens."[2] During the 2012 spring semester, there were a total of 15 full-time faculty members who were all foreign nationals from the United States (10), the United Kingdom (3), France (1), and Denmark (1). In addition to UIC full-time faculty members,

[2] However, all faculty vacancy announcements for a start date of 2014 possess the following revised statement: "As part of Yonsei University's continuing effort to increase faculty diversity, we are only accepting applications from non-Korean citizens or Korean citizens who have undergraduate and graduate degrees from institutions outside of Korea."

there are a number of joint appointment faculty members between UIC and another department at Yonsei University. While these faculty members may teach most or all of their classes in UIC and are hired in consultation with UIC faculty members, they are formally hired by another department and belong to that department's administrative functions and payrolls. These faculty members are primarily foreign nationals but not exclusively. Lastly, there are a number of faculty members from traditional departments who teach courses in their own departments in English that UIC students take as requirements for their majors or as electives. These faculty members are primarily Korean nationals who teach in English as part of their job requirements.

While UIC only hires foreign faculty members, the leadership all come from other academic units and all of whom are Korean nationals. The Deans of UIC historically have been faculty members of the Graduate School of International Studies. Their tenure begins with Mo Jongryn (2005-2008), Lee Junghoon (2008-2010), and Lee Chungmin (2010-2012). This trend has been broken with the latest dean, Park Hyungji of the Department of English Language and Literature, taking office as of 2012. Normally, an academic unit's Dean serves for a two-year period appointed under each Vice President of Yonsei University. The Vice President serves for a two-year period appointed under each President of Yonsei University. The President serves for a four-year period (who appoints two Vice Presidents for two two-year periods each).

ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS

In order to uncover assumptions and meanings of "international" in a Korean university's internationalization agenda, my project asks the following questions:

- What is the role of an international college within the larger Korean university?

- What is the role of the Western faculty members who work for an international college?
- What are the expectations of graduates of an international college with their novel habits and experiences?

An ethnographic study of UIC was conducted at Yonsei University over a period of 12 months from August 2011 to August 2012 while funded on the Institute of International Education Fulbright Fellowship to South Korea. Ethnography began as nineteenth-century method of inquiry within Anthropology as a descriptive account of a community or culture, and by the early twentieth century, it merged with what used to be ethnology to integrate both empirical investigation and the theoretical interpretation of a community or culture (M. Hammersley & P. Atkinson, 2007). Today, ethnography "usually involves the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts" (p. 3). My formal affiliation with Yonsei University was that of an international exchange student through the University of California Education Abroad Program that I had set up prior to arriving in South Korea. Thus, I had access to most campus resources at Yonsei University and was able to take a broad selection of courses. I used this opportunity to fully immerse myself into the daily life of a student at Yonsei University by taking courses, attending school events, and mingling with other students in order to investigate first-hand the inner workings of Yonsei University. I spent the Fall 2011 semester making sense of "the bewildering array of new visual, aural, olfactory, and social stimuli in the field" (S. L. Schensul, J. J. Schensul, & M. D. LeCompte, 1999) while simply observing the setting and mapping out a

plan of action. I then conducted more focused ethnographic methods from the Spring 2012 semester and beyond.

Mostly during the Spring 2012 semester, I conducted a total of 48 semi-structured interviews amongst administrators, faculty members, and students at Yonsei University. While ethnography usually involves data collection that is unstructured—meaning that it does not follow a specific design from beginning to end—the choice to conduct semi-structured interviews followed my need to solicit oral accounts that were not necessarily provided through naturally occurring settings and from very specific people whom I may not have been able to meet without revealing my role as a "researcher." Such way of designing my interviews was semi-structured in that, after extensive preparation, I developed a set of general questions to guide the interview but allowed my interviewees to talk at length on their own terms (S. L. Schensul, J. J. Schensul, & M. D. LeCompte, 1999). Administrator interviewees consist of 4 Deans or Associate Deans of UIC. I set up each interview by individually emailing each administrator once I was able to find out who was currently or previously in charge of UIC administrative functions. Faculty interviewees consist of 13 UIC faculty members and 8 faculty members from other departments. I set up each interview by individually emailing each faculty member listed on the UIC website or emailing faculty members from other departments who teach courses in English. Student interviewees consist of 19 UIC students and 4 traditional students. I set up each interview through the snowball effect: first, a faculty interviewee referred me to several students, who then referred me to their friends, who then referred me to their friends, and so on. My interview questions were tailored to each interviewee depending on his or her background but followed a general guideline of interview questions that can be found in the Appendices. The interviews took place in a variety of formal and informal settings (in offices,

over coffee or lunch, on and off campus, etc.). Each interview lasted approximately one to three hours in oral interview format, with the exception of one interview conducted over email communication. All of the interview questions were given in English; however, some interviewees responded to some or all of the interview questions in Korean, or incorporated Korean words or phrases within their English answers. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, unless interviewees had specifically requested otherwise. Over time, several interviewees emerged as key informants to my ethnographic study. I would meet with and/or contact them again throughout the data collection and writing process to clarify certain concepts or verify information. For the sake of avoiding misrepresentation and not jeopardizing anyone's status within Yonsei University, all faculty interviewees and most student interviewees were given the opportunity to review his or her interview transcript and object to quotes or sections that they felt uncomfortable over me quoting. However, I did not offer the same opportunity for UIC senior administrators because I met with each one of them with full disclosure of my role as a "researcher" and the nature of my dissertation project, and thus, they all spoke to me from a leadership position knowing full well that whatever they said represented not necessarily their personal views but primarily the views of the institution. As such, I did not necessarily maintain anonymity of UIC senior administrators' comments within my ethnographic descriptions—though I made such judgments on a case by case basis.

Lastly, I collected and analyzed relevant documents to add contextual support to my observations and interviews. Documents include deans' statements, promotional materials, university newsletters, faculty CVs, course syllabi, faculty position advertisements, student writing samples, and news articles and periodicals. Deans' statements and promotional materials were collected from the UIC administrative office and from the Office of International Affairs.

University newsletters were found on their respective websites.[3] Faculty CVs and course syllabi were gathered by requesting them from faculty interviewees and from downloading them from the university portal website. Faculty position advertisements were gathered by searching through the job listings on academic association websites and other web resources.[4] Student writing samples were provided by faculty members who teach the freshman writing seminars by receiving permission from their students. Korean news articles and periodicals were culled using a Korean search engine.[5]

My analysis is then organized into thematic case studies separated by three different levels of the international college: institutional, faculty, and students. Case study research can bring us to an understanding of a complex issue by detailing the contextual analysis of a limited number of events and their relationships. It is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion (R. K. Yin, 2009). Each thematic case study employs instrumental case study methodology, which focuses on an in-depth description of a particular bounded system in order to come to a greater understanding of a larger phenomenon (S. B. Merriam, 1998). Each case is a bounded system by time and place (J. W. Creswell, 2008) and by definition and context (M. B. Miles & A. M. Huberman, 1994) using multiple sources of data to produce a narrative supported by multiple perspectives and diverse quotations (L. Cohen, L. Manion, & K. Morrison, 2007).

[3] *Yonsei Annals* (annals.yonsei.ac.kr), *UIC Scribe* (uicscribe.com)
[4] Association for Asian Studies, Humanities and Social Sciences Online, Modern Language Association, Jobs in Philosophy, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*
[5] Naver (naver.com)

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

My objective is to uncover meanings of "international" comprised of a spatial understanding of human relations within an international college in South Korea along three different levels: institutional, faculty, and students. Each chapter is a thematic case study along those levels that uses its own conception of a Third Space to guide my inquiries. In exploring the question, What is the role of an international college within the larger Korean university?, I describe the ways in which UIC fits into Yonsei University while teasing out the educational, linguistic, and social spaces that are formed in between the college's carefully constructed institutional image and the barriers to entry for its legitimacy (chapter 4). To guide my inquiries, I utilize Homi Bhabha's (1994/2004) framework of Third Space that defines culture as "difference" (as opposed to "diversity") and that denies the essentialism that comes with tracing cultural origins. In particular, Bhabha conceptualizes culture as a process of hybridity that emerges as a way of negotiating meaning and representation. Here I conceptualize a Third Space as the difference between the "first space" of existing norms, practices, and rituals of a longstanding academic community within Yonsei University with the "second space" of the extreme interpretation of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms adopted by UIC. Hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interaction lie within this Third Space that make up an international college.

In exploring the question, What is the role of the Western faculty members who work for an international college?, I analyze UIC faculty members' experiences in navigating the promises, pitfalls, and challenges of Korean academic culture within their designated role (chapter 5). While only a small number of research universities located in a core of highly industrialized nations are recognized as the pinnacle of a global higher education system—stemming from the development of research universities that mirrors the development of

Western economic powers—middle-income and developing countries are now also participating in the global competition phenomenon in higher education by striving for globally competitive research universities themselves. In extending the idea of a Third Space that strategically appropriates useful facets of a colonial structure to the advantage of the colonized state (H. Bhabha, 1994/2004), I conceptualize a Third Space as a kind of semi-periphery, peripheral states that seek to improve their relative position in a world-economic system that favors the core at the expense of the periphery (I. Wallerstein, 1974/2004). Within this semi-periphery, the "major concern is to keep themselves from slipping into the periphery and to do what they can to advance themselves towards the core" (p. 29). But tensions between the colonial structure and the local learning ecology create a Third Space that still privileges the expression of native identity. A Third Space of an international college thus emerges that strategically appropriates Western faculty members within a Korean university setting as a semi-peripheral space.

In exploring the question, What are the expectations of graduates of an international college with their novel habits and experiences?, I explore UIC students' hopes, ambitions, and goals against the backdrop of their linguistic abilities and inabilities as they carve out a place for themselves within Yonsei University and, to a larger extent, within South Korea (chapter 6). The concept of the Borderlands is used to guide my explorations into what is ultimately UIC students' consciousness and identity shaped by their linguistic abilities and inabilities. Indeed, overlapping with Bhabha's critique of a Third Space is Gloria Anzaldúa's notion of the Borderlands. Anzaldúa (1987/2012) writes of the Borderlands as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary" and its inhabitants, "prohibited and forbidden," as transgressors (p. 25). Anzaldúa describes herself as a "border woman" who grew up between the borders and cultures of Mexico and the United States, and in doing so, she has been able to

shift her liminal positionality into its own consciousness, what she calls a new mestiza. In many ways, the novel learning ecology of UIC is a kind of Borderland formed by the unnatural boundary between American and Korean learning ecologies. The transgressors who fill this space are also caught between two borders and cultures through which they develop their own consciousness and identity, particularly through the language that they use. Thus, the linguistic abilities and inabilities of UIC students present a spatial framework through which to understand UIC students' consciousness and identity as inhabitants of a border territory created by an international college.

WORKING AS AN OUTSIDER WITHIN

Studies on the university often have an interest in measuring the impact of student and faculty participation in the institution but have a tendency *not* to examine the underlying cultures of that institution (G. K. Tanaka, 2002). Indeed, as scholars housed within, funded by, and otherwise entrenched within the inner workings of universities, taking a critical approach to the very institutions that employ us can make for a deeply uncomfortable study. But particularly in South Korea, where the country has recently begun to experience rapidly changing student demographics, a culturally neutral perspective may overlook the nuanced dynamics of participation by diverse groups. Thus, this study attempts to incorporate critical social theories with a self-reflexive approach to the study of the university. In particular, my own positionality as a researcher is used by making my own social space a part of my analysis.

Throughout data gathering and writing of the ethnography, I was careful to keep in mind the work of feminist scholars who challenge the notion of objective and universal truths within scholarship. In particular, Donna Haraway (1989) argues that scientific discourse is subject to

"culturally specific interrogations" (p. 2), while Sandra Harding (1986) criticizes the way "value-free" science has been used to advance sexist, racist, homophobic, and classist social projects and argues for a feminist standpoint that transforms the perspectives of women, or more generally the perspectives of those in subjugated positions, to a "morally and scientifically preferable grounding for our interpretations and explanations of nature and social life" (p. 26). Thus, in this ethnography, I do not claim to "give voice" to my interviewees; the voices and experiences that I have detailed reveal most tellingly my own interpretation and process of making sense of observed educational practices.

As a researcher, my role is to look for patterns, describe local relationships and meanings, and try to make sense of a place in relation to the entire social setting and the larger context of Korean education. Reflexivity is an important theme within my inquiries. I have used myself—that is, the multiple identities that I carry as someone of Korean heritage and American citizenry, a bilingual speaker, a UCLA graduate student, a Fulbright Researcher, an unmarried woman in her early thirties, among others—as a research tool in eliciting views and reactions. Furthermore, the process of writing the ethnographic account involves reflecting on my position as a "liminal being" and its influence on my interpretation of the field. Victor Turner (1967) said that liminal beings are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony" (p. 95). Liminal beings are at the midpoint of a transition between two positions who do not flow from a recognized social status. But just as liminality dissolves structures and boundaries, it is also the source of a kind of structure. The particularity in my case has been the need to construct my own structure based on a spectrum between Korean heritage and American citizenry, highlighting each identity to varying degrees based on situational context.

As an American, I could relate very easily to some of my interviewees, which is potentially a blind spot and a source of insight. Similar to all of the UIC faculty members, I also come from a Western-educated background, which allowed me to speak to each faculty member in terms that made implicit the centrality of Western, or perhaps more aptly American, pedagogical ideals. Oftentimes UIC faculty members commented that the Korean education system was too focused on testing or that Korean students have trouble with critical thinking skills. I took such comments for granted during my interviews of them, though I did attempt to problematize such assumptions during the writing process. However, my own Western-educated background perhaps speaks most clearly in the way I treated such narratives of the Korean education system or Korean students in general in that I did not immediately question UIC faculty members' statements. But in other ways, that I could relate very easily to UIC faculty members allowed me to form a simpatico with some of them. Because they felt quite alienated from the rest of Yonsei University, in large part because of language and culture differences but also because of organizational structures that sequestered them from other academic units, some of my interviewees were quite open in sharing their gripes over their jobs. In a way, I evolved from researcher to therapist, using the interview to listen and encourage further responses while offering sympathetic feedback. Despite a prevailing sense of caution that still permeated amongst the UIC faculty members for fear of losing their jobs in case the wrong information were publicized, our mutual understanding formed a relationship of trust that allowed them to be more open with me in a way that may not have happened were I not also an American outsider to a Korean education system.

But as such an American outsider to a Korean education system, I was very much an outsider when interviewing Korean faculty members. Oftentimes my interviews of them took on

a dynamic in which I was asking my interviewees to explain parts of Korean education that I could or did not understand by virtue of having been educated entirely outside of South Korea. This was not always a disadvantage because I could get away with lacking understanding of something about Korean education whenever I played up my American identity. But as an American with Korean heritage, I was also in a position of relative intimacy that I would not have had without my ethnic background. Such a background lent a familiarity to our interactions that expressed itself in the occasional switching into Korean language when establishing an initial rapport with Korean faculty members. Also, it was not uncommon for a Korean faculty member to begin our conversation by asking me where I am from as a way of finding out a little more about my background. In turn, I would tell my interviewee that my parents had immigrated to the United States in the mid-1970s, and that I was born and raised there. In fact, as soon as I shared this information, oftentimes Korean faculty members commented on how good as opposed to how poor my Korean language skills are—in part, I suspect, because there are higher expectations of language and culture for *gyopos* (Korean citizens living abroad) than diasporic Koreans (more on this later). And while my interview questions were given entirely in English, sometimes my interviewees responded to some or all of the interview questions in Korean. I even encouraged them to do so when I sensed that an interviewee was too stiff in the way he or she responded or too sparse in how much information he or she shared in English. I would say something to the effect of (in Korean), "I can understand Korean, so please speak comfortably in Korean, if you prefer," that sometimes encouraged my interviewees to open up more.

Such code switching between Korean and English is a familiar way of speaking for me, as it was a kind of language that I grew up speaking with my parents within a bilingual household. My parents often speak to me in Korean while I respond in English, although we are

having the same conversation, and occasionally we both insert English or Korean phrases for emphasis (English to emphasize gravitas; Korean to emphasize intimacy). I used such linguistic ability in my interviews with Korean students as well. Again, while my interview questions were given entirely in English, sometimes Korean students inserted Korean words or phrases within their English answers, or switched into Korean when confirming or reflecting upon answers with each other when I was meeting with groups of students—especially the UIC students, whom I noticed used this form of code switching between Korean and English quite frequently as their signature way of speaking. Indeed, the UIC conversation style is similar to how many of my Korean-American friends would interact amongst ourselves or with our parents (though the balance of Korean versus English used amongst UIC students leans more heavily towards Korean), and it was comfortable for them to do so with me since I could follow quite easily the bilingual conversation and that particular conversation style. My familiarity with their way of speaking perhaps allowed them to share more intimately aspects of UIC student life despite my outside position as a "researcher."

Hence, ethnicity and language played a large role in shaping my positionality working as an outsider within a Korean university setting. I highlighted in varying degrees Korean heritage/American citizenry in a way that a given situation demanded in order to develop rapport with my interviewees and encourage them to open up. My liminal status within such a spectrum was not so much a conceptual dilemma, as it was for Dorinne K. Kondo (1990) conducting ethnographic research in Japan as a Japanese-American, but a way of approaching a fieldwork site at which I was very much an outsider but into which I could negotiate entry via ethnicity and language. But for Kondo, those with Japanese ancestry born overseas are faced with attitudes of "exasperation and disbelief" (p. 11) by Japanese because race, language, and culture are so

intertwined in a conceptual schema that a person who challenges such is treated as unnatural, which caused a "fragmentation of self" whereby differences between cultures reflected as differences between various aspects of Kondo's identity. Likewise, Koreans also hold similar racialized schema: the Korean origin myth is that all Korean people descended from the same ancestor Dangun and share the same blood with one another. But expectations of language and culture have dramatically loosened despite the ongoing strength of the one-blooded narrative, which perhaps was the reason for my very different fieldwork experience from Kondo's.

South Koreans use the term *jaeoe gungmin* (citizens abroad) to describe Korean citizens living outside of the Korean peninsula. But a more commonly used term is *gyopo*. However, the term *gyopo* has developed a rather negative implication in that it refers to those who have lost touch with their roots due to their sojourner status. The underlying assumption of the *gyopos*' unfavorable plight is that Korean citizens are "Korean" not only through their residence and status within the physical borders of the nation-state but also through their language and culture that is an extension of blood and heritage. John Lie (2004), himself an ethnic Korean who grew up in Japan and Hawaii, argues for a rubric of "peoplehood" through which race, ethnicity, and nationality are unifying elements within the modern world. Similar ideas have been advanced by other scholars (I. Wallerstein, 1987; R. Smith, 2003). However, it is important to highlight *gyopos*' difference with diasporic Koreans, ethnic Koreans who migrated overseas. Diasporic Koreans are those who moved away from the Korean peninsula in large numbers, which relates to the loss of the original homeland or home, real or imaginary (S. Ryang, 2008), and which includes Korean immigrants to the United States and their US-born descendants like myself.

It is in such degree distinctions of loss that I, as a second-generation Korean-American, am perhaps treated with subtly different expectations than a *gyopo* in South Korea. In fact,

several of my student interviewees used the term "Korean-American" as code for those who appear to be racially Korean but who cannot speak much Korean, whether or not they were actually referring to those with Korean heritage and American citizenry. Perhaps this is why my Korean language ability was often complimented rather than chastised whenever I revealed that I was born and raised entirely overseas and that my parents had immigrated to the United States many decades ago (by contrast, other acquaintances whom I met unhesitatingly pointed out my strange accent or clunky phrasing in Korean if I did not share anything about my background, assuming that I'm probably a *gyopo*). Indeed, a loss of homeland connotes something far more disruptive and painful—a loss that I did not choose per se—whereas losing touch with one's roots because of a long sojourn abroad implies something of a betrayal. Such sympathetic attitudes towards my linguistic abilities and inabilities come not without some inkling of the tragic migration history of Koreans: many Koreans were forced out of their homeland during the Japanese colonial period, the split of the two Koreas, the Korean War, and brutal military dictatorship; or compelled to leave out of economic depression during such tumultuous decades when South Korea was very much an underdeveloped economy (as was the case of my parents). Neither of the two Koreas today are anything like what the Korean diaspora thinks of as home. As Sonia Ryang (2008) notes, "diasporic Koreans have been touched by modernity away from their homeland" (p. xviii). As such, my identity as a Korean-American "returning" to South Korea positions me as an outsider working within not just in interpreting the results of this ethnographic study but also in what it implies about a larger discourse of how South Korea sees its place within a multicultural landscape. My story of negotiating entry via ethnicity and language into a fieldwork site is also my story of negotiating entry via ethnicity and language into a homeland of which I am very much an outsider.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have detailed the rationale and the approach to my ethnographic study of an international college in South Korea. I have also included a discussion of my own social location and its implications in interpreting the results of my ethnographic study. In particular, I not only describe and analyze my findings in uncovering meanings of "international" but also reflect on the process of making value-laden judgments of meaning and method to challenge a conceptual schema of race, language, and culture both through my ethnographic findings and by my very social location as a Korean-American "returning" to South Korea. As such, this ethnographic study is also a critical ethnographic study that "[challenges] research, policy, and other forms of human activity" with a distinct political purpose (J. Thomas, 1993, p. 4): to question meanings of "Korean" that complicate the larger multicultural discourse in South Korea. Conducting this research involves reflecting on my own position as a "liminal being" (Turner, 1967) and its influence on my interpretation of the field. The particularity in my case has been the need to construct my own identity spectrum between Korean heritage and American citizenry, and I use my liminal position to reflect on and reinterpret meanings of Korean in tandem with meanings of international.

CHAPTER 4

THE COLLEGE: TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University opened its doors to its freshman inaugural class in 2006. The new college was a pioneering step in the development of Korean higher education: a college that adopts an internationally oriented liberal arts curriculum, hires only foreign faculty members, and conducts all of its courses in English as a way to create an international campus setting that better attracts and accommodates foreign students. For UIC, offering an international education promises an educational experience on par with elite universities anywhere in the world. Embedded within the internationalization rhetoric are the foreign faculty members, who play an important role in augmenting the college's global stature and defining UIC as an international college. But what blurs the meaning of "international" are the demographics of the student body, most of whom are ethnically Korean and who become what I call an ethnic anchor for the college that seeks to define itself as something distinctly non-Korean. At the same time, perceptions of the college as something fundamentally different than the rest of the university prevent UIC from becoming a well-integrated college within Yonsei University.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the ways meanings of international are constructed while teasing out the educational, linguistic, and social spaces that are formed in between the college's carefully constructed institutional image and the reality of its standing within a Korean university setting. The deliberately crafted international image that UIC portrays is what enables the college to achieve its special status within Yonsei University while positioning itself as an appealing destination for foreign students. Yet there is a discrepancy

between the image that it boasts to the outside world and the reality of its standing within Yonsei University because the majority of the students who attend are, in fact, ethnically Korean. Guided by the question, What is the role of an international college within the larger Korean university?, this chapter describes the college's ambivalent status within Yonsei University as it tries to negotiate its place as simultaneously special and well integrated.

THE RISE OF INTERNATIONAL COLLEGES

The rise of international colleges is a relatively new phenomenon that parallels the competition for greater student markets within South Korea. With the increasing number of Korean students going abroad for their undergraduate degrees, Korean universities have identified a need to increase the number of incoming foreign students as a way to counteract their shrinking pool of domestic students (see chapter 2). Thus, Korean universities have opened international colleges as a way to create campus settings that better attract and accommodate foreign students. These colleges conduct their classes in English and hire foreign faculty members. The phenomenon began with the opening of Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University in 2006. Shortly after, Scranton College of Ewha Womans University opened its doors in 2007, and since then, a handful of other universities have opened similar programs. Despite increased competition from similar institutions, UIC remains the first and most aggressive of these colleges and demands further examination.

Because internationalization policies in the higher education sector in South Korea are driven in large part by the *segyehwa* (globalization) drive, the methods through which higher education institutions integrate these policies depend very much on the mission and competitive strategies the institutions adopt in the quest for world-class status. For UIC in particular, the

conceptual design is based on the notion of inbound globalization, a term frequently used by former Yonsei University President Jung Changyoung that refers to attracting foreign students and foreign faculty members as an important component to a world-class university. UIC sees itself as a forerunner of inbound globalization. The first UIC Dean Mo Jongryn (2009) even proclaimed that "UIC promotes 'inbound' globalization that aims to globalize the Yonsei campus by attracting foreign students and professors" (p. 9). Suffice it to say that UIC is an institution that is designed to counteract outbound globalization whereby Korean students and Korean faculty members go abroad to experience first-hand global standards in education. By "establishing UIC, Yonsei University is affirming its belief in inbound globalization that international students and international faculty members must be brought into Yonsei University to create a global campus. With a global campus, a world-class education will follow" (J. Mo, 2009, p. 29).

Mo's statement rings of a familiar rhetoric that is what renders an international college into existence, and which puts its members into a relation with it that is more contractual than organic. For UIC in particular, advertising words like "international" and "global" promises an educational experience on par with elite universities anywhere in the world whereby universities gravitate toward an ideal type of institutional model in the global competition phenomenon in higher education (K. Mohrman, W. Ma, & D. Baker, 2008). This phenomenon is driven by a continuing neoliberal trend in higher education reform that underscores the need for Korean universities to improve institutional quality as a way to attract foreign students in the quest for world-class status (K. Byun & M. Kim, 2010). Through the process, UIC has built itself into an institution whose disciplinary identity is aligned with the goal of developing "international leaders" who speak an "international language," that offers "international knowledge" that

recognizes the importance of "international networks," and that provides students advantages in "international competition" (J. Mo, 2009, pp. 34-37). Perhaps Mo Jongryn said it best in his 2006 address to the UIC inaugural class: "The moral of this story is that you must have a job that cannot be outsourced" (J. Mo, 2009, p. 38). His rhetoric suggests that the autochthonous aspects of the Korean university that might also define UIC are dispensable in comparison to what he idealizes as international, and therefore, non-Korean.

In particular, UIC faculty members are the driving force behind the internationalization rhetoric. The faculty members whom UIC believes can deliver an international education are, essentially, foreign nationals. Though there is no stated policy that faculty members must be so, all advertisements for tenure-track faculty vacancies possess the following statement: "As part of Yonsei University's continuing effort to increase faculty diversity, we are only accepting applications from non-Korean citizens."[1] By faculty diversity, UIC hires faculty members who are not only non-Korean citizens, but who have also received their Ph.D.'s from universities outside of South Korea. In unspoken terms, what this translates into is that all faculty members should be citizens of Western countries who have received their Ph.D.'s from universities in Western countries; this has certainly been the case for all tenure-track faculty members hired since the college opened in 2006. In effect, UIC has constructed a meaning of international that adopts even more extremely the oft criticized "Anglo-Saxon paradigms" (K. H. Mok, 2007; R. Deem, K. H. Mok, & L. Lucas, 2008; S. W. Ng, 2012) by which Asian universities have been modeled after whereby internationalization creates a dependency culture upon American-

[1] Since the addition of three academic divisions, this statement now only appears on tenure-track faculty vacancies for the Underwood Division. Also, all faculty vacancy announcements for a start date of 2014 possess the following revised statement: "As part of Yonsei University's continuing effort to increase faculty diversity, we are only accepting applications from non-Korean citizens or Korean citizens who have undergraduate and graduate degrees from institutions outside of Korea."

dominated hegemony over league tables and citation indexes. What is happening at UIC is that the kinds of research activities that count as international are not just being adopted, but the knowledge workers themselves—"imported" faculty from the United States and Western Europe—are brought into a Korean university setting as a way to attract as many foreign students as possible (see chapter 5).

By fostering this transnational class of students and faculty members, UIC seeks to establish itself as an institution that is an exception to the Korean university setting, a special kind of college that defines itself as independent of the physical terrain. Each member of UIC is a kind of traveller with a specific purpose (a receiver or giver of knowledge) who is identified by a contractual relationship (student or professor) only upon entering or leaving the college with no strong relationship to the organic social life of the place in which UIC is located, that is, the Korean university. The structure thus seems to foster knowledge production in the form of a curriculum that can be found in any world-class university, and that denies a tangible relationship with the area-specific institution in which it is housed. This denial of anything local in knowledge production is the academic thrust of UIC.

THE ETHNIC ANCHOR WITHIN UIC

Over the course of my interviews with UIC senior administrators and faculty members, several times I was told that the desired goal for the makeup of the student body is half Korean nationals and half foreign nationals. But UIC struggles to achieve this balance. From the information shared by those with whom I spoke, foreign students comprise of approximately 25 to 35 percent of the student body of each incoming freshman class. And it is this imbalance that has turned admissions standards into a contested ideological terrain.

Traditionally, when a student applies for admission to a Korean university, the student will not only apply to a specific university but also to a specific department. The student must choose a university major at the time of application and apply directly to that department. Each department is only allowed to admit a certain number of students based on a quota system set by the university, which is determined in large part by a quota system for each university set by the Korean government. Departments are often involved in university politicking to increase their admissions quotas, as a higher admissions quota increases a department's funding allocation and how many faculty members that department is allowed to have that in turn determines the department's power in university decision-making processes.

With the adoption of internationalization policies in Korean higher education, including the Brain Korea 21 Project, Study Korea Project, and World Class University Project (see chapter 2), the Korean government has enhanced the quality of education at domestic institutions as a way to direct resources toward incoming foreign students. As a consequence to these policies, foreign students admitted to Korean universities fall outside of the admissions quota system in order to encourage as many foreign students as possible to enroll. What this translates into is that UIC can accept as many foreign students as it wants, and it has taken advantage of this special policy quite eagerly. UIC certainly has an incentive to do so. By increasing the number of foreign students the college admits, it also increases its funding allocation and faculty hires, giving it more power as an academic unit within Yonsei University. And the faculty hires have come in rapidly. The college opened in 2006 with only 5 full-time faculty members, but by the spring 2012 semester when the majority of my interviews were conducted, there were a total of 15 full-time faculty members. And the hires have rapidly continued since: By the end of 2013, there were a total of 17 full-time faculty members and 83 additional faculty members affiliated in

some way with UIC—making it one of the largest faculty bodies of any academic unit in Yonsei University.

However, the college is quite small in its student body relative to other academic units. The 2006 spring inaugural class began with just 107 students (79 Korean nationals, and 28 foreign nationals) within a university that has over 21,000 undergraduate students and over 6,000 graduate students. As of the 2012 spring semester when the majority of my interviews were conducted, the college had approximately 600 students. The small student body stems from the college wanting to maintain an intimate environment that is its selling point as a liberal arts college, but also from a lack of foreign student recruiting capability. While UIC may have an incentive to admit as many foreign students as possible, the college actually has trouble doing so. Consider the possibility from a foreign student's perspective: Why UIC? Why leave thousands of miles away from home to enroll at a college that is like every other, at home or otherwise? This is why the college has invested in overseas recruitment initiatives whereby faculty members take trips to targeted countries that have no or relatively fewer world-class universities, such as China, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia, in order to speak to potential students in the hopes that they will choose to attend UIC. In my conversations with UIC students and faculty members, the primary reason why many foreign students would choose to attend UIC, other than for the promise of (generic) excellence, seems to be the inducement of scholarship money.

What has resulted is that UIC has looked to its Korean and Korean Overseas student populations as a way to make up for enrollment deficiencies, and this has created bizarrely complicated admissions categories and qualifications for all students. There are four distinct UIC admissions categories: Korean Students, Korean Overseas (3+ years), Korean Overseas (12+ years), and International Students. Korean Students are defined as Korean citizens who

completed most or all of their primary and secondary education in South Korea. Korean Overseas (3+ years) are defined as Korean citizens who completed more than three years of secondary education overseas. Korean Overseas (12+ years) are defined as Korean citizens who completed all twelve years of primary and secondary education overseas. And lastly, International Students are defined as foreign nationals whose parents are also both foreign nationals. The following table provides a breakdown of the different qualifications for each category.

Table 4.1. Admissions Categories and Qualifications for UIC Students

	Korean Students	**Korean Overseas (3+ years)**	**Korean Overseas (12+ years)**	**International Students**
Nationality	South Korea	South Korea	South Korea	Foreign
Primary and Secondary Education	Most or all 12 years of primary and secondary education completed in South Korea.	At least 3 years of secondary education completed overseas.	All 12 years of primary and secondary education completed overseas.	None specified.
Additional Requirements	None specified.	At least 1 year of secondary schooling must have been during high school. Both parents must have stayed overseas with the student for at least 18 months, including 6 months of high school.	None specified.	Both parents must also be foreign nationals. Dual nationals with South Korea must give up their Korean nationality before matriculation.

Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2011, p. 23)

There are several points to be made about the admissions categories and qualifications. The first point is that, in addition to International Students, Korean Overseas (12+ years) students are also admitted outside the admissions quota system. This means that UIC can admit as many International Students and Korean Overseas (12+ years) students as it wants. Bearing this in mind and considering that UIC is lacking in its foreign student recruiting capability, UIC has an incentive to admit a large proportion of its student body from this Korean Overseas group.

The second point is that the newly created categories of both Korean Overseas groups speak to a larger phenomenon of Korean students going abroad at much younger ages than previous generations had done, called early study abroad. This phenomenon is driven by a growing perception that English language skills are necessary for professional advancement in South Korea (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011), and that families are willing to send their children overseas to study English at a young age (S. J. Park & N. Abelmann, 2004; Y.-j. Lee & H. Koo, 2006; J. S. Park & S. Bae, 2009). UIC recognizes this population as a potential source for enrollment as some of those students can be convinced to return to South Korea for their university education if an internationally oriented curriculum in English is offered.

The third point is that UIC recognizes even Korean students who have not spent much time overseas as another potential source for enrollment. As even larger numbers of Korean students study English, driven in large part by the increasing demand for English-language speakers in the Korean job market (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011) and the pervasive shadow education market for supplementary tutoring (M. Bray, 1999; 2006), there are even more Korean students today who are prepared to enter a university that only offers courses in English. By offering an internationally oriented curriculum in English within a Korean university setting, UIC is

capitalizing on Korean students' desires to further advance their English language skills without having to study abroad.

In fact, inbound globalization is perhaps best understood not necessarily as a way to attract foreign students to South Korea (though that is one part of it), but as primarily a way to provide a domestic alternative for Korean students who would otherwise study abroad in pursuit of the prestige of a degree from a Western country and English language advancement. As one faculty member mentioned, most students who attend UIC are those "who would be probably studying in the United States or in other foreign countries." Indeed, obtaining a degree from a university in the United States has become a way to attain a high social status in South Korea (J. Cho, 2013). Another UIC faculty member even called inbound globalization a form of anti-internationalization.

> We're kind of [English] language education in Korea in general. I have not figured out yet whether it's really just something meant to keep educated Koreans in Korea and not let them go elsewhere. It's not really meant to be internationalization. It's actually opposite. The idea is anti-internationalization, to prevent the flow of people across national borders.

It is in this vein that UIC exemplifies to an even further extreme the paradox of Korean globalization whereby internationalization policies in the higher education sector are actually tacit forms of nationalism that attract foreign students as a means to strengthen Korean universities vis-à-vis world-class universities. Due to a lack of recruiting capability of the desired proportion of foreign students, UIC has looked to Korean and Korean Overseas students as its main source of revenue while touting its internationally oriented curriculum, Western faculty members, and English language medium as incentives to enroll that capitalize on Korean students' anxieties that the accumulation of global capital is essential for professional advancement. At the same time, a curious kind of ethnic anchor exists in the form of Korean and

Korean Overseas students who choose to enroll at UIC. By ethnic anchor, I mean that the UIC student body as a primarily Korean student body enters UIC with certain backgrounds, expectations, and bodies of knowledge that are in direct contrast to what UIC imagines as its ideal student, one who is free of local anchors. UIC students are, for the most part, ethnically Korean students who possess and desire advanced English language capability, and this informs much of the educational, linguistic, and social spaces at UIC.

Space, according to Henri Lefebvre (1991/2012), encompasses all interrelationships and their coexistence and simultaneity, their relative order and disorder. The space of a place encompasses a place's reality with its ideality, the practical with the symbolic. Social space contains objects that are both natural and social, including "the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information" (p. 77), and in this sense, objects are not just things but also relations. At the same time, this space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production, and rearranges the objects' positions and configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality. Space is then a social relationship inherent within property relationships. In South Korea, space can also become inherent within the will of the state that rearranges national, local, and civic interests into differential elements to reproduce power relations (R. Oppenheim, 2008). Hence, when conceptualizing space within the context of Yonsei University, the *segyehwa* (globalization) drive creates a space through the internationalization policies integrated into the university in the quest for world-class status—but this international space must also negotiate the autochthonous space of a Korean university that is bound by the traditions and rituals of a longstanding academic community. When examining UIC in particular, the tension created in between UIC as an international college that is an exception to the Korean university setting with the reality of UIC as a college with a primarily

Korean student body forms a Third Space (H. Bhabha, 1994/2004) within the learning ecology. A Third Space is the contested ideological terrain created by the confrontation between the "first space" of existing norms, practices, and rituals of Yonsei University with the "second space" of the extreme interpretation of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms adopted by UIC. Hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interaction lie within this Third Space that privileges and is contingent upon students' ethnic backgrounds.

THE FORMATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The peculiar educational space that is created within UIC results from its conception of a world-class education versus the local articulations of knowledge production. In effect, the ethnic backgrounds of the mostly Korean study body creates an educational space formed in between the curriculum design that is free of local constraints (anyone can study it anywhere) and the curriculum actualized and received.

The curriculum design is what makes UIC fundamentally different from the rest of Yonsei University. UIC was named after Horace Grant Underwood, the American Presbyterian missionary who founded Chosun Christian College and served as the first President of Yonsei University (then called Yonhi University). In the spirit of its namesake, UIC has adopted an internationally oriented liberal arts curriculum intended to educate students with a corps of intellectual history East and West. At UIC, students spend their first two years taking a common curriculum in World History, World Literature, Understanding Christianity, Eastern and Western Civilizations, Writing, Critical Reasoning, and a variety of elective-based liberal arts subjects, which are taught by UIC faculty members and are exclusive to UIC students. In their latter two years, the students are then absorbed into a traditional department based on their declared majors,

and take courses primarily in that department alongside all students at Yonsei University. This is quite a deviation from the traditional students, who apply for and enter into a specific major from the beginning of their university education. The traditional students stay primarily within their departments in a specialized curriculum for all four years.

In particular, the focus on humanities is what really distinguishes UIC from the rest of Yonsei University. All UIC full-time faculty members are disciplinarily based in the humanities and social sciences.[2] The required courses that students take in their first year consist mostly of History and Literature courses, with a focus on critical reading and writing. Beyond the first-year courses, faculty members have full autonomy in what and how they teach. As such, they have developed courses in various subjects that take advantage of their diverse disciplinary backgrounds and that cross disciplinary boundaries, such as those that combine History with Science, Philosophy with Literature, that do not shy away from difficult texts or subject matters. It is in this sense that UIC has become not only a model for internationalization, but also a model for how the liberal arts can become more central to a university's pedagogical focus that is in direct contrast to the strict disciplinary boundaries of a Korean university. As one faculty member with a humanities background put it,

> [UIC] is also a model of how the humanities can actually assume a more integral status within the university. Part of the reason for the institutional weakness in humanities in Korea even compared to America, where they're also not in a very good position, is that in Korea students apply for majors instead of applying for the university. They apply to the university by applying to a major with the result that majors that are not career-oriented, such as the humanities, come to be seen as very low prestige. […] So I think in a way, humanities professors in particular can actually learn a lot from UIC because it presents a model for how the humanities can become relevant.

[2] This is now only true for all full-time faculty members of the Underwood Division. With the addition of the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (HASS) Field and the Integrated Science and Engineering Field, some full-time faculty members do not come from a humanities or social science background.

While UIC supposedly offers an internationally oriented liberal arts curriculum, what it actually follows is an American academic standard. As internationalization has become an important mission for universities throughout Asia, to become more internationalized, Asian universities have begun to change their teaching and learning strategies and to restructure their curricula. Like UIC, many Asian universities now follow a common curriculum of broad-based subject matters that are loosely modeled after the liberal arts curriculum in the United States in an import-oriented pedagogical approach to transnational higher education that is characterized by the seeking and accepting of Western academic norms (F. Huang, 2007). Within UIC, the common curriculum may be internationally oriented in content (broadly defined), but the structure of two years of a humanistic and interdisciplinary curriculum followed by two years of a specialized major parallels a distinctly American model of liberal arts education. In fact, a member of the UIC senior administration told me that the UIC founders, most of whom attended liberal arts colleges and Ivy League schools in the United States, designed the common curriculum by drawing upon what they had experienced during their own undergraduate education. In conversation with a UIC senior administrator, I was also told that what UIC considers when hiring a faculty member is whether that faculty member attended a liberal arts college during his or her undergraduate education, presumably in the United States where liberal arts colleges are much more abundant, as a way to gauge whether that faculty member understands and values the kind of undergraduate experience that the founders had in mind when designing a curriculum based on their own experiences.

But in contrast to its international content or its American delivery, the UIC curriculum is grounded in its Asian origins that is directly related to the Korean ethnicity of the students, and this forms an educational space informed by an ethnic anchor. This, however, is not a direct

function of the curriculum design; the by-product of an ethnic anchor unfolds subtly through the ways in which students come in with certain bodies of knowledge or assumptions towards knowledge. For example, within the college where the majority of the students are ethnically Korean and where even the majority of foreign students come from other parts of Asia, students usually have some basic knowledge of Asian affairs. A UIC faculty member who teaches Chinese history courses highlighted that the primary difference between teaching at UIC and teaching in the United States is that, at UIC, students come in with a foundational command of Chinese history that is lacking amongst most students at a US university. This faculty member said,

> Here, there is more of a sense that studying Chinese history is valuable. Even if it doesn't make you money today, it's still something worth knowing. In my field, that's something very positive. Plus you get students who are coming out of the Korean high schools. They've learned something about Chinese history before. They may not have what I would think of as a historical understanding. […] They'll have what I think of as an entertainment level view of it. […] So they're not starting from zero whereas people coming out of a US high school, they would generally know absolutely nothing. You could switch the names around, and they wouldn't notice.

Similarly, the same approach to knowledge from a Western orientation typically found amongst US university students is not necessarily found amongst UIC students. For example, a faculty member who teaches Western Classics courses finds that a compelling case needs to be made for why students should even learn about Greek and Roman civilizations.

> It's a little different teaching Greek and Roman Classics in Korea, of course, because in the United States, there's an idea that American culture is somehow derived from Classical Greek and Roman culture. You don't have that expectation in Korea. No one thinks the Korean culture is derived from Ancient Greece. I think that's actually good. It allows us to read more critically. We don't take for granted in my classroom that this is just stuff everyone needs to know. I have to make an argument for why it is worth reading.

Alternatively, another faculty member who teaches Western Classics courses finds that it is easier to relate knowledge about Greek and Roman traditions to Korean students because of cultural traditions that are more relatable to Korean than American students.

> I do talk about Korean culture and Korean language. It's usually not a direct function of the syllabus, but a way of making the material more accessible to the students. […] For example, when I read Homer or Greek literature in general, burial rights are very important. I think a Korean is probably in a better position to understand the importance of burial rights than an American, since America doesn't have a culture that places all that much importance on death rituals.

These examples speak to the ways in which the Western (or perhaps more aptly, American) backgrounds of the faculty members and the Korean ethnicity of the students inform the ways in which ideas are shared and related. By also comparing Korean students to previous teaching experiences in the United States, the faculty members are establishing an academic standard that is driven by their own experiences with American liberal arts education. Nonetheless, the subtle ways in which Korean students relate to the curriculum inform the ways in which faculty members negotiate cultural differences within the educational space at hand.

It is important to note, though, that the faculty members do not intentionally approach their courses with these practices in mind. Rather, they come in with a strong and clear dedication to the Western (or American) intellectual tradition with which they are most familiar. As one faculty member explained to me,

> I think that the biggest advantage that all of us offer to students is that we have no idea what a Korean university classroom situation would look like. So, when the students are in our classrooms, we treat them like American or British undergraduates. We hold them to the same standards of writing, speaking, presentations. We only know that because we've all come from American or British (for the most part) undergraduate and graduate institutions. Because we've worked with really good undergraduate students at the schools that we've gone to, our expectations are really high.

Another faculty member said that there is a feeling of liberation in teaching at UIC because he can always resort to reminding students that they came to UIC to "get an American or Western

European-style education" whenever "something is weird for them." What he meant by that comment is a dedication to fostering critical thinking skills, something that may be "weird" for Korean students. In fact, most of the UIC faculty members with whom I spoke told me that it is in pushing their students to utilize critical thinking where they find the most joy and frustration in their teaching, and this is where their pedagogical approach has to navigate profound cultural differences, consciously or not.

There is much focus and attention placed upon overcoming the test-taking culture that is deeply embedded within Korean educational culture. This is where faculty members must expend their energy encouraging students to conceptualize beyond right or wrong answers and to overcome their anxieties over ambiguity in knowledge production. In discussing some of the frustrations over teaching first-year courses, one UIC faculty member told me,

> Intellectually, I think the challenge is simply switching from being told what is and being told what's going to be on the exam, and giving that importance to having a teacher, especially me, responding to a question and saying, "I don't know, what do you think?" That throws them, right? That throws an 18-year-old like anything. They hate that.

Another faculty member echoed a similar point by detailing how the students have trouble moving beyond a binary approach to learning in the Critical Reasoning course.

> Freshman-year Critical Thinking, for many students, is a completely foreign concept. It just takes a while before they realize that, no, this is not about me giving you answers to questions that you reproduce. It's about you asking questions and coming up with your own answers.

Yet another UIC faculty member explained some of the classroom dynamics encountered. When he asks a factual question about the text, students are able to find the answer very quickly, but when he asks an inferential question, students have a lot of difficulty answering those sorts of questions. This relates to a lack practice whereby Korean students have not been asked to do

much of this type of analysis in their previous education. As such, he sees one crucial role as giving students that kind of practice.

> I see one of my roles as giving them practice, which is in every class asking them questions like that and then showing them how I would go about answering it. I think the difficulty for a lot of students is they are being asked to radically change course. They've all been very successful in one model. I expect that many of them feel like fishes out of water and very confused about what's best, what way to go.

So it is in the ways in which the classroom dynamics actualize, irrespective of curriculum design, that forms a distinct educational space by the confrontation that UIC faculty members have with Korean educational culture that most students have been acculturated within. It is in attempting to radically alter the linear and binary approach to learning programmed into students that defines much of the educational space. Indeed, a UIC faculty member reflected upon how Korean students are not incapable of critical thinking, but that the pressures created within the Korean education system foster anxieties that hinder their critical thinking ability.

> That story that we all hear about Korean education is that the students are very good at memorizing and studying for tests, and they're not good with the critical thinking part or the creativity. So far I haven't seen that to be totally true. I think they're better at it than they think they are. But I see that the Korean students have a lot of anxiety, and that seems natural to me. It sounds like they've been under a lot of pressure, and they've had to work extremely hard just to get here.

His insights certainly parallel results from empirical studies that show that the highly standardized Korean education system does not necessarily produce students with less creativity and critical thinking skills (H. Park, 2013). But by highlighting the point that UIC fosters an American, British, or Western European intellectual tradition, or that Korean students lack practice in critical thinking, UIC faculty members are actually using their own backgrounds and educational experiences as an academic standard and a roadmap to navigating cultural differences in their interactions with students—and the students are expected to meet them much further than just halfway.

Perhaps the most striking way that an educational space is formed is in relation to the goals and aspirations of the students, who are not necessarily motivated by the liberal arts curriculum per se. This is in large part a function of Korean educational culture. Stanley Aronowitz (2008) made the point that the new generation of students do not expect that education will "fulfill the ancient liberal hope that the next generation will help shape a better world" (p. xiii). Similarly, while Korean students may recognize that education can provide the continuation of a liberal arts tradition of enriching human understanding, many primarily recognize that education is the best avenue to economic security and high social status. Although UIC offers a curriculum that is humanistic and interdisciplinary, UIC faculty members made it a point to say that students most commonly choose to major in Economics and most commonly want to work for a *chaebol* (Korean corporate conglomerate) like Samsung or Hyundai after graduation. This goal extends to the majority of the students who come to UIC. One UIC faculty member said,

> I taught for six years at [a US university], and I would say students here are much more job-oriented. […] Part of our job seems to be to try to make them see what the value of a liberal arts curriculum is in thinking for the sake of thinking and developing skills that don't immediately apply themselves to a financial end or something of the sort.

This faculty member indicated that disregard for the liberal arts curriculum offered comes not just as a result of the students' desires and goals, but also as an extension of their parents'. For many students, "their parents still are playing a major role in telling them what they need to be doing. We have lots of students come in and say, 'I want to major in Comparative Literature, but my mom says no.'"

Then why come to UIC? Why come to a college that bills itself as a liberal arts college? Many Korean students enter with the mindset that their university education is not necessarily about intellectual pursuits and novel experiences, but as primarily about degree acquisition—in

other words, raising one's *hakbeol* (academic credentials). This point was articulated by another faculty member, who said that for "most of the Korean students, it has been an ambition from the time they were in grade school to get into a SKY." The acronym SKY stands for the trifecta of elite universities in South Korea—Seoul National University, Korea University, Yonsei University—that forms the upper echelon of higher education in the country. For many Korean students, gaining admission to one of these universities can endow them with a highly regarded *hakbeol* that, in a Bourdieuean sense, endows them with symbolic capital that becomes important in cultivating economic and social capital throughout the rest of their lives (P. Bourdieu & J.-C. Passeron, 1977/1990). This approach to university education is both a strength and a challenge for the Korean students, according to one UIC faculty member, who told me that the Korean students have been "more or less brutalized for about 15 or 16 years to get to this point, so they know how to work hard." Unfortunately, this work ethic does not always translate into a passion for university education because "university is largely where you make social connections" and "the university in large part dictates the type of job you're able to get." As a consequence to this "laissez-faire attitude," many first-year students are "shocked first and then upset" when they "find out that UIC is very rigorous and they have to work very hard." Perhaps it is more apt to say that many students come to UIC not to attend UIC specifically or to experience an "American or Western European-style education," but to enjoy the prestige that comes with attending Yonsei University.

Despite this prevalent attitude amongst their students, UIC faculty members still maintain a strong commitment to the high academic standards upon which UIC was founded. And many of the UIC faculty members commented that there are those students who certainly have a phenomenal work ethic. Still, the goals and aspirations of the UIC students that do not align with

a liberal arts tradition are where UIC faculty members must compromise their expectations the most. At best, some approach this compromise with optimism. As a UIC faculty member said,

> Many of [the students] want to be lawyers, bankers, or international bureaucrats, which I actually think is great. […] The kids who love literature are going to read. I would rather spend my time reading Homer with students who want to be bankers or who want to be lawyers because they're not going to read Homer on their own.

But this attitude comes not without an inkling of hope that some students will change course during their university education. He added,

> Korean students seem less concerned with romantically fulfilling their dreams and more concerned with getting a good job, and I really respect that. I [also] hope that my Korean students are able to keep an open mind, that they will allow themselves to discover alternate paths that aren't necessarily Harvard Law School.

At worst, however, UIC faculty members can become fed up with some students. According to another UIC faculty member, students have resorted to grade grubbing when they realize "that they weren't getting the grades that their test scores indicated they should be getting." This faculty member said,

> The students here will make outlandish requests. "I know I deserved a B minus, but could you give me a B plus?" It's things like that. […] It seems like you have to do more babying than you have to do in an American classroom. I think part of it is also the vast majority of our students come from pretty privileged socioeconomic backgrounds.

Indeed, the privileged socioeconomic backgrounds of the UIC students directly relates to the implications of a college that builds itself as an exclusive educational space within a Korean university setting. The fact that these Korean students also have exceptional English language capability speaks volumes of the students' privilege. This, in turn, informs how UIC faculty members must negotiate their interactions with UIC students in their overachieving approach to grades. In fact, another UIC faculty member raised the same point by comparing the phenomenon of grade obsession with what happens at Ivy League schools. This faculty member said,

> I saw it at the Ivy's when I was a TA at [an Ivy League school]. The students were, "I can't afford to get a B," and it was much less in [a state university], where they wanted to pass, they wanted to get a good degree, but they were basically conservative students with no ambition to get beyond their state waters if they could help it. […] I think it's partly that overachieving culture […] where, in fact, the expectation to perform and come home with a straight A report card, and your parents check your report card, […] is ingrained in the kids. So they want those A's. They don't really care about learning.

But these kinds of interactions between students and faculty members are a by-product of the way the college structures itself as an inaccessible space for most other students. The most obvious way is through the higher tuition that is double the tuition that a traditional student pays.[3] The rationale behind the higher tuition is that UIC courses are exclusive to UIC students and are taught exclusively by UIC faculty members. UIC students can also take courses in other departments as electives or as part of their major requirements. On the other hand, traditional students are not allowed to take any UIC courses. Though Yonsei University is a private university, traditional students face many similar problems that students at a large public university often face: large lecture-based classes, long waitlists for courses whereby many students are unable to secure a spot, and faculty members who dedicate little energy to teaching and little time to meeting with students. While enjoying the benefits of the Yonsei University name prestige, UIC students are certainly a privileged bunch with their small and intimate classes that are shielded from typical student woes at the university. Even UIC faculty members take pains to make sure that UIC is a college with tangible benefits for its students against the backdrop of the rest of the university, and this is also a function of the higher tuition that UIC students pay. One UIC faculty member explained,

> Our students do pay more, but they have much smaller class sizes. I know we're all very good about keeping office hours and making ourselves available to students. I'm really not sure what the case is in the university at large, but I know that's something we all pride ourselves upon.

[3] In 2012, tuition for UIC students was approximately $12,000 per year. Tuition for traditional students was approximately $6,000 per year.

A similar point was made by another UIC faculty member, who said that students are paying for "so much access to an American academic" that induces them to hold long office hours with their students. It is within the structure of the higher tuition that UIC students develop a sense of entitlement, and that UIC faculty members are expected to attend to these attitudes. As one UIC student said, "If I was a regular Yonsei student, I think I would've been seen as just one of the many students." At UIC, students are made to feel as if they are special.

Essentially, an educational space is created in between the American academic paradigms expected of the students and the Korean cultural norms that may or may not agree with these paradigms, but are nonetheless forced to accommodate. But that educational space is also informed by Korean educational culture that most students are acculturated within, and this manifests in the ways in which faculty members must negotiate students' goals and aspirations that, for the most part, disagree with their own hopes for the students. The added exclusivity of UIC as an educational space elevated above and segregated from the rest of the university informs the ways in which faculty members balance the grade obsession and entitled attitudes of students with their agenda of progressing a liberal arts curriculum for its own sake.

THE FORMATION OF A LINGUISTIC SPACE

The most obvious catalyst to the formation of a linguistic space is the use of English as the medium of instruction. Yet the point was emphasized that UIC is not a special case for employing English. Rather, English is simply a medium that facilitates exchange, reflecting a broader shift towards English in academia.

> I think that's simply a reflection of the role of English in international academia, in teaching and research. So much these days is conducted through the medium of English. It doesn't really matter what region of the world you are in, whether it's in Asia or other

> regions of the world. […] I think English is simply a means that is more accessible and more broadly shared.

This approach certainly reflects what scholars such as David Crystal (2012) have said about English as the most successful "world language" that stems from larger socio-historical trajectories. But there are ways in which a distinct linguistic space is formed as a consequence to the English language medium within a Korean university setting. In ways both obvious and subtle, the English language medium forms a linguistic space within UIC that is limiting, and even irresponsible, because it denies the presence of a very real and visible ethnic anchor: the multilingual backgrounds of the mostly Korean students. At the same time, the English language medium also functions as another form of exclusivity for the college whereby language serves as a gatekeeper for those who have academic proficiency in English and those who do not that, ironically, disadvantages students at UIC in comparison to traditional students at Yonsei University.

As one way a linguistic space is formed, American academic paradigms reinforce themselves through the English language medium while denying a broader range of intellectual perspectives through the studied texts chosen for courses. While this may be the case across all universities in different iterations, the fact that most students in the college can speak and read Korean is ignored, and thus, their capacity to engage intellectually in that language is ignored. For example, a UIC faculty member who teaches Korean Studies courses emphasized that the texts are chosen primarily from the Western canon of Korean Studies since the courses must be conducted in English.

> I just have the students read the canon in Korean Studies—American English language Korean Studies—so people like Bruce Cumings, Carter Eckert, Charles Armstrong, Shin Gi-Wook, John Duncan… there aren't that many. […] So, basically, the canon, *the English canon* in Korean Studies in American universities. I have them read that.

Another UIC faculty member of Korean Studies iterated a similar point. He explained that all the chosen texts must be available in an English translation, even though his specialization is in Korean literature. For introductory courses, this is usually not a problem as the texts assigned are a broad survey of key literary works that are readily available in translation. However, for upper division courses that focus on more specialized genres, the chosen texts tend to be economical and anthologized. And while he allows students to read the original versions in Korean if they prefer, the selected texts for the syllabi are chosen from a limited selection because an English translation must be an available option.

> I tell the Korean students they're perfectly welcome to read the texts in Korean because it's a Lit class, right? They have to come in and discuss them in English, they have to write their papers in English, but I don't mind if people are reading the texts in Korean. But because anything I assign has to be available in translation, there's limited number of texts. So I stick to very economical, very anthologized texts.

Even a faculty member from the Korean Language and Literature Department who teaches Korean literature courses in English faces a similar problem. In order to fill the void of available texts in translation, he supplements his syllabi with Japanese texts available in translation since his specialization is in the relationship between Korea and Japan.

> This is a very, very difficult problem. As you know, there are very few texts for Korean literature […] translated in English. So, it is very hard for me to choose the texts for the students or for the course. I had to combine the issues with Japanese literature because Japanese literature has a lot of English translation in contrast to Korean literature. It is very hard. It is very difficult to choose texts for Korean modern literature in English.

Clearly in contrast to what some may believe, the English language medium actually functions as a narrowing, not broadening, of learning opportunities, particularly for a college where the majority of students come in with some background in the Korean language. At the same time, by denying the Korean language in formal classroom activities, students are withheld from accessing a broader range of intellectual perspectives and are only exposed to a small, often

American, window that glosses over Korean intellectual perspectives even within Korean Studies courses. In fact, the superficial way in which Korean intellectual perspectives are covered even within Korean Studies courses reflects the way in which UIC preferences academic perspectives that are international (i.e., non-Korean) even when the majority student body is ethnically Korean.

In fact, insistence on the use of English translates into a kind of denial of the omnipresence of Korean despite that everyone recognizes it is there. Many UIC faculty members commented that students will use English in formal classroom activities but will switch to Korean in their informal conversations with one another. As one UIC faculty member explained, "I notice that they speak Korean to each other a lot. They do speak a lot of Korean when they're amongst themselves, but in class, they don't speak Korean, of course." How some UIC faculty members have responded to this dynamic is by insisting on the use of English while students are in the classroom, whether or not class is in session.

> One of the more recent things that I've done this semester is that I've specifically asked students that whenever they're in my classroom, before, in break, and afterwards, they speak in English because if they switch into Korean, it excludes all the international students, and it actually creates divisions between the students. I've found that that actually has helped a lot because I really see English as a level playing field.

For this UIC faculty member, his language policy is very much informed by his own academic paradigms that, in turn, inform much of the pedagogical approach at UIC. In fact, he also indicated that this language policy is a function of his own realm of awareness whereby English is the only language that is used and that affects (or does not affect) the way he engages the students.

> Maybe that's one of the weird things about UIC. When people ask me about the culture shock here, it's usually the culture shock that I'm living in Korea. Because most of my life is entirely in English, and I'm interacting with students that, to me, feel like I'm interacting with British and American students. I don't treat them differently.

Clearly, for the UIC faculty members, the UIC students are not so much Korean students on their own terms but are students who must adapt themselves to the academic paradigms that the UIC faculty members enforce via language.

The philosophy behind using the English language medium is to be as inclusive as possible for all students, Korean or otherwise, which reinforces the idea of UIC as an international, and therefore non-Korean, college. Most of the UIC faculty members do not speak much Korean, if at all. While the UIC faculty members are quite multilingual across many Eastern and Western languages, only a few actually speak Korean to any degree of sophistication because UIC does not mandate that its faculty members are able to do so. This is not necessarily a hindrance to the educational mission at UIC since they are only required to teach in English. But by aiming for accessibility for all students, the college is actually undermining its standards in Korean proficiency while ignoring the very obvious ethnic anchor that exists.

While UIC students may speak Korean to one another quite often, the language that they use is not so much the Korean language in its pure form but a hybrid of Korean and English. As a UIC faculty member explained, this "UIC specific language, which is a mixture of Korean and English," is a form of verbal communication whereby Korean and English are used interchangeably and back and forth, a form of code switching. I noticed this trend quite a bit in my interviews with UIC students. While my interview questions were given in English, many would interject Korean words or phrases within their English responses, and oftentimes switched between Korean and English when confirming or reflecting upon information with one another when I was meeting with groups of students. Their conversation style is similar to how many of my Korean-American friends would interact amongst ourselves or with our parents as we grew up in bilingual households (though the balance of Korean versus English used amongst UIC

students leans more heavily towards Korean), and it was comfortable for them to do so with me since I could follow quite easily the bilingual conversation and that particular conversation style.

What is most striking about the hybrid conversation style between Korean and English is that this form of code switching is indicative of the students' disparate skill levels in each language. UIC students do not switch between languages because their English is poor but because their Korean is lacking. Perhaps I speak from personal experience when I say that having high conversational ability in Korean does not automatically translate into having academic proficiency in Korean, especially if one's primary and secondary education were completed in English. For many of the Korean students at UIC, primary and/or secondary education were completed in a foreign language school that emphasized English, or overseas in a school that strictly used the English language medium. While most of these students are conversationally fluent in Korean, many of them cannot function at a high academic level in Korean because they did not develop their Korean language skills in an advanced academic setting. Even in my observations of them in their classes, I noticed that many UIC students would replace academic words and phrases within their Korean sentences with the English words, words and phrases like "international relations" or "diplomacy" that are not frequently used in daily conversation but do come up in classroom settings—in part, I suspect, because they do not know the Korean words. As a UIC faculty member commented, "Even the ones who are good at Korean, that's different than being able to read a novel in Korean, right?"

Lacking academic proficiency extends not just to reading texts but also to listening and participating in the classroom. A faculty member from the English Language and Literature Department commented about the UIC students that their Korean language skills remain "at a primitive stage." He also added that UIC students who opt to take English literature courses in

the Korean language medium often struggle to keep up with the traditional students due to language limitations, even though the texts are all in English.

> As for the [UIC] students, I find them very talented, capable, and smart. But there is one thing that they seem to lack. There are some students who try to take a course in the English Language and Literature Department outside of UIC, and they told me that they had a hard time catching up with the other students […] because they take the course in Korean. Even though the packs are written in English, the lectures are given in Korean.

In fact, most of the UIC students with whom I met, who more often than not possessed conversational fluency in Korean, admitted to me that they avoided taking courses in the Korean language medium due to language limitations.

While many faculty members recognize this language deficiency amongst UIC students, UIC does not make any real effort to help build academic proficiency in Korean for them. Korean language classes are offered to all UIC students (and UIC faculty members) at the Yonsei Korean Language Institute, but the classes that are offered are better suited for those who are at lower levels of Korean language learning. Those who enter the college with conversational fluency in Korean, as most UIC students do, would not benefit much from the language classes offered there. What has resulted is that, beyond their first two years of a common curriculum, UIC students are restricted in the courses that they can take and the majors that they can declare.

The number of majors that UIC students can choose from is quite small for any college (five in total), which are in Comparative Literature and Culture, Economics, International Studies, Political Science and International Relations, and Life Science and Biotechnology, as well as a Korean Studies minor option. The primary rationale behind these five specific majors is that, because UIC students are absorbed by a traditional department in their latter two years when taking courses in their specialized majors, these are the only traditional departments that offer enough courses in English to allow UIC students to fulfill enough course requirements to

graduate if only taking those courses. And oftentimes, most of those courses are introductory courses because the more advanced courses are offered usually in Korean.[4] This is because at Yonsei University, the courses offered in English are geared towards visiting and international exchange students who are there only for one semester or one year and who are interested primarily in those introductory courses. Furthermore, the more advanced courses are offered in Korean because most faculty members are more comfortable teaching them in Korean and most traditional students are more comfortable taking them in Korean. If UIC students wish to major in anything beyond those five choices, then those students can declare a second major from any of the traditional departments and navigate the additional course requirements, in Korean or English, on their own. In fact, a number of UIC students do so out of dissatisfaction with the UIC majors offered, and as a way to legitimize to others that they can navigate academic coursework in both languages.

Hence, the linguistic space forces a bifurcation between what UIC intends to offer, a rigorous and internationally oriented liberal arts curriculum, with what is actually given, a limited and cursory selection of majors. One UIC faculty member indicated that some students want to switch to a traditional department because of the lack of rigor found in their specialized major courses.

> I've encountered one or two students who thought that the curriculum was too shallow. Like it would just cover a bunch of issues, but not really go in depth. Like majors in International Studies, for example. From time to time, you see students who want to transfer to a Korean department within Yonsei.

[4] This is more likely the case with the majors that draw from a wide range of courses from multiple departments, such as Comparative Literature and Culture, International Studies, and Life Science and Biotechnology. The Economics and the Political Science majors have much closer relationships with their traditional department counterparts, where advanced courses can be found in both Korean and English.

It is important to note, however, that this is a bifurcation. UIC students are not so much dissatisfied with the common curriculum but are dissatisfied with their course selections once they are absorbed into a traditional department as they fulfill their major requirements.

Furthermore, Korean faculty members are the ones who primarily teach these courses in the traditional departments. Due to internationalization efforts pursued by many Korean universities, including Yonsei University, many Korean faculty members are pressured to teach in the English language medium even if they are not fully comfortable doing so. These faculty members may possess the language prerequisites to teach the course but are often limited in their ability to explain abstract and complex ideas fully in a language not of their native tongue (K. Byun, H. Chu, M. Kim, I. Park, S. Kim, & J. Jung, 2011). In fact, a few of these faculty members with whom I spoke admitted to me that they could convey only a limited scope of their ideas in courses conducted in English. As one faculty member told me, "Of course I have same contents of the course, both in the home department and in UIC. But as you know, to convey my ideas or thoughts in English is very, very difficult to me, so I think I could convey only 50 or 60 percent of my ideas to the students when I have a class at UIC." Another with whom I spoke, who is quite confident in his own English fluency, commented that most other faculty members in his department are not so. "As for my generation, they're still very clumsy in teaching in English. Even though you study in the States or in English-speaking countries, teaching in a foreign language is […] a totally different thing." He also added, "Some students in my class, maybe they could laugh at me, how clumsy my accent is, even though I feel confident about my English."

UIC students pejoratively refer to the English that Korean faculty members use in their courses as "PowerPoint English" because many Korean faculty members simply read off of their

PowerPoint presentations. Many UIC students also commented on a significant quality difference between the UIC common curriculum and the English-taught courses in traditional departments because of language limitations. As one told me,

> UIC common curriculum has the highest quality in terms of both education and the English skills that professors show. Political science, […] there's discrepancies between certain professors in terms of their English skills. There were two particular classes that I really did not understand what the professor was telling us. It was that bad. […] For Business classes, they were all taught in English, but then because they were taught in English, they weren't very tough, I think. Like sometimes you just do not understand what the professor was trying to tell you. So after class, you have to go up to them and ask them in Korean and then understand what they were trying to teach after class. That was I think the biggest differences between Yonsei courses and UIC courses.

In addition to their comments on quality, many UIC students also commented that Korean faculty members are not so discussion-oriented in their classes, probably due to language limitations. Another told me,

> Most of our majors are taught by Korean professors. Some of them, their native tongue is Korean, whereas common curriculum professors, their native tongue is English. So there's a different kind of style. The atmosphere is different. I don't know if I should be saying this, but the *bunwigi*, the atmosphere, is kind of different. I don't really want to say that the discussions are not in depth, but…

Yet another UIC student further elaborated on how a drastically different learning environment results from differences in not only language but also academic culture when taking courses in her specialized major department.

> What I thought was different was that, first of all the class size varies a lot, especially [in the Political Science Department]. They have huge lecture courses, very often, but in UIC, you mostly have twenty-something students in one class. So you get to freely discuss. You can just say anything whenever you want. But in [Political Science] lectures, it's very much authoritarian, and the professor, lecture-oriented. So they say they want to hear our opinions, but it doesn't really have the right atmosphere to do so. […] Professors come in, and everybody really respects him or her. [Students] always say thank you at the end of lectures, which was also very awkward for me to hear. It's very professor-oriented, not really student-oriented.

In speaking to some of the faculty members in the Political Science Department, I got the sense that even they are ambivalent about teaching in English. They do so primarily because they have to as a requirement for their jobs, and oftentimes the senior faculty members assign these courses to their juniors. One faculty member even told me that some Political Science faculty members resent UIC because the relationship that the department has with UIC means that more Political Science faculty members will be required to teach in English. He also told me that, unlike traditional students in the department, UIC students do not benefit much from taking Political Science courses taught in English. Traditional students may be reluctant to ask questions and discuss freely in an English-taught course because they are self-conscious of their lack of fluency, but with practice, those students can learn to articulate themselves in English and gain the technical vocabulary necessary to do so—and that faculty member practices patience in showing them how, perhaps because he went through a similar process as a student. However, he does not believe that UIC students gain anything special by taking English-taught courses in the Political Science Department because they are already fluent English speakers. There is certainly a symbolic power for English speakers (P. Bourdieu, 1991/1999), including myself, and he sees those who possess native or near-native fluency as those who do not need much help. It is because of this power dynamic that faculty members may not be particularly sensitive to the linguistic challenges that UIC students may face because UIC students are regarded as privileged English speakers. When I asked him what challenges that UIC students might face when taking Political Science courses, he answered, “I don’t know what challenges they may have because they don’t have any problem in taking English courses.” In effect, their challenges in taking Korean-taught courses are overlooked.

Why this is a controversial issue is because UIC does not recognize, or perhaps chooses to ignore, the discrepancy between the academic needs of those students whom the college wants to attract (foreign students) with the academic needs of those students who actually come to UIC (Korean students). Perhaps those foreign students whom UIC imagines as its ideal, the globetrotting English speakers from all over the world, may very well never need to develop their Korean language skills to such a high level. But when the majority of the student body is ethnically Korean and enters the college with the need and desire to improve both their English and Korean academic proficiency, a lingering question remains: What is to be expected of the students beyond their university education? Are they expected to stay within South Korea, and if so, how will their "primitive" Korean language skills help them succeed as graduates of Yonsei University? I asked these questions to a member of the UIC senior administration, who then skirted around my inquiries by responding that the top ten percent of the UIC student body is able to navigate both English and Korean academic settings with fluency and ease. But this begs another question: What about the remaining ninety percent?

At the same time, the linguistic space created by the English language medium acts as a counter-intuitive barrier that limits accessibility to UIC. Given that the college is lacking in foreign student recruiting capability and instead targets Korean and Korean Overseas students as its primary sources of enrollment, the language requirements necessary to enter the college are not possible for most. While the zeal of English language learning is prevalent amongst almost all Korean students, those who are able to attain academic proficiency in English by the end of their secondary education are still relatively few in comparison. Those who are able to do so have gone through years of formal schooling in English, either in foreign language schools or through some form of early study abroad or international schooling (not to mention

supplementary education at *hagweons* and through private tutoring), all of which indicate high socioeconomic backgrounds. In effect, the emphasis on English at UIC reinforces existing socioeconomic divisions whereby students from the highest income brackets are further elevated above traditional students at Yonsei University, students who are also by no means lacking.

What is ironic about the English language divide is that it makes UIC students feel inferior rather than superior to their traditional student counterparts. This is because the UIC admissions requirements are quite different than the admissions requirements for traditional students. UIC students submit their academic records, SAT scores, letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities, and admissions statements. They also are required to interview directly with UIC faculty members in order to ascertain their English fluency. This process is intentionally similar to the admissions process of a selective private institution in the United States. In addition to their English fluency that is assessed by having students read and answer questions about a given passage, during the interview, UIC faculty members look for whether students are capable of and mature enough in providing thoughtful answers to their questions—the kinds of qualities that are rather fuzzy to measure but can be intuited within their context.

By contrast, traditional students enter the university by taking the *suneung*, the Korean national entrance exam whereby the score largely determines which university and which department within that university a student can get into.[5] It is essentially a quantitative measure of a student's academic ability intended to be as consistent as possible for all exam takers. To put it simply, the *suneung* is a tough exam. It has also evolved into the one-chance exam that will largely determine a student's future because of how important a prestigious university degree becomes throughout one's lifetime. Each year, on the day that students take the exam, all other

[5] Recently, many traditional students apply to Yonsei University through the *susi* admissions system that does not necessarily require a *suneung* score. See chapter 6 for further discussion on the ambiguous distinction between traditional students and UIC students, who can both forgo taking the *suneung* through special admissions tracks.

students take the day off of school so as to keep schools quiet for those taking the exam. The stock market opens one hour later than usual to keep roads free for students to get to their exams on time. Even police officers will help to escort students who are running late by turning on their sirens and pushing traffic out of the way.

Why the different admissions systems becomes relevant to the formation of a linguistic space is because of the implications of the unusual admissions system that UIC students use to gain admission into one of the most prestigious universities in South Korea. UIC students are not required to submit a *suneung* score as part of their applications, and as such, many do not even take the exam. But taking the exam has become a rite of passage for many Korean students, who feel that it is in preparing for and enduring through the *suneung* that endows them with a sense of accomplishment, that they have truly earned their academic achievements. The stigma that has developed towards UIC students, then, is that these are students who have entered Yonsei University through unfair means—that they entered not based on their academic achievement, but on their exceptional English language capability that is a by-product of their high socioeconomic status. Traditional students often hold ideas that UIC students are, bluntly, materially rich and academically poor. Due to their exceptional English language capability, UIC students are believed to be second-rate students in comparison to traditional students.

However, these perceptions are largely based on hearsay since most traditional students do not interact much with UIC students or even know much about the college, primarily because UIC is beyond their realm of possibility. One faculty member from outside of UIC explained, "UIC is restrictive for certain kinds of students. Even if you want to go to UIC, you cannot, unless you meet certain requirements. That's not for ordinary people. For ordinary students, UIC is already far from their interests." In other words, given UIC's language requirements that are so

out of reach for "ordinary" students, most traditional students would not even think to apply to or otherwise consider attending UIC, which not only reinforces the college as an exclusive one within a Korean university setting but that also puts the college outside most other students' awareness. This extreme exclusivity to the point where most traditional students do not even know much about the college, in conjunction with UIC students' limited Korean language proficiency, results in an undercurrent of an inferiority complex amongst UIC students in spite of their exceptional English language capability. In fact, it is exactly because of their native and near-native fluency in English that stigmatizes UIC students in the eyes of traditional students.

By entering into the linguistic space at UIC, students experience an even further advancement of their English language capability but at the expense of their Korean. The college's particular approach to language overlooks the multilingual backgrounds of its students, who need and desire the development of their Korean academic proficiency alongside English. The uniquely UIC form of multilingualism is a hybrid of Korean and English whereby speakers spontaneously interchange between the two languages in a form of code switching that is primarily in Korean but often replaces academic vocabulary in English, which is indicative of their poor academic proficiency in Korean. But by not making any real effort to elevate and refine students' academic proficiency in Korean, UIC is condemning its students to remain in a diglossic state whereby their English is preferred and their Korean is degenerated, even though the students go on to graduate from one of the most prestigious universities in South Korea. This also degrades the quality of education that UIC students receive during their university education that is a direct function of the emphasis on English at the expense of Korean. At the same time, UIC students develop an inferiority complex that stems from their native and near-native English fluency in tandem with their lack of Korean fluency because it stigmatizes them as those who

bypassed the traditional admissions system and gained entrance into the university based on financial means. Surely, this raises questions as to the quality of an international college, one that claims to offer a world-class education, when it fails to provide most of its students the linguistic skills necessary to succeed beyond their university education (see chapter 6).

THE FORMATION OF A SOCIAL SPACE

The social space formed at UIC stems from perceptions of privilege about the college, and this social space is very much a function of the educational and linguistic spaces. UIC is elevated above and segregated from the rest of Yonsei University. At the same time, the college struggles to find a place for its students as well integrated members of the university. Realistically, however, the two extremes of privileged and well integrated are fundamentally contradictory. What this results in is confusion in identity amongst UIC students. At the same time, a complex dynamic of in-group and out-group politics characterizes membership even within UIC, and this has implications for how the foreign is perceived and negotiated within a Korean university setting.

There are several reasons for UIC students' exclusion, the obvious one being that UIC students share a different linguistic space than the traditional students. From their native and near-native fluency in English to their hybrid conversation style between Korean and English, their distinct linguistic space is one that immediately identifies them as UIC students. Many traditional students claim that they can immediately spot a UIC student in a classroom setting. As one told me, "I think the biggest difference is their tendency to speak out. UIC students are less hesitant on discussing, and they're very familiar to the whole process. The normal department students, no." The fact that UIC students are more outspoken in the classroom has a lot to do

with the training they receive in their first two years of taking common curriculum courses. As a UIC student told me, “There might be fifty of us in the room, but you’ll probably notice that it’s UIC students who are participating the most. Maybe that’s because we’re more comfortable in English. Or maybe that’s because we’re not afraid to ask questions or reply. Most Korean students are very quiet because I think they’re more used to lecture-based whereas we’re more used to discussion-based classes.” This immediate identification by others makes UIC students stick together in class, as a traditional student told me, “Even in class, unless we have a group project and even if we do have a group project, they tend to group together. UIC students tend to group together with other UIC students, and vice versa.” Indeed, this tendency to stick with one’s own kind follows a distinctly Korean form of in-group and out-group politics. As a traditional student told me, “You know how Koreans think. ‘Oh I can’t speak English, and they’re the minority people who can speak English. They’re different from me, and we don’t socialize.’”

Beyond their classroom interactions, traditional students seldom interact with UIC students, and this happens because of the structural separations in the way the college positions itself. The educational space at UIC positions the college as an exclusive space elevated above and segregated from the rest of the university. From its higher tuition to the way its courses are restricted to traditional students, the message sent to the rest of the university is that UIC is special, and therefore better. This is indeed a conscious image crafted by UIC. In conversation with the current UIC Dean Park Hyungji, the Dean told me that she wants the education offered at UIC to become the best university education that one can receive in South Korea. In a sense, the way that UIC is crafted into an exclusive educational space leads to a deeper separation in social space beyond any linguistic differences. As one faculty member from a traditional department explained,

> UIC students have to pay more tuition fees. It means that the school is conveying a message to UIC students that you pay more, so the classes you are taking are something greater than the normal classes offered at Yonsei. Just regard it as a privilege to take the UIC courses. This is a message also conveyed to normal Yonsei students. You are not supposed to take UIC courses because you paid less. […] So, emotionally and physically separated.

Even in the ways UIC students position themselves, UIC students find that not only are they separated, but also that they *should* be separated from traditional students. As one UIC student commented,

> As I got to my major, I had some doubts about whether the quality of education was equivalent to the amount of tuition I was paying because we share a lot of classes with the [traditional students]. We don't have our own [major] professors. They're all [traditional department] professors, and we're all shared.

While some UIC students enjoy sharing courses with traditional students, they also believe that they should have their own faculty members for all four years of their university education. As another UIC student told me,

> It's nice to interact with or see how [traditional] students study, to share that classroom experience. But it's also not fair sometimes. I don't really see why we should have the same professors and at the same time we belong to a different college.

UIC students themselves buy into the idea that a higher tuition equates to a better education, and that this somehow entitles them to a different academic experience than traditional students.

Because UIC students do not "belong" to a traditional department within Yonsei University, UIC students do not belong to the established social organization and hierarchies within a Korean university—and this is not something that traditional students are comfortable with, especially as it relates to the *seonbae-hubae* (senior-junior) hierarchical order. The *seonbae-hubae* hierarchical order is a seniority system based upon age and school year that Korean students widely understand and follow. Seniors are able to ask their juniors for favors, and in return, seniors help their juniors in advice and networking opportunities. Even beyond

university life, as students go on to graduate from Yonsei University, those students continue to benefit from a vast network of seniors and juniors who have also graduated from the same university. It is exactly because of the strong Korean in-group and out-group politics that allow alumni to feel kinship with those who graduated from the same university, and an even stronger kinship with those who graduated from the same department. This kinship is shared at all levels of schooling—from as early as one's elementary school going onto one's university education—and these schools continue to hold regular alumni gatherings to keep alive their *seonbae-hubae* networks. By identifying as a Yonsei University graduate or a specific department's graduate, alumni are placing themselves into an established hierarchy of all other alumni that endows them with special privileges and networking opportunities.

By contrast, UIC students do not enter Yonsei University by entering into a specific department, and this disrupts the normal socialization process that new entrants undergo to become acculturated within that department's hierarchy. When UIC students enter Yonsei University, they are sequestered within their own college, where they take their own curriculum with their own faculty members for their first two years. Alongside this separation, they also develop a feeling of specialness that is a direct function of the educational space that they enter. By the time that they enter a traditional department in their third year and take courses within that department, UIC students have already developed a uniquely UIC identity. This identity is further shaped by others' perceptions of them because traditional students can immediately identify and label UIC students by their native and near-native English fluency. And while UIC students may also develop some affiliation with the traditional departments that they join, this relationship is still subpar to the strength of traditional students' affiliation with their departments and with each other. In fact, many traditional students feel that UIC students are

infiltrating into their space by joining their departments midway into their university education. As a traditional student told me, "We would think of UIC as some department far away from the campus, like at the corner of the campus, and they're the minority. […] They don't have their own building. They have to come to our department to listen to the English courses given by our professors."

It is interesting to note that the formal departmental structures do not necessarily discriminate between its traditional students and those who enter by first becoming UIC students. A faculty member in the Political Science Department emphasized that the traditional students in the department and the UIC students who major in Political Science are not treated differently in any way. "We do not place any boundaries or lines between them. We have always emphasized that the two are the same Political Science major students." He also highlighted the annual MT retreat that all students, traditional and UIC, participate in together as a way that brings the two groups together. MT stands for membership training. As the name implies, students participate in an MT retreat in order to 'train' as members of the department as an integral component to forming a sense of kinship with one another. The event is held once a year shortly before the academic year begins so as to introduce new entrants to the Political Science Department to the existing members. For the Political Science Department, as well as for traditional departments across most Korean universities, an MT retreat consists of a weekend trip to a rural area, where students eat, drink, and socialize in seclusion. The idea is to encourage incoming freshmen to form a sense of kinship amongst themselves as a new cohort, and to become absorbed into the *seonbae-hubae* hierarchical order with the older students.

Yet UIC students are not well included within the social space shared by traditional students, even though the departments do not pose any formal barriers for this to happen. When I

asked traditional students in the Political Science Department about their MT retreat that also invites UIC students, many of the traditional students said that they do not see many UIC students attend them and had not given much thought as to why. The reason for their absence is because UIC students feel very uncomfortable as the small minority present at MT retreats, where the forced hierarchy unsettles most UIC students, who have not joined this acculturation process until midway into their university education. As a UIC student explained, "[Political Science] has a very strong and strict hierarchy in age. […] UIC doesn't have that as much. We do have that, but we're more like friends with our *seonbae* [seniors]—we *can* be friends. […] I think we definitely have a different culture than they do." Furthermore, traditional students do not even give much thought as to how UIC students could feel more comfortable at the MT retreat. As one told me, "The people who are preparing the whole event are the normal department students, so they would sometimes forget about UIC. […] The professors would come [and remind them]. [Then they] just put them in some kind of group. When they come in, UIC students would just talk to themselves, but they are the minority and we are the majority. That's what keeps them away, from coming to [the MT retreat] at all." Perhaps traditional students' unconcern for UIC students stems from how privileged UIC students seem in comparison. I asked this same student to tell me what kinds of things could help UIC students feel more integrated within the Political Science Department in general. She answered, "That's a question I never thought of because I always thought of it the other way. Since I'm a normal department student, I would always be like, What would make our department more like UIC? You know, a smaller number of students per professor, more laid back, more free discussions."

While UIC students are not well included within the traditional departments' social spheres, they cannot even form their own departmental identity and traditions. This is because

UIC as an institution does not assert itself as a traditional department that offers its own majors—a lot of it a result of academic politicking, I am told, because UIC does not want to become involved in inter-departmental disputes. Because UIC does not establish itself as a traditional department that offers its own internal majors, this affects the students in very tangible ways. At the annual *akaraka* festival that is the biggest event at Yonsei University, students watch live music performances in a large stadium and sit in groups based on their departmental affiliations. But there is nowhere for UIC students to sit together because there is no UIC section at the *akaraka* festival. The idea is that UIC students should sit in the sections of the departments that they have joined. Even at the annual soccer match between Yonsei University and their rival Korea University, UIC students have nowhere to sit together to cheer on their school because they are not represented as a department. Within a culture that values group affiliation, UIC students are without any group at all.

Perhaps this kind of indifference to the everyday social life of a Korean university is exactly what UIC envisions as it seeks to parlay its students into prestigious international career tracks without regard for their local contributions. But how this actualizes is that UIC students crave a sense of belonging to their local environment because, as ethnically Korean students, they hold very personal ties to South Korea. A faculty member from a traditional department shared an anecdote whereby he had asked the UIC students in his class in which department they would like to belong if given a choice.

> One day, I asked the UIC students, if you are given a chance to choose between UIC or the Department of Business Administration or the School of Law, then what department are you going to choose? Surprisingly to me, almost all of the Korean students, they say, "Professor, what kind of question is that? Of course I will choose Business Administration, the regular local department, or the School of Law." Why is that? You pay more tuition fee. This is a perfect school for English-speaking people. You have very high regard in outside society. Many people are so competitive in wanting to be admitted here. So they tell me, "Professor, you don't know. Korean society is a traditional society.

> If you do not belong to a traditional establishment, then you are to be isolated. Even though I will graduate from UIC, when I graduate, I won't have any *seonbae* [seniors]." So for them, it's better to be admitted to the traditional departments. In other words, I realized that […] the Korean students want something of a belongingness. In appearance, they belong to UIC, but Korean UIC students, they wish to belong to an established department.

It is in this vein that the Korean students who attend UIC strive and fail to be better included in the established social spaces at Yonsei University. Their lack of a departmental affiliation causes them to feel like misfits at the university, and they make up for this in other ways. Because they cannot even identify as UIC students because UIC is not a traditional department, the easiest way for them to form a group affiliation is by strongly identifying themselves with their Korean ethnicity despite their interesting backgrounds whereby many were not educated in the Korean language medium nor spent much of their lives in South Korea. This is why the students will speak amongst themselves in Korean (or a hybrid of Korean and English) even if they are all fluent in English. In fact, one student, ethnically Korean who grew up in Canada, indicated rather paradoxically that her native language is Korean but that her most comfortable language is English: "Native, Korean, but best, English." In other words, UIC students speak in Korean to *become* more Korean. As one UIC faculty member explained, "I think many of our Korean students try to integrate, maybe because of that try to become more Korean. They don't like being treated as different by the Yonsei community."

But this emphasized use of Korean has repercussions for the way non-Korean speakers engage with, or are unable to engage with, Korean speakers within UIC. This is certainly not what UIC intended to create as an international college. As a college with a primarily Korean student body, that student body forms the nucleus of the social space within the college to the exclusion of those who do not share the same linguistic abilities. As one UIC faculty member explained,

> The native Korean, that is to say ethnic Koreans who speak Korean fluently, tend to hang out by themselves. They are a little bit cliquish. The international students tend to hang out separately from the Korean students. I think part of that has got to do with language because most of the Korean students, when they're outside of the classroom, they like to speak in Korean.

In fact, this linguistic divide has serious repercussions to the detriment of the foreign students who attend. The foreign students are bluntly excluded from any situation where Korean is the language of communication. This goes beyond casual socializing. A UIC faculty member who is involved with UIC student clubs mentioned that even in those clubs, students will only use Korean. In fact, one foreign student told me that he does not join any of those clubs, even though he would like to, because "a lot of the extracurriculars, you have to speak Korean. For the same reason as why I don't hang out with groups that are all Korean because, even if they all speak English, they will speak Korean."

For the ethnically Korean students who attend UIC, their shared language forms a sense of kinship that they can share with each other in a way that they cannot share with other students at Yonsei University. One student, ethnically Korean who grew up in Europe, elaborated on the language dynamics that she shares with her friend, Korean who attended a foreign language high school: "Even if I'm comfortable speaking in English and she's comfortable speaking in English, when we talk, we actually talk in Korean. […] But if the international students don't speak Korean per se, it's not like a family. […] Maybe that's the Korean atmosphere of the college." But this "Korean atmosphere" is not so much a form of Korean culture—because the UIC students certainly do not feel comfortable with the culture of traditional students—but is more so a way in which the ethnically Korean students consciously separate themselves from the non-ethnically Korean students within UIC. And it is in this way that Korean in-group and out-group politics assert themselves even within the boundaries of UIC. The ethnically Korean students

who attend UIC want desperately to fit in within Yonsei University at large, but because they cannot do so with traditional students, they find solace in their affiliation amongst themselves, their shared ethnic heritage becoming the basis for that. In the same way that traditional students reject UIC students for not following the established culture of Yonsei University, the ethnically Korean students who attend UIC reject non-ethnically Korean students for not sharing the same culture as well.

But it is important to highlight that this self-segregation amongst students is very much a racialized process and has little to do with how "Korean" one is. In speaking with a group of friends at UIC, all ethnically Korean, I was told that all of their friends are also ethnically Korean like themselves. One of the students had attended regular public schools in South Korea but spoke with near-native English fluency because she had spent several years in the United States as a child. She told me, "Kids that just studied in Korea really get along with kids that studied abroad. International students, they're kind of different. […] But if you're Korean origin, there's not a big gap." This sense of kinship amongst ethnic Koreans at UIC is certainly *not* what they share with the traditional students exactly because of differences in education and language. So it was very strange when I asked this group of friends why they do not interact more with foreign students, they answered it is because Korean and foreign students have differences in culture. "We could adapt to Korean culture," said one student. "Because we were raised that way by our parents," added another. But while these students are ethnically Korean, they had all grown up in the United States or in Canada for most of their lives, with the exception of the one who attended regular public schools in South Korea, and even she had lived in the United States for four years. Even more strangely, when I asked if they feel a disconnect when they do interact with foreign

students, they all answered no—the reason being that they had grown up in the United States and in Canada, so they are used to having "Caucasian and other race friends."

How strange it is that in coming to an international college, the ethnically Korean students assert themselves as *more* Korean than when they entered. But how they define what it means to be "Korean" is not based on Korean culture per se but is defined in opposition to what they call "international"—a new form of otherness that takes on racialized undertones. By asserting themselves as Korean primarily via language and consciously separating themselves from non-ethnically Korean students, UIC students are legitimizing their place within Yonsei University through their ethnic connection despite that they cannot bond with traditional students because of their different backgrounds in education and language. Their attempts at legitimacy happen within an international college that consciously crafts itself as a special, and therefore non-Korean, institution. Paradoxically, the deliberate ways that UIC establishes itself as a non-Korean college are exactly what pressure its students to assert themselves as more "Korean" than when they entered.

SEPARATE AND SPECIAL?

While I describe UIC students and traditional students as having vastly different backgrounds, sometimes the distinctions between their education and language experiences are blurred, and this raises the question of whether the two groups are so culturally different upon entering Yonsei University. One student whom I met was born in South Korea but moved abroad when she was five years old because of her father's work. She attended both international schools and Korean schools abroad throughout several Southeast Asian countries. She is equally comfortable speaking in Korean and English. However, she struggles in her Korean writing ability, especially

in her coursework, and has considerable difficulty when reading and writing *hanmun* (Korean script written in Chinese characters). She avoids taking courses in Korean for this reason. While she reminds me of a typical student who would attend UIC, she is actually a traditional student at Yonsei University. She and her friends are all *gyopos*, Korean citizens who grew up abroad, and though they grew up in vastly different places like Indonesia and Argentina, they bond for the very reason that makes them unusual in South Korea. Though she gets along well with UIC students because they share similar backgrounds in education and language, most of her friends are traditional students like herself, primarily because her identity as a university student is firmly rooted in her department. And her *gyopo* friends are all in the same department with her.

Conversely, several students whom I met attending UIC were born and raised in South Korea. They attended Korean primary schools and then elite foreign language high schools. While Korean is their native language, they had been immersed in English language education since early childhood so that by the time they graduated from high school, they were well prepared to take academic coursework in English. Like many students in elite education tracks, they are smart, driven, and bilingual. They would succeed in any university they chose to attend, and they chose to attend the best in South Korea: Seoul National University. Almost all of them had applied to Seoul National University but failed to gain admittance. Some had also applied to Yonsei University as traditional students and also failed. But because of their exceptional English language capability, they were able to gain admittance to UIC and became students at Yonsei University in that way, entering at least a SKY university, even if not their top choice and through unconventional means. None of them had considered studying abroad at the time they had applied.

In many ways, the distinction between UIC students and traditional students is arbitrary, and many of the students whom UIC attracts are drawn from the same pool as those who would be traditional students—not students who would otherwise study abroad. It is in this way that the concept of an international college elevated above and segregated from a Korean university setting is in large part a forced structural separation that has little to do with the students who actually attend. But the spaces in which these students are drawn into are what form a uniquely UIC identity through the educational, linguistic, and social transformations that the students experience. Still, there is considerable angst amongst UIC students because the students whom the college believes it is designed for are not the students whom the college actually brings in for reasons that defy the idea of UIC as an international college. In many cases, students come to UIC for the very reason that it is part of an elite university in South Korea, forming a deeply rooted ethnic anchor. Nonetheless, the college refuses to establish itself as a traditional department, and this is why UIC students develop identity confusion when they have no sense of belonging within Yonsei University. By also instilling a sense of privilege and entitlement in UIC students, the college and its the shortcomings in not providing the university experience that these students want lead them to develop a streak of resentment. This is why UIC students pejoratively refer to UIC as "Unfortunately I Came."

At the same time, because the college establishes itself as a distinctly non-Korean space, the perceptions of what UIC should be inform the ways in which the college is integrated within Yonsei University. From its image as the "English school" to the "International Division" of Yonsei University, UIC is looked upon with a sense of otherness by the rest of the university. The fact that UIC does not have its own physical space on the main campus, but shares a building with the Graduate School of International Studies on the very outskirt of the main

campus, does not help to legitimize its standing within Yonsei University. In fact, when the UIC home base was formally established at Yonsei International Campus in the Songdo International Business District beginning in 2011, the status of the college as a marginal component to the university was firmly solidified.

Songdo is a government-planned city within a Special Economic Zone about 90 minutes away from the main campus of Yonsei University via direct shuttle bus. Though Songdo is an international zone in name, in reality it is a desolate and sequestered environment away from the main hub of business and entertainment in Seoul. Despite the rhetoric that Songdo is a new and emerging city that will rival Seoul, the only thing "international" about Songdo is that it is located nearby an airport. However, the government has deemed Songdo as an international education hub—and this distinction is significant because it is the only site in South Korea where foreign higher education institutions are allowed to open branch campuses. Indeed, the construction of Songdo parallels the rise of international education hubs that are emerging throughout Asia, Africa, and the Middle East that aim to bring in a critical mass of international education students and providers. While many of these hubs have a scope of impact only at the national or regional levels, the countries in which these hubs are located foresee a global impact of their hub activities in the long term (J. Knight, 2013). Furthermore, neoliberal principles are motivating the construction of these new spaces (T. Looser, 2012), and this raises questions as to the feasibility of lacking responsibility to anything local (G. Karram, 2014), what some have called "spaces of indifference" (T. Looser, 2012).

For UIC, Songdo is significant because the UIC home base is now formally established in it. It is also the site where UIC freshmen are required to live and take courses as of 2011. While this was a sensitive thorn in the history of UIC, now that all Yonsei University freshmen are also

required to live and take courses in Songdo as of 2013, any bitterness over the UIC freshmen being sent there has more or less dissipated. Still, the clear physical separation between UIC in Songdo and the main campus of Yonsei University sends a message to the rest of the university that UIC is a marginal component within the university, and this has implications for how the foreign is perceived and negotiated. In a way, UIC and Songdo are a logical fit because of what they both represent—an "international" space where foreign students and foreign faculty members come together in South Korea—and the message that is sent is that it is more desirable to have this exchange happen in a faraway bubble away from the main activities of Yonsei University. The irony is that the UIC students are perhaps not so foreign as others may perceive them to be.

Though UIC students may not necessarily be so different than traditional students, because of their affiliation with UIC, they are branded as the "international" students within Yonsei University. In this case, meanings of international are constructed through perceptions of UIC as a college that is separate and special because the college builds itself to be so. But when those perceptions are co-constructed alongside an image of a college that does not even have a physical presence on the main campus and is instead banished to the cultural wasteland of Songdo, separate and special takes on meanings that are rather demeaning for UIC students. When the UIC home base was put in Songdo, UIC was given an image as a satellite campus of Yonsei University despite that neither UIC nor Songdo is so. Yonsei University does have a satellite campus, Wonju, and the widely held perceptions of the academic programs at the Wonju campus are that they are of second-rate quality. Students who graduate from those programs are stigmatized because they graduate with a degree that specifies a Yonsei University Wonju degree. As one UIC faculty member told me, "Everybody criticizes those guys, that if you graduated

from Wonju Yonsei, you didn't really graduate from the real Yonsei." Through a schematic connection whereby UIC and Songdo become interchangeable as the "international" zones, and because UIC students are already other-ized as the "international" students of Yonsei University, separate and special implies something of a second-rate education for second-rate students.

This is why the ethnically Korean students who attend UIC try to become more "Korean" by disassociating themselves with what they perceive as a group even more foreign than they, the non-ethnically Korean students within UIC. By further other-izing another group of students, UIC students are mitigating the otherness that they face with traditional students. Traditional students often react to this dynamic with surprise when UIC students do not fit some preconceived mold of what they believe UIC students to be. As one UIC faculty member told me, "At Songdo, for example, [traditional students] don't like it when they see UIC students speak Korean. They actually go up to UIC students and say, 'Why are you speaking Korean? No Korean.'" As for the non-ethnically Korean students within UIC, they become an isolated group within the wider university. As another UIC faculty member aptly pointed out,

> The more the boundaries between UIC and Korean Yonsei become blurred, the more isolated our international students get because they're going to clash with the Korean students, who then go off to do all of these things that don't involve them. Then the international students become this small isolated community.

As UIC expands rapidly by accepting more students and hiring more faculty members while making further institutional changes with the addition of three new academic wings, the Asian Studies Division, the Techno Arts Division, and the Integrated Social Sciences Division, the identity of the international college will certainly evolve. Even the sclerotic institutional identity whereby changes are happening so quickly and so suddenly does little to offer UIC students a sense of their own identity within Yonsei University. In a heartfelt plea for clarity, a UIC student who recently graduated wondered what UIC even means to her anymore.

> Along with the newness is that we're still establishing our identity, and we're trying to establish that *within* Yonsei. So it's not just how others view us and how they accept us, […] but also how we see ourselves and how much we want to be a part of it. […] Every year, they have so many changes going on. […] Last year, we sent freshmen to Songdo. This year, they're taking on a whole new major that has really nothing to do with liberal arts in a sense, but it's as big as UIC. There are so many changes going on that I feel that UIC is losing its uniqueness. It's losing its identity. It doesn't know what UIC is. *I* don't know what UIC is. What are we? Are we really focusing on liberal arts? Are we *just* a college that is for English instruction, so *any* major that teaches in English can be part of UIC? What exactly is it anymore? I don't know because every year there are so many changes going on. I feel like the Dean and the professors are still just experimenting with this and trying to see what's successful, what's not. But for the students, I've already graduated. It causes a lot of confusion.

Sadly, it is confusion over their own place within Yonsei University that many graduates of UIC leave with. The long-term effects of their confusion are still to be determined.

Despite recurring feelings of angst amongst many UIC students, there are high stakes invested into the success of UIC, and this is where the college receives close scrutiny from the senior administration. It is important to highlight that none of the UIC Deans or Associate Deans are selected amongst the UIC faculty members, primarily because of the youth of the institution that means that no internal faculty members have acquired tenure yet (see chapter 5). Instead, all senior administration posts are filled by faculty members from the traditional departments and other academic units at Yonsei University. The funny thing about this setup is that there is little sense of academic freedom within the college that boasts of a liberal arts tradition. During my interviews with UIC faculty members, while most were willing to speak with me, many were selective in what information they shared and what they did not, and some outright refused to be recorded during our interviews. Though I did not feel that anyone shared anything particularly controversial, I sensed that there was a prevailing attitude of caution because of what might happen to his or her employment status if the wrong information were publicized. Even the UIC students, who are naturally more willing to be openly critical of their own college, had said that

the administration micromanages anything negative about UIC that is publicized too widely. For example, one UIC student told me about an interview that she gave to a local newspaper about her student experience. In the interview, she gave what she thought of as a fair assessment, explaining both the good and bad aspects. She told me that shortly after the newspaper article was published, she had received a personal phone call from the UIC Dean warning her to check with the UIC senior administration first before giving any more interviews about the college (she did not before my interview, by the way). As another example, a different student with whom I met told me about an article that was published several years ago in the university newsletter, *Yonsei Annals*, that discussed the reasons behind the negative stereotypes about UIC. Though she and her friends thought that the article was quite apt in its portrayal of their college, they had heard that the author of the article received some admonishment for publicizing negative views about UIC. Interestingly, when I searched for this article in the *Yonsei Annals* web archives, I could not find it online. Even during one of my trips to Songdo shortly before I was meeting an interviewee, while I was waiting at a coffee shop, I witnessed an administrator connected with UIC dictate verbatim to a UIC student the contents of an article being drafted for the UIC newsletter *The Scribe*, even though the article was supposed to be a student-led interview of this administrator.

While covering up any criticism, UIC tries very hard to craft an image of itself as an international college that is an appealing destination for foreign students. From its brochures that primarily feature students with a Caucasian look to the way the marketing materials gloss over its lack of presence on the main campus of Yonsei University, the image that it boasts to the outside world is jarring for the foreign students who do attend. As one UIC student told me, "I think UIC tries to put too much focus on how international they look. So rather than focusing on

programs or the infrastructure at UIC, they're focusing too much on getting international students or international professors or just looking international. I wish they would try to work more on the facilities to make it more international friendly." When I asked him what kinds of things he had in mind that could be improved in this aspect, his answer was quite clear. "At [Songdo], they didn't really provide for English-speaking students, so it was hard for me and the international students to use all the facilities. Like the laundry machines, as simple as that." Perhaps these small details are overlooked because Songdo, and by extension UIC, is not actually an environment that is designed for foreign students. That image is just a carefully constructed product of its marketing.

These tensions and contradictions reveal the ways in which UIC attempts to establish itself globally. The demographics of an international college in South Korea are certainly related to the very personal ties that ethnic Koreans have to South Korea that are, in fact, denied by the international college in order to strategically position itself in a global hierarchy of universities. But by denying the very obvious ethnic anchor that exists, the college is denying the very thing that makes it attractive to its majority student body. At the same time, the college expends much energy containing any criticism while carefully crafting an image of itself as an appealing destination for foreign students, and this informs how the rest of the university perceives an international college. UIC is certainly a separate and special space within Yonsei University, but meanings of separate and special become distorted because the college struggles in finding a place for its students as well integrated members of the university that is a direct function of the image that it wants to create for itself. Though the students who enroll at UIC are not necessarily so different than traditional students, they become marginalized by their affiliation with UIC, where meanings of international imply something of a second-rate education for second-rate

students. Meanwhile, the social dynamics within UIC are imbued with racial politics whereby the ethnically Korean students consciously segregate themselves from the non-ethnically Korean students because they cannot integrate well with the rest of Yonsei University. The aggressive ways that UIC establishes itself as an international, and therefore non-Korean, college are exactly why the ethnically Korean students aggressively assert their "Korean" identity even more strongly.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have shown how the institutional framework of UIC within the larger setting of Yonsei University creates hybrid pedagogical practices, languages, and social interactions within a Third Space. In particular, contradictions arise when an international college defines itself as a distinctly non-Korean college but has a majority student body that is ethnically Korean. From an institutional perspective, meanings of "international" imply something of a second-rate education for second-rate students because of UIC's affiliation with Songdo. While the students who attend UIC are perhaps not so different from traditional students at Yonsei University, they become stigmatized as such "international" students, and what results is that the ethnically Korean students assert their racialized "Korean" identity even more strongly in order to deflect such degrading stigmas of "international." In the following chapters, I explore in more depth the racialized and paradoxical definitions of "international" and "Korean" by more closely examining the experiences of the UIC faculty members in chapter 5 and the UIC students in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

THE FACULTY: SURVIVING ACADEMIA IN A KOREAN UNIVERSITY

On August 24, 2011, I attended my first day as an international exchange student at Yonsei University. In the large auditorium that is Baekyang Hall, an American man—tall, blonde, handsome—came up on stage to welcome the chatty, eager students sitting in the audience. He introduced himself as the Associate Dean of International Affairs and a faculty member here at Yonsei University. He shared a story of how, just like us, he first arrived at Yonsei University as an international exchange student, and that that was the beginning of his career trajectory in South Korea. Little did I know at the time that he is one of the early faculty members who helped to launch Underwood International College (UIC). In ways both symbolic and literal, he embodies what UIC imagines as its ideal face to the rest of the world: a visible foreigner, white, who speaks fluent Korean, and is personally and professionally invested in South Korea. As he shared to us his story, the audience members listened with curiosity and rapt attention. He is certainly an anomaly in South Korea, and perhaps this endows him with advantages as he navigates his professional endeavors at Yonsei University. Still, the advantages that he may benefit from are also what brand him as a permanent outsider, a *oegukin* (the Korean word for foreigner that translates to "outsider"), and thus, he is not so much benefitting from a kind of foreigner privilege as he is objectified as the university's international beacon. Indeed, the *oegukin* becomes an important metonymy for UIC and, to a larger extent, for Yonsei University's world standing.

The faculty members whom UIC believes can deliver an international education are, essentially, foreign nationals from Western countries. These Western faculty members constitute

a knowledge-intensive creative class for Yonsei University that endows them with special benefits. However, the UIC faculty members do not benefit from a kind of foreigner privilege; rather, they function as a strategically appropriated commodity for Yonsei University as a way to retain Korean students from studying abroad. Guided by the question, What is the role of Western faculty members who work for an international college?, this chapter analyzes UIC faculty members' experiences in navigating the promises, pitfalls, and challenges of Korean academic culture within their designated role. Their tenuous position within Yonsei University reveals a deeply rooted sense of ethnic nationalism that arises in reaction to globalization processes as Korean universities are recruiting Western faculty members not to transform into Western universities but to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector.

FOSTERING THE CREATIVE CLASS

The faculty members who come to UIC are certainly of the knowledge-intensive creative class that pundits tout as bringing creativity and economic growth to wherever they go. In fact, the notion of the creative class is perhaps what Yonsei University had in mind as it sought to establish an international college that consists of only foreign faculty members. This strategy certainly mirrors the strategy of the World Class University Project, rolled out from 2008 to 2013, that is a large-scale initiative by the Korean government for the internationalization of research and academic staff in Korean higher education. The Project is essentially a higher education subsidy program that invites foreign scholars who possess advanced research capacities to collaborate with Korean faculty members. The primary motivation of this project was to counterbalance the outflow of prominent scholars in South Korea and to increase the global rankings of Korean universities.

Indeed, in a global higher education system, the ranking of universities mirrors a capitalist world-economy whereby a small core of highly developed states extract capital surpluses from a trade imbalance over a large periphery of middle-income and developing states (I. Wallerstein, 1974/2004). In particular, with the rise of global university rankings, universities all over the world are pressured to conform to the Emerging Global Model of the top stratum of research universities in the quest for world-class status (K. Mohrman, W. Ma, & D. Baker, 2008). While only a small number of research universities located in a core of highly industrialized nations are recognized as the pinnacle of a global higher education system—stemming from the development of research universities that mirrors the development of Western economic powers—middle-income and developing countries are now also participating in the global competition phenomenon in higher education by striving for globally competitive research universities themselves. However, as Philip G. Altbach (2009) notes, middle-income and developing countries face specific challenges in fostering globally competitive research universities, including the retention of highly skilled scientists and scholars, who often migrate to the highly ranked research universities of the West. To produce globally competitive research universities, South Korea has thus developed policies such as the World Class University Project that aim to bring in prominent scholars to its own research universities. Hence, Yonsei University's internationalization agenda as a component to the quest for world-class status is contingent upon the Western faculty members recruited to come work for UIC. What is happening at UIC is that the kinds of research activities that count as world-class are not just being adopted, but the knowledge workers themselves—"imported" faculty from the United States and Western Europe—are brought into a Korean university setting in the quest for world-class status.

There are several benefits to "importing" Western faculty members to Yonsei University. Certainly on the one hand, global university rankings are the primary motivation for the establishment of a corps of Western faculty members within Yonsei University, and their publication output in international journals is the primary measure of their value to the university. This is also in line with the indices used to rank an institution in the Academic Ranking of World Universities published by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education and the World University Rankings published by *Times Higher Education* that have become the benchmark systems by which to compare and rank institutions. But specifically for the Korean higher education sector that suffers from a decreasing population of domestic students, the recruitment of foreign students is a necessary component to not only the prestige but also the very survival of Korean universities (see chapter 2). While Western faculty members are potentially a fecund source of publications that improves Yonsei University's standing in global university rankings, the Western faculty members also bring auxiliary benefits to Yonsei University that are essential to evoking an international college's attraction to a greater student market. The Western faculty members bring with them the Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms that they enforce within UIC that bring about educational, linguistic, and social transformations for the students who attend (see chapter 4), and it is this novel learning ecology that Yonsei University believes will attract more students domestically and abroad.

However, due to a lack foreign student recruiting capability, UIC has resorted to recruiting primarily Korean and Korean Overseas students who would otherwise study abroad in pursuit of a degree from a Western country and English language advancement. Increasingly, a larger proportion of Korean students are going overseas for their undergraduate degrees because of the increasing demand for foreign-degree holders and English-language speakers in the

Korean job market (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011). UIC has targeted this population as its primary source of tuition revenue in the pursuit of greater student markets. Thus, the primary role of Western faculty members who come work for UIC is to attract and retain Korean and Korean Overseas students who would otherwise study abroad by offering a Western learning ecology within a Korean university setting.

From the perspective of the Western faculty members, UIC offers steady employment during a time of lagging academic job prospects in the United States and other Western countries. The faculty body can be split into two groups: (1) those who came specifically to South Korea for personal reasons, and (2) those who did not have any reason to choose South Korea over any other country. While faculty members from both groups came for primarily the same reason—a poor academic job market in the United States—there were very strong personal reasons that influenced those in the first group to come to South Korea despite the fact that a poor job market in the United States was the primary reason why they went overseas in the first place. Those who came to South Korea for personal reasons came because they have family members in South Korea, a Korean spouse, and/or a research focus within Korean Studies. Those who did not have any reason to choose South Korea over any other country came because a faculty position at UIC was the best or only academic job that they could find. The distribution between the first and second group was only slightly skewed in favor of the second group amongst the UIC full-time faculty members with whom I spoke: six in the first group, and seven in the second group.

There are two important points to be made about this grouping. One is that the significant proportion of those who can be categorized into the first group, those who came specifically to South Korea for personal reasons, speaks to the very personal ties to the host country amongst many faculty members who come work for an international college. Many of these faculty

members have some level of conversational fluency in the Korean language. Many are also of Korean heritage. The second point is that those who can be categorized into the second group, those who did not have any reason to choose South Korea over any other country, speaks to the stark lack of ties to the host country amongst most faculty members who come work for an international college. None of these faculty members have a sophisticated command of the Korean language. Some had not even visited South Korea before accepting their job offers. In other words, the only reason that these faculty members are living in South Korea is because of their employment at UIC.

Despite their differences, the vast majority of the Western faculty members come work for UIC because they had trouble finding steady employment elsewhere. One UIC faculty member who is involved in the faculty hiring process explained to me,

> The job market is so incredibly bad now. We find when we recruit people for jobs that we have a very large pool of candidates. We've had very few people that have actually turned down positions that we've offered. And many of the people that have turned down those positions have actually come to regret it.

This certainly reflects the academic job market in the United States whereby more Ph.D. graduates are flooding the academic labor pool while tenure-track jobs are diminishing. In fact, this same faculty member expressed how fortunate he is to have found any tenure-track job at all.

> Especially for someone who just came out of a Ph.D. program, where most of my cohort was unemployed and in adjunct positions, I'm in a much, much better position than almost all of my [US university] colleagues. […] Every time I go back to these conferences and see my colleagues, I just feel incredibly lucky.

The fact that most UIC faculty members had no intention of coming to South Korea but came only because they acquired a job at UIC speaks to how much Yonsei University has benefitted from the labor market imbalance in the United States. In other words, a poor academic job market in the United States has become a hiring boon for Korean universities, resulting in a

knowledge-intensive creative class brought in from the West who would not otherwise come to South Korea.

SPECIAL BENEFITS, BUT FOREIGNER PRIVILEGE?

UIC faculty members are all young—hired at the Assistant or Associate levels—and most came to work for UIC immediately or only several years after acquiring their Ph.D. degrees. Furthermore, none have actually acquired tenured status because the tenure-track system at Yonsei University does not automatically provide tenure to those who reach the Associate level and in total takes over ten years to reach tenured status.[1] Still, as a knowledge-intensive creative class, UIC faculty members are given special privileges that are not afforded to faculty members in other departments, such as free housing. Specifically, all UIC faculty members are given a free apartment in downtown Seoul for the first six years of their employment. For junior faculty members, acquiring free housing in a city where housing is the most expensive living cost is certainly an unusual privilege. Because of this, UIC faculty members feel as if they receive special treatment from Yonsei University while also sensing resentment from faculty members from other academic units. This is further complicated by the fact that all UIC faculty members are young and untenured yet receive these benefits over more senior faculty members, thus disrupting the hierarchical norms of Korean academic culture.

But there are more subtle ways in which the UIC faculty members feel privileged in comparison that go beyond their obvious youth and housing benefits. The fact that UIC is a program that takes up a lot of resources—with a large faculty body and a small student body that is its defining feature as a liberal arts college—is where UIC faculty members feel as if they are

[1] As of 2012, no UIC full-time faculty members had reached tenured status.

given special regard by the university and resentment from faculty members in other departments and academic units. As one UIC faculty member explained,

> It might look weird that there's so many [UIC] faculty, but […] the philosophy of UIC is to try to keep the classes small because it's a liberal arts curriculum. […] If we get rid of that, then there's nothing. […] Maybe that's something that bothers people. I'm not sure.

Another UIC faculty member explained that the privileges that they receive are in large part due to misunderstandings or misperceptions of what a liberal arts college is.

> I have been told that we are viewed […] as being expensive. Potentially, there's resentment from other parts of the university because we absorb a lot of resources. We are an expensive program to run. […] I suspect that there are some people in Yonsei who are not happy about the perceived privileges that we get. And it's perceived. I think a lot of it comes from a lack of familiarity of what a liberal arts college is.

Lack of familiarity is why Korean faculty members have negative misperceptions about UIC. According to a UIC faculty member,

> Korean professors have misperceptions about UIC. We have the exact same […] tenure-track requirements as other faculty. The only benefit that we get is housing for six years, but we're foreigners. That's basic. Every other […] university does that. […] For some reason, […] Korean professors in other departments think […] that we're buffered in some way, but it's totally not true.

Another UIC faculty member mentioned that even their status as researchers is "being constantly called into question from the outside" despite that UIC faculty members are publishing articles in international journals and books with international presses.

Oddly enough, I sensed very little resentment from the Korean faculty members from other departments with whom I spoke. Many told me that their colleagues do not really know much about UIC to have any meaningful opinion about it. When I asked a faculty member from the English Language and Literature Department what perceptions that his colleagues may have about UIC, he answered,

> The professors are very busy, so they have no time to think about the other colleges [or] the teachers in the university. […] UIC has very good courses. *Aju joheun* system-*eul*

> *gajigo issdago saenggakhago joheun haksaengdo issgo joheun gyosudo manhgi ttaemune* [They think UIC is a very good system with good students and good professors, and therefore], if possible, I hope many professors who are working for other colleges join or participate in UIC. But the problem is, of course, the availability of English.

Indeed, the only possible source of resentment that I could sense is the fact that UIC is a college of all-English instruction, thus excluding faculty members who cannot teach in English from having any affiliation with UIC. One faculty member from the Economics Department told me that her colleagues envy her for being able to teach in English. While her colleagues may understand spoken English, "they lack confidence in speaking […] and are afraid of […] being asked [questions] by the foreign students, even though they can understand them." The faculty members who can and do teach in English have an advantage whereby tenured or tenure-track faculty members have a reduced teaching load and research (adjunct) faculty members receive an extra monetary stipend. Another faculty member from the Economics Department told me that teaching in English also has auxiliary benefits in that the class sizes tend to be smaller. This is certainly a source of contention amongst Korean faculty members, but this has very little to do with UIC per se. In fact, a faculty member from the Political Science Department told me, "Some professors don't like the idea of teaching courses in English here in this country. So that's about teaching courses in English, and not particularly UIC."

Still, most Korean faculty members believe that UIC is a positive contribution to Yonsei University's global image and to the internationalization of their institution. As one faculty member from the Economics Department told me, "It's very, very important, I think, for the university image. I think Yonsei University is very globalized when compared to other universities. UIC is very important. It has an important role in such aspect," and this same sentiment was echoed by others in the same department. Parallel to the sentiments of Korean faculty members, UIC faculty members themselves hold a sense of their own importance. The

UIC faculty members certainly feel as if they lead Yonsei University with an institutional model that will pave the way for broader internationalization efforts in Korean higher education in general. Even their very presence within Yonsei University holds symbolic significance for how Yonsei University is transforming itself into a world-class institution. As a UIC faculty member told me,

> As for university resources, it's true that a lot of resources are going towards UIC. […] But the fact is that UIC is able to bring in foreign students competitively who really could just not survive in any other part of the university. So in that sense we're really a boon for Yonsei as a whole. We're […] the wave of the future because it's necessary at this point in Yonsei's development to transition from being a university with a strong position in the national university culture to an international university. And we are an important part of that.

Perhaps it is because of their belief in their own symbolic significance that UIC faculty members underestimate or overlook their relative deprivation in a larger context.

In fact, one point of contention for a faculty body that is young and untenured is that UIC faculty members have very little power in university decision-making processes, especially in a hierarchical academic culture like in South Korea. The fact that no UIC faculty members have tenured status means that no UIC faculty members hold the senior administration posts of their own college, thus leading to the faculty members possessing very little autonomy and self-governance within Yonsei University. It is important to note that all UIC senior administration posts are filled by faculty members from other departments and academic units at Yonsei University, and this leads to UIC faculty members feeling as if their interests are not well represented in their leadership. As a UIC faculty member explained,

> By and large, there's a feeling amongst faculty that the central administration dictates what's going to happen without consulting us. The Dean is more or less the one that provides us with this information. So there's been a lot of disillusionment since I've been here with […] things dictated to us largely without any sort of negotiation with us.

Some of these dictated decisions have been about making large structural changes to the college that affect all UIC faculty members and students. For example, beginning in 2011, the UIC home base was formally established at the Yonsei International Campus in Songdo, meaning that all UIC freshmen would be required to live and take classes in Songdo.[2] The UIC faculty members had agreed to this move in exchange for several concessions that were never delivered by Yonsei University, I was told.

> They promised a certain number of faculty hires. They promised us more space on the [main] campus. Along those lines, more housing. […] Most saliently what upsets us the most is that there were signed contracts. […] We fulfilled our end of the bargain, and they did not.

Then in 2012, two new academic wings, the Asian Studies Division and the Techno Arts Division, were placed under the college's auspices with very little input from the UIC faculty members.

> A lot of these things seem to have been done with very little forethought or planning, especially the Asian Studies program. It's basically only the goodwill of a couple of our faculty members that it's surviving at all. […] It was basically just an idea of the former President, and we were told that we would have to accept it. […] The Techno Arts was another brainchild of the previous administration, and they had no institutional home. It was only two or three weeks ago that we were told it was now part of UIC. […] At times, it seems [there is] an utter lack of transparency. Well, it certainly decreases job satisfaction for faculty members.

Indeed, the fact that all UIC senior administrators are faculty members from other departments and academic units implies a serious conflict of interest: that the UIC senior administrators are likely to put the interests of their home departments before the interests of UIC. Furthermore, the fact that UIC faculty members were not educated in South Korea actually works to their disadvantage at Yonsei University, despite that their Western education is what makes them a knowledge-intensive creative class in South Korea. Within Korean universities,

[2] Songdo International Business District is a government-planned city within a Special Economic Zone about 90 minutes away from the main campus of Yonsei University via direct shuttle bus. See chapter 4 for further discussion.

while faculty members may hold advanced degrees from universities in Western countries, they oftentimes also hold undergraduate degrees from the same Korean university that hires them. A Korean faculty member from a traditional department shared with me how he came to work for Yonsei University.

> 내가 여기 학생이었거든요. 옛날에. 그러니까 여기에 다시, 모교, mother college 라 그러나. 모교에 다시 오고싶은 열망이 있었죠. […] 다시 모교에 돌아와서 가르칠 수 있으면 영광으로 생각을 했죠. […] 어떻게 여기 오기 전에 고려대학교에 있었었거든요. […] 그 때 여기 계신 분들이 한 번 연세대학교로 직장을 옮기는 게 어떠냐고 제의가 왔었었어요. 그래서 뭐... 하게 됐죠. 여기로 오게 됐죠.
>
> {I was a student at Yonsei University a long time ago. Therefore, returning to my mother college was my ardent wish. […] I thought it would be wonderful if I could return to my mother college to teach. […] Before returning here, I was working for Korea University. […] At the time, people here offered a proposal of whether I would like to move to Yonsei University. So… I ended up coming here.}

This kind of hiring practice that preferences one's undergraduate institution is common throughout the elite universities of South Korea, and Yonsei University is no exception. A quick examination of any department's list of faculty members will reveal that the majority received their undergraduate degrees from Yonsei University, oftentimes from within the same department. On the one hand, this hiring practice certainly reflects the ongoing influence of one's *hakbeol* (academic credentials) and *seonbae-hubae* (senior-junior) networks throughout a Korean university student's lifetime. On the other, it also implies the importance of community and belongingness within Korean academic culture. In fact, Korean faculty members often cite academic familiarity and comfort, in addition to economic and family reasons, as reasons for returning to South Korea for their academic careers following completion of their Ph.D. degrees in the United States (J. J. Lee & D. Kim, 2010). Similar hiring practices can also be found in Japanese higher education that values organizational stability and institutional identity (H. Horta, M. Sato, & A. Yonezawa, 2011).

But this kind of hiring practice, however, is certainly not the case at UIC since the college explicitly will not hire any faculty members with those kinds of alumni connections. This is not just a by-product of hiring only Western faculty members but is also a conscious decision on part of UIC. In conversation with a UIC senior administrator, I was told that one reason why UIC hires only foreign faculty members who also received their degrees from universities in foreign countries is so that UIC faculty members do not become embroiled in university politicking endemic at Yonsei University that is often based on faculty members' alumni connections and *seonbae-hubae* networks within the same university. But when UIC senior administrators are embroiled in university politicking themselves—some of whom are alumni of Yonsei University—this creates a deeply embedded power imbalance whereby the UIC senior administrators are effectively cutting off the UIC faculty members from even accessing let alone gaining from the advantages of an alumni network that they alone are privy to. By its very design, UIC is a college that cuts off its faculty members from the networking advantages that most faculty members in traditional departments (and some UIC senior administrators) are plugged into.

A sense of this power imbalance is expressed in varying degrees through the comments UIC faculty members have said to me during my interviews of them. Some UIC faculty members noted their recurring feeling of isolation and lack of connection with Korean faculty members in the wider university.

> It's very difficult to integrate or to make connections or collaborations with Korean faculty members. I imagine some of it's insecurity, or that our experience of coming here was much, much different than what they went through to get a job.

Some have expressed a feeling of neglect from those who hold power over UIC but are starkly absent from UIC events.

> We're the group that has the most vested interest in UIC, but a lot of the people who don't attend the meetings also have a lot of sway. The chairs of the majors, for instance, have a lot of power, but we very rarely see them at UIC events.

Others have reluctantly resigned themselves to an apparent glass ceiling for their career prospects at Yonsei University.

> I feel like there are many positions that would not be open to me, and personally I don't really care about that as much. I'm not that interested in administration, so it doesn't bother me. But if my dream was becoming Dean it would probably bother me because I think there are relatively few deanships in Yonsei that would be open to a foreign professor. Maybe the Dean of International Affairs at some point could be, but even then I'm not sure that those deanships could be occupied by professors who did not have perfect fluency in Korean.

Even UIC students commented on how they could sense the lack of power by their college's own faculty members, which then transformed into low morale amongst the students. One UIC student told me,

> A lot of the professors are very young, and so they know how to interact with students. At the same time, probably because it's so open and so young and everything, it's just not a lot of stability, even among the faculty. Some of the faculty members that I was closer to, they would be very disturbed by the sometimes very one-sided ways in which the upper echelons would be making people do things, making people change their offices, changing rules and even faculty meetings. Knowing that was disturbing to us, too.

These comments certainly echo previous studies conducted at a Korean university that have found that foreign faculty members are relatively sequestered within a Korean university (J. D. Palmer & Y. H. Cho, 2011; J. D. Palmer & Y. H. Cho, 2012), and also confirm other studies conducted at a Korean university that have found that racial and ethnic differences create boundaries and positionalities for foreign faculty members whereby those who are not of Korean racial and ethnic background experience significance resistance by those who are (T. Kim, 2005). These comments also speak to a recurring theme of isolation and helplessness amongst UIC faculty members that results from a deeply embedded power imbalance that does not privilege their foreigner or Westerner status in any meaningful way.

WESTERN FACULTY MEMBERS AS ADVERTISEMENTS

But UIC faculty members' foreigner or Westerner status is explicitly evoked in the value that they bring to an international college in the quest for greater student markets. This has an ambiguous effect for the UIC faculty members, who feel that their added value is comparatively better than what they would experience at a US university but primarily in an economic sense.

> In terms of my position within Yonsei, it is very complicated and has many dimensions to it. I feel like on the one hand, one is in a privileged position because, obviously, one feels like one is valuable to the university in a way that it would be very unlikely to feel that one was in most jobs in the United States. Because even at the very elite universities in the United States, professors in the humanities are seen as second class citizens. The difference between UIC and most jobs in the United States is that most humanities professors feel like their job is a privilege that they possess that has been granted to them, and that it is a privilege precisely because they're costing the university money and are not profitable. […]
>
> In UIC and in Yonsei, on the other hand, one knows that one is very valuable for the university. Even the research that one does publish in arts and humanities citation indexed journals is statistically meaningful for a university's national rankings. Our presence as part of the faculty at UIC is very necessary for the program to exist and for it to be attractive to students. So in one sense you have that feeling of being valuable, but at the same time, as a function of that, one also feels like one's value is strictly economic value, which is inherently damaging to the self-esteem of academics.

Indeed, because the economic value that UIC faculty members bring to Yonsei University is that they are used to attract primarily Korean and Korean Overseas students who would otherwise study abroad, UIC faculty members transform into a form of advertisement for an international college that turns them into commodities. They also become fetishized by virtue of their Western backgrounds as a faculty body able to offer something different or novel from what is typically found in a Korean university.

Take, for example, the UIC brochures that are used as marketing materials for prospective students. At the heart of all the brochures, a pastoral landscape of the Yonsei University campus prominently leads the introduction to UIC. "A community of learning at a

small liberal arts college" is the text that begins the 2013 brochure. "The oldest private university in Korea" is the text that begins the 2012 brochure, also describing the campus as "spacious, picturesque, and natural." The accompanying photographs depict the campus peppered with bright autumn leaves and students collaborating in intimate, small groups. Communal relations are transformed into everyday life with signs of communal rootedness. Such charming scenes are used to stress *gemeinschaft* relations within forms of advertisement that emphasize a "community of blood" (kinship) and a "community of mind" (friendship) that have been disintegrated by market relations (R. Goldman & S. Papson, 1996). The photographs within the brochures are presented at such an angle so that you, as a viewer, are not just spectator but also student-participant, emphasizing a communal environment amongst friends. By rendering symbols that "signify honesty and trust and goodness" (p. 117), UIC is constructing a spatial nostalgia for a "noncommodified and nonurban world" (p. 117). The irony of this brochure rendition is that UIC makes available such relations only through the consumption of the commodity (the Western learning ecology) that it offers. The brochures then connect the opening pastoral setting to a larger global backdrop with photographs of Seoul's skyline or a world map. Within this rendition, UIC has constructed a local and global dialectic that relies upon visual representations of its Western faculty members as those who can parlay students from the local to the global.

But these visual representations form an imaginary college campus that conjures up feelings of something non-Korean, and that rely on racialized visual representations that cater to lowest common denominator stereotypes. The students most prominently featured in the brochures are of various races, mostly Caucasian, and very few of the students appear to be

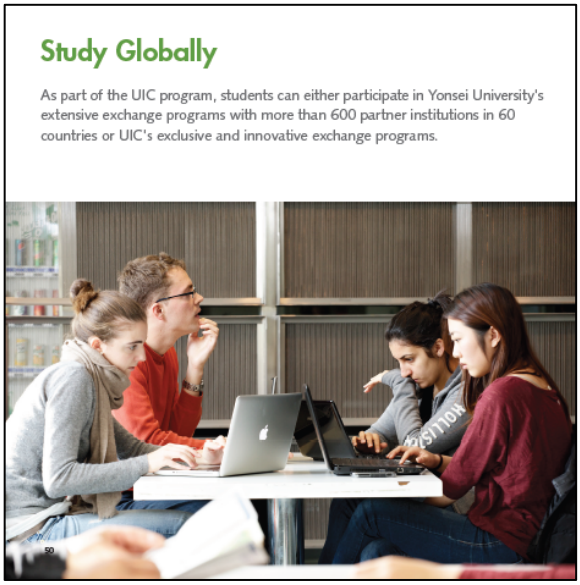
Korean—which is a strange contradiction given that the majority of UIC students are of Korean racial and ethnic background.

Figure 5.1
Portrayal of Caucasian students

Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2013, pp. 2-3)

As the brochures highlight the "bringing together Asia and the West" that one can experience at UIC, images of Yonsei University traditional events, such as the *akaraka* festival, intersperse images that represent creativity and innovation, like a plastic model of molecules or Steve Jobs's photograph on an i-Phone. Occasionally a token Korean student is placed amongst a group of racially non-Korean students accompanied by words such as "study globally" or "campus life." It is as if, by coming to UIC, Korean students can find themselves immersed within a Western and therefore racially mixed environment that is atypical of a Korean university setting.

Figure 5.2
Token Korean student amidst racially non-Korean students



Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2013, p. 50)

The faculty members portrayed in this context also function to perpetuate the racialized undertones. With the exception of the Dean of UIC and the President of Yonsei University, the faculty members most prominently displayed throughout the brochures appear to be white. They stand as heads of classrooms leading groups of students who, in this case, appear to be Korean. "An Intimate Intellectual Life: Students will interact with a core faculty of leading international scholars for academic training and individual advice" reads the 2013 brochure. But when the accompanying images depict such "international scholars" as those who are Caucasian standing as heads of classrooms before Korean students, meanings of a knowledge-intensive creative class take on a racialized suggestion of who are the teachers and who are the learners. In one such egregious example, in the 2012 brochure, a UIC faculty member who is of Korean-American background stands before a classroom full of students. But his photograph is positioned next to a photograph of a male student that is significantly larger than the faculty member's. This student,

who does not appear to be racially Korean, gesticulates his arms as if emphasizing an important point within the backdrop of a classroom setting. Meanwhile, the faculty member's photograph frames him passively holding a cup of coffee, not proactively gesturing like the student. Overlaid on top of the student's photograph is the following text: "Global Leadership: […] The capacity to build ties between Korea and […] the rest of the world." From the size difference of the photographs to each subject's body posturing to the framing and overlaid text, it is as if this non-Korean student is the one who is the "global leader" over that of the Korean-American faculty member—and inherent within this symbolism is that it is Koreans who are in need of being "taught."

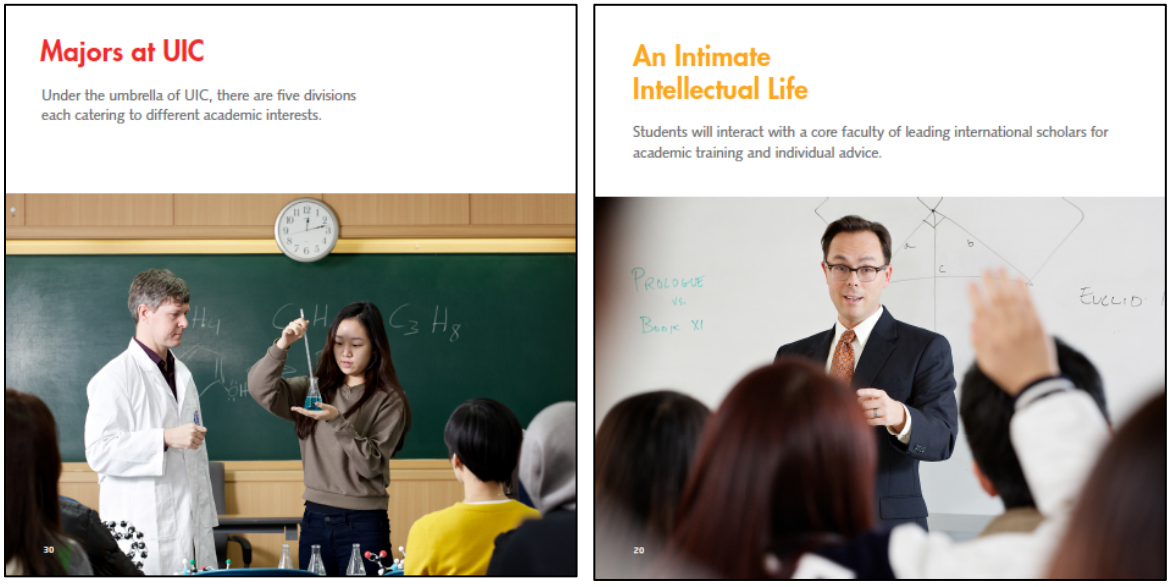
Figure 5.3
Non-Korean student depicted as "global leader"

Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2012, p. 15)

These images also confirm traditional gender roles that intersect with the racialized discourse that they perpetuate. It is not just white faculty members, but white male faculty members, who constitute the knowledge-intensive creative class according to UIC marketing

materials. While the actual UIC faculty body is quite diverse in terms of racial, ethnic, and gender backgrounds, the faculty members whom the brochures have prominently depicted are primarily white men.[3] In one blatant example, in the 2013 brochure, a white male faculty member wearing a lab coat stands in front of a classroom overseeing a Korean female student conducting a chemistry experiment. She holds a beaker of green liquid while he stands over her, watching and evaluating her science undertaking. Within the frame, her peers watch on as passive spectators to the student's public demonstration that is being judged by the faculty member, who in this case takes on the role of both "expert" (from his lab coat) and "master" (from his overseeing the student and the audience). In the same brochure, another white male faculty member points his finger in a very confrontational way at student raising one's hand to ask a question, while the overlaid text refers to him as a "leading international scholar."

Figure 5.4
White male faculty members portrayed in domineering positions



Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2013, p. 30; 20)

[3] Astoundingly, only one female faculty member is prominently portrayed in any of the brochures dating from 2006 to 2013. She is the current Dean of UIC.

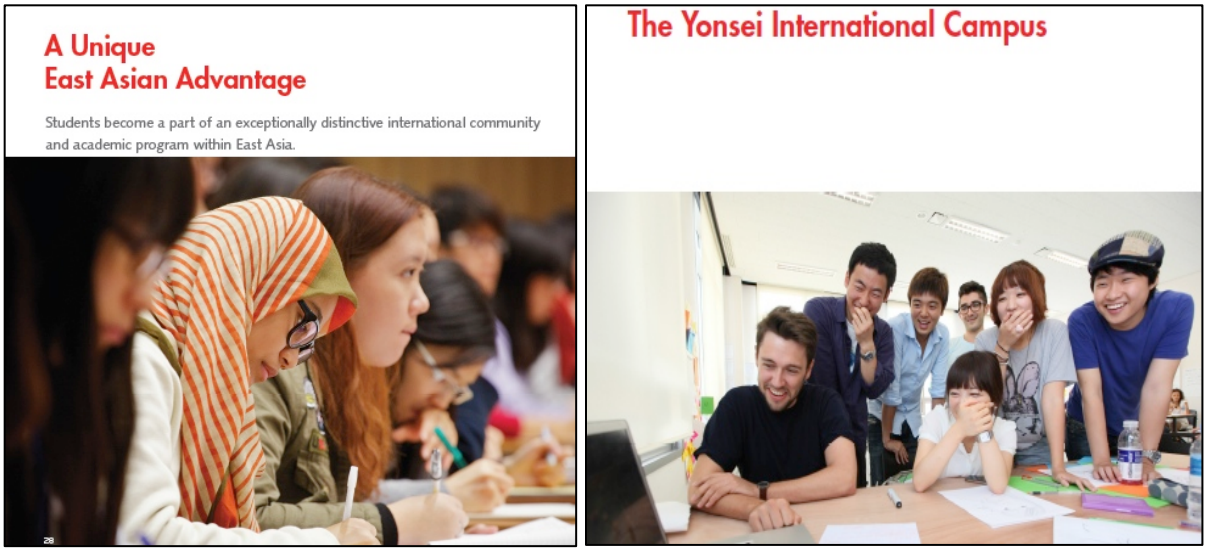
The racialized and gendered privileging of white men is present even amongst the students portrayed. In the 2012 brochure, a white male student is shown standing and speaking. Though he appears to be a student amongst others in a classroom audience, his body language is framed so that he is placed in importance above his classmates while holding a microphone that emphasizes his gravitas. His photograph is positioned next to a faculty member's of similar size and who appears to be in the middle of giving a lecture. The text that overlays this composition says "Creative and Critical Thinking." It is as if the two—the white male faculty member and the white male student—are in conversation with one another and of equal importance.

Figure 5.5
Elevating status of white male students

Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2012, p. 11)

Meanwhile, the Korean and/or female students are consistently shown in passive positions looking down into a book, looking up at a faculty member, sitting in a classroom, or huddling within small groups, smiling and laughing, in all of the brochures.

Figure 5.6
Korean and/or female students portrayed in passive positions



Source: Underwood International College Brochure, UIC (2013, p. 28; 36)

These brochures certainly perpetuate the racialized and gendered stereotypes of the "teachers" composed of primarily white men and the "learners" composed of primarily Koreans and/or women.

But this visual representation of white men is not so much an actual form of foreigner or Westerner privilege but is more a form of fetishizing of the UIC faculty members who happen to fit the mold created by its marketing materials. The novelty of UIC within Yonsei University is that it offers, according to the UIC website, an "elite learning environment of an American-style liberal arts college" within a larger Korean university setting. To advertise this novelty, especially to Korean and Korean Overseas students who have become the college's targeted recruitment groups, UIC has objectified its own faculty members as those who can offer such a learning ecology via their racialized and gendered appearance. This certainly parallels other racialized and gendered forms of advertising in South Korea that often portray Caucasian women in a hypersexual manner (K. Nam, G. Lee, & J.-S. Hwang, 2007), or Caucasian women as

idealizations of feminine beauty even over that of Korean women (M. Kim & S. Lennon, 2006), and who are used to target a primarily Korean consumer market. Indeed, just as Orientalism persists in the West, Occidentalism occurs in South Korea. It is in this Occidentalist and fetishizing approach that UIC has constructed an image of white men by using racialized and gendered tropes to transform them into commodities who can be "bought" in order to experience a Western learning ecology and to attain the "creative and critical thinking skills, democratic citizenship, and global leadership" offered at UIC for a primarily Korean student market.

But what about those who do not fit the Occidentalist image constructed by UIC marketing materials? An obvious group is the Korean-American or Korean heritage faculty members who come work for UIC. I spoke with several of these faculty members, who make up a significant proportion of the UIC faculty body. One told me that having a "Korean face" works to the faculty members' detriment in some cases.

> Sometimes, when we have school events, they really want to show that we have a lot of foreign faculty. Yonsei is proud that there are more foreign faculty at Yonsei [than at other Korean universities]. They're at some function, and we take group pictures. We Korean-Americans don't count because we look like Koreans. So what they want are white faces to show, hey, look, we're totally globalized. […] Sometimes you just want a white face. It's not always about the English. They need someone that looks white.

Another UIC faculty member shared with me an anecdote of how there was considerable tension in the hiring process when the UIC faculty body wanted to bring in another faculty member who was born in South Korea but was adopted as an infant and grew up and was educated overseas. The final hiring decision was to let him be part of the UIC faculty body, but this decision came not without considerable pushback from hiring committees outside of UIC that felt that the UIC faculty body was becoming too "Korean."

Perhaps those faculty members of Korean racial background may not be ideal for UIC brochures and other marketing materials, but this also "is not a big deal," according to one UIC

faculty member of Korean-American background. Within a work environment that fetishizes white men and privileges Korean race and ethnicity, Korean-Americans and those with Korean heritage do have clear advantages in some cases. Much of this has to do with the ability to speak the Korean language. As one UIC faculty member of Korean-American background told me,

> Korean-Americans have a lot of advantages. They can play up their Korean identity and they tend to get certain kinds of administrative positions that they can't give to foreigners, especially if you got the language skills, especially if you can speak Korean and work with Koreans. So on the one hand, they treat you a little bit more Korean, but also you've got all the advantages of being a foreigner, speaking English and all that.

But on the other hand, having the language ability (or lack thereof) in Korean can work to one's detriment. As another UIC faculty member of Korean-American background told me, "To them, it's a puzzle that I don't speak Korean perfectly, and I should. I should speak Korean perfectly. I think they see Korean-Americans less as foreigners than non-Koreans." This faculty member further added that English language skills can also work as a hindrance.

> I think there's also a tension about Koreans having lived abroad and having more [English] language skills. I mean, relatively, you don't really like people who have more skills than you, right? Korea's a really competitive environment. Those little things make a difference.

Still, much of how Korean-Americans or those with Korean heritage work the advantage that they do possess has to do with how fluidly they relate to their colleagues. Even for myself of Korean-American background, during my fieldwork, the ability to call myself "Korean" in some situations granted me access to places and gatherings that I would not have had without that ability, while emphasizing my "American" sensibility allowed me to excuse myself from burdensome social expectations. This very much mirrors what one UIC faculty member of Korean-American background told me. "When I'm with foreigners, when I'm with the [UIC] faculty, I'm completely, completely American. When I'm with the UIC staff or other Korean professors, I try to be as Korean as possible." Indeed, it is this chameleon act that allows Korean-

Americans to survive and even thrive in a Korean work environment. As another UIC faculty member of Korean-American background told me,

> I would say, on the whole, Korean-Americans have more opportunities than non-ethnically Korean faculty in Korea. A lot of it has to do with language, but a lot of it is that Koreans feel more comfortable with you. So you work with them more, they give you more opportunities, and they ask you to participate in conferences and things like that.

Indeed, the fact that Korean faculty members feel more comfortable with Korean-American colleagues that goes beyond a shared language speaks even further to the racialized barriers in place for those who are not of Korean heritage.

THE 'FLIGHT RISK' OF THE CREATIVE CLASS

In conjunction with their sense of isolation and helplessness, UIC faculty members feel a growing tension due to the misalignment of their professional requirements from their university and from their scholarly communities. UIC is a liberal arts college, and all of its faculty members specialize in the humanities or social sciences.[4] All had indicated that their international scholarly reputation depends on the publication of books and monographs. However, to meet the requirements for tenure at Yonsei University, the faculty members also maintain a strict publishing agenda that preferences journal articles over books. For Yonsei University, having a faculty body that publishes articles in internationally recognized journals will increase its global university rankings, and thus, the university has created an incentive system that maximizes such publication output. Each journal article published provides a faculty member with promotion points that are then added up to determine one's tenure status. Beyond requirements for the tenure system, Yonsei University also gives any faculty member a cash bonus of approximately

[4] This is now only true for all full-time faculty members of the Underwood Division. With the addition of the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (HASS) Field and the Integrated Science and Engineering Field, some full-time faculty members do not come from a humanities or social science background.

three thousand dollars for each article published in an internationally recognized journal to add an even further incentive to do so. One UIC faculty member commented on this practice that "it's very Korean in some ways, it's incredibly practical as a way of incentivizing this." On the other hand, books and monographs are not rewarded with a cash bonus nor are worth very many points despite that they take more energy and time to produce.

One UIC faculty member explained how the publishing requirements expected by Yonsei University are rather stringent in general.

> Korean universities do not value books, or certainly don't value books the same way. So they work here on a point system. […] I would need to get three publications—one good publication a year—which might not sound like much, but it actually is more difficult than it sounds.

Another UIC faculty member added that the publishing requirements expected by Yonsei University heavily emphasize quantity over quality with a distinct lack of emphasis on what matters most to humanities scholars.

> The promotional system at Yonsei places a great deal of emphasis on journal articles with almost no real recognition for qualitative statements between different journals. And the system is entirely points-driven so that your institutional status as a researcher depends entirely on how many points you accumulate. But that has almost nothing to do with what actually matters professionally as a researcher. In the humanities, it's very important to publish books rather than journal articles. I mean, journal articles are okay, but they don't really generate much reputation for the author. But the Yonsei system places very little emphasis on books. Or, rather, given the comparative amount of effort that a book takes as opposed to a journal article, books are rewarded with very few points.

Yet another UIC faculty member echoed similar sentiments about the promotion and reward system at Yonsei University. This faculty member said that it is perhaps easier to be promoted at Yonsei University, but at the same time the promotion and reward structure does not allow faculty members to remain relevant in an international context.

> I think in absolute terms, it's probably easier to get promotion here to Associate than it would be in America when it's just based on articles and points, and a certain number of different types of articles. A book here is valued basically as one and a half articles.

> Obviously, a book is ten times as much work, so there's not very much encouragement to produce a book as there is in the American context. But for us to remain relevant in an international context, we have to keep up with American standards**.**

When the requirements of the institution do not align with the requirements of the UIC faculty members' respective scholarly communities, this leads to UIC faculty members juggling the minimum requirements for the promotion and reward system within Yonsei University while also staying conscious of the publication requirements elsewhere. On the one hand, UIC faculty members play a strategic game within Yonsei University. As one UIC faculty member explained,

> In general, I find that in order to survive as a researcher within the Yonsei system, in general the Korean system, you have to be very strategic about fulfilling the requirements of the university while at the same time pursuing your own independent research projects.

Some of the strategy entails taking on a slightly heavier teaching load in order to reduce the requirements of journal articles. As this faculty member further explained,

> If you teach extra courses at Yonsei, there's a slight but not insignificant reduction in the research requirements. I would say that doing research is my primary reason why I'm in academia. At the same time, because the research requirements here in many ways are very different than what is actually meaningful professionally, I find it helpful to have slightly fewer requirements to fill within an institutional framework so that I have more freedom to do projects that are more meaningful professionally [and] are more important for me. So in the end, even though it's a certain time commitment to teaching an extra course, I enjoy teaching and I have more freedom in the kind of course I can teach for the four courses. And it reduces the research requirements, which is helpful.

On the other hand, because books and monographs are so drastically underemphasized at UIC despite its liberal arts focus, UIC faculty members find that they are not afforded the time and space by the university to develop their manuscripts and only do so in the limited spare time that they can gather. But many UIC faculty members keep up this strategy so as to further their scholarly reputation beyond Yonsei University and, to a larger extent, beyond South Korea.

> Between North America and Korea, the requirements for promotion and tenure are quite different. So if I had ignored the North American system, then yeah, you could wind up here without a book and have tenure, which might hurt you trying to go back to North

> America. But I was conscious of mobility, and so I did produce. I turned my dissertation into a book—and I'm doing the Korean system, which is journal articles.

These comments certainly speak to the extra effort that UIC faculty members put forth in order to maintain the different publication requirements between their institution of employment and their respective scholarly communities, thus creating dual professional identities, one created for Yonsei University and the other to maintain international mobility.

However, the fact that UIC faculty members have created dual professional identities in order to maintain their international mobility speaks to how they do not discount the possibility of leaving behind Yonsei University at a later time in their careers. In fact, almost all of the UIC faculty members with whom I spoke—even those who have personal reasons to be in South Korea—made it a point to say that they are keeping their options open for other employment opportunities, even if they did not have immediate plans to leave. Perhaps this is because UIC faculty members, as a knowledge-intensive creative class, believe that their career prospects could be further developed at more prestigious institutions. Indeed, embedded within their remarks on how they desire to "remain relevant in an international context" or how they are "conscious of mobility" is the fact that UIC faculty members believe in a hierarchy of universities whereby Korean universities are ranked lower than Western universities. Essentially, as Western faculty members, they preference Western academic norms that are also prioritized by global ranking systems. The logical conclusion to UIC faculty members' belief in their own career prospects as a knowledge-intensive creative class and a prioritizing of Western academic norms is that UIC faculty members are likely to leave UIC as soon as a better opportunity comes along.

In fact, faculty retention is a huge issue for UIC. Many UIC faculty members arrive at Yonsei University only to leave several years later. While Yonsei University recognizes this

problem, the university is more focused on a numbers game whereby new faculty members are hired to replace ones that leave, resulting in a constantly rotating cycle of newly hired faculty members that offers little sense of stability for the faculty body as a whole. At the same time, the time limit on the free housing offered to all UIC faculty members creates an artificially imposed six-year time limit on the incentives given for UIC faculty members to stay at Yonsei University. Several UIC faculty members commented on their housing situation exacerbating their willingness to leave Yonsei University. As one told me,

> In purely financial terms, right now we have guaranteed housing for six years. If they do take away the housing subsidy after that, this turns from a really good job to an all right job in a really expensive city. […] I have no plans to leave at this moment, but it's certainly possible I could leave in the future.

Another likened the cutting-off of free housing to a pay cut.

> Now the problem they're going to be facing is at the end of six years, unofficially, I'm going to guess that it will give a perverse incentive for [UIC] faculty to start looking for jobs back in the US. It's lovely living in Korea, but if suddenly at six years you're going to get a fifteen hundred dollar per month pay cut, that removes a lot of the advantages to living here.

Whether or not Yonsei University intended so, the housing subsidy has become an artificially imposed time limit for many UIC faculty members to find alternate employment.

Indeed, the fact that most UIC faculty members chose to work at UIC for lack of better employment alternatives, coupled with the recurring feeling of isolation and helplessness upon arrival, creates a faculty body that is a "flight risk" to the university. The growing disconnect between the needs and ambitions of UIC faculty members with the expectations of them at Yonsei University further exacerbates the "flight risk" of these well credentialed, talented, and mobile faculty members, who certainly possess the confidence and wherewithal to further develop their careers at universities throughout the world. The problem for Yonsei University is that, by fostering the creative class within its ranks, the university has also created a faculty body

that is ephemeral and transitional. While the UIC faculty members are hired into tenure-track careers, it is questionable whether many will actually stay long enough to achieve tenured status. Meanwhile, as UIC faculty members are continuously coming and going with none actually achieving tenured status, the college's lack of power in university decision-making processes only becomes worse and the recurring feeling of isolation and helplessness amongst UIC faculty members goes unmediated, creating a vicious cycle of an unfavorable work environment that further discourages UIC faculty members from staying very long. The removal of a housing subsidy after six years only creates a further incentive to leave. Paradoxically, while the UIC faculty positions are tenure-track, the constant coming and going of young and untenured faculty members makes the tenure-track positions appear more like extended postdoctoral positions taken as an interlude before finding a more permanent position elsewhere.

STRATEGIC APPROPRIATION WITHIN A RIGGED SYSTEM

In the global competition phenomenon in higher education, Asian universities are adopting cross-border transfers of pedagogical approaches in an import-oriented transnational higher education model that seeks and accepts Western academic norms (F. Huang, 2007). The university also has a very different kind of legacy within South Korea, where higher education is deeply intertwined with the modernization process and, more recently, the *segyehwa* (globalization) drive. Thus, much of the role of the Western faculty members brought into Korean universities is to translate Western academic norms for institutions that are only recently appropriating such Western traditions as an extension of modernization. The problems that arise for UIC faculty members come from the clash between two different sets of norms.

But while the seeking and accepting of Western academic norms implies that Western academic norms are superior, the Western faculty members brought into Yonsei University are not necessarily held in a superior position over that of Korean faculty members. The UIC faculty members are fetishized for their Western backgrounds as a way to attract Korean and Korean Overseas students who would otherwise study abroad in pursuit of a Western university degree and English language advancement, meaning that Western academic norms are not blindly adopted but are strategically appropriated in the competition for greater student markets. Thus, it is not actually a deeply held conviction of the superiority of Western academic norms that is driving Yonsei University to recruit Western faculty members but is more an adoption of market forces and academic capitalism to sustain tuition revenues against the backdrop of a decreasing pool of domestic students. It is in this sense that the Western faculty members are not so much idealized upon arrival at Yonsei University but instead are strategically appropriated within a Korean university setting in order to recruit Korean students who would otherwise study abroad.

The defining element of a Third Space is that it strategically appropriates useful facets of a colonial structure to the advantage of the colonized state (H. Bhabha, 1994/2004). A Third Space is thus a kind of semi-periphery, peripheral states that seek to improve their relative position in a world-economic system that favors the core at the expense of the periphery (I. Wallerstein, 1974/2004). Within this semi-periphery, the "major concern is to keep themselves from slipping into the periphery and to do what they can to advance themselves towards the core" (p. 29). While the system is inherently rigged to favor the core, it leaves few options for the periphery. Furthermore, to advance to the core requires considerable state interference, and thus, semi-peripheral states seek to "protect" production processes from outside competition while also competing for a better position vis-à-vis the core. The production processes—in this case,

the production of knowledge—are improved in order to compete with other semi-peripheral states while advancing towards the core, and thus, a knowledge-intensive creative class from the West is brought into the Korean higher education system. But within this semi-periphery, tensions between the colonial structure (i.e., global ranking systems) and the local learning ecology create a Third Space that still privileges the expression of native identity. A Third Space of an international college thus emerges that strategically appropriates Western faculty members within a Korean university setting in a way that reflects a deeply rooted sense of ethnic nationalism that arises in reaction to globalization processes. In the spirit of the *segyehwa* (globalization) drive, Korean universities are recruiting Western faculty members not to transform into Western universities but to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector. The distinct form of "Korean" that is preserved (i.e., the Korean knowledge production process that is "protected") comes from both maintaining a learning ecology that does not privilege UIC faculty members' foreigner or Westerner status in any meaningful way, and also the end goal of recruiting primarily Korean and Korean Overseas students to UIC who might otherwise pursue their university education in the West.

But the Western faculty members themselves believe in the global hierarchy that privileges universities located in the West and that discounts universities situated in the periphery of higher education—universities in places like South Korea. From their belief in their own symbolic importance, the UIC faculty members hold a deep conviction that their very presence is beneficial for Yonsei University's global standing and for Korean higher education. By maintaining a center-periphery dichotomy between Western universities and the rest, UIC faculty members are approaching their employment at Yonsei University as a temporary interlude, and oftentimes as a last resort. The logical conclusion to this dichotomy is that the

Western faculty members will eventually transfer from the periphery to the center at some point in their careers—which is, indeed, a common practice amongst the UIC faculty body. And as UIC faculty members are only further incentivized to leave due to their isolation and helplessness along with a misalignment between the requirements of their scholarly communities with the requirements of the institution, their interlude at Yonsei University functions more like an extended postdoctoral fellowship for young and untenured faculty members than a tenure-track academic job. It is exactly this ephemeral and transitional quality that renders the UIC faculty body even more helpless as a knowledge-intensive creative class commoditized for the benefit of Yonsei University within a Third Space that still privileges a native learning ecology.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have shown how Yonsei University strategically appropriates Western faculty members as a commodity in order to advertise the novel learning ecology offered by UIC. Such a strategy reveals racialized meanings of "international" whereby individuals who are labeled as such are primarily white men. But by advertising the "international" faculty body via the depiction of white men in UIC brochures and other marketing materials, UIC is not actually privileging white men in any meaningful way but is fetishizing them for their appearance to appeal to a primarily Korean student market. Paradoxically, by imbuing meanings of "international" via the fetishizing of white men, Yonsei University is actually preserving a distinct form of "Korean" within the institution via the end goal of recruiting a primarily Korean student body. Such a strategy reveals the privileging of native identity within a Third Space at hand, and also reveals how a university located in the periphery manages to improve its relative

position within a global hierarchy of universities that favors Anglo-Saxon universities in the West but still manages to preserve the expression of native identity within itself.

CHAPTER 6

THE STUDENTS: LANGUAGE, CONSCIOUSNESS, AND IDENTITY

"Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language."

— Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012) writes of the Borderlands as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary" and its inhabitants, "prohibited and forbidden," as transgressors (p. 25). Anzaldúa describes herself as a "border woman" who grew up between the borders and cultures of Mexico and the United States, and in doing so, she has been able to shift her liminal positionality into its own consciousness, what she calls a new mestiza. In many ways, the novel learning ecology of UIC is a kind of Borderland formed by the unnatural boundary between American and Korean learning ecologies. The transgressors who fill this space are also caught between two borders and cultures through which they develop their own consciousness and identity, particularly through the language that they use. Thus, the linguistic abilities and inabilities of UIC students present a spatial framework through which to understand UIC students' consciousness and identity as inhabitants of a border territory created by an "American-style" learning ecology within a Korean university setting.

Indeed, just as Anzaldúa speaks neither standard Spanish nor standard English but a variation of the two called Chicano Spanish, UIC students speak neither standard Korean nor standard English but a mix of both languages in which Korean and English are used interchangeably in a communication style uniquely attributed to UIC students. Such a language is emblematic of a Third Space of hybrid linguistic practices. But embedded within each

language is the tension between the language of the natives (Korean) and the language of the privileged (English) that causes UIC students, who are caught between languages, to feel like misfits within their own university. Still, because UIC students are, for the most part, ethnically Korean students who desire and strive to become part of the native learning ecology, their language becomes both a form of legitimacy and stigmatization as they try to integrate themselves within existing social spaces. Guided by the question, What are the expectations of graduates of an international college with their novel habits and experiences?, this chapter explores UIC students' hopes, ambitions, and goals against the backdrop of their linguistic abilities and inabilities as they carve out a place for themselves within Yonsei University and, to a larger extent, within South Korea. The concept of the Borderlands is used to guide my explorations into what is ultimately UIC students' consciousness and identity shaped by their linguistic abilities and inabilities.

INHABITANTS OF THE BORDERLANDS

South Koreans use the term *jaeoe gungmin* (citizens abroad) to describe Korean citizens living outside of the Korean peninsula. But a more commonly used term is *gyopo*. However, the term *gyopo* has developed a rather negative implication in that it refers to those who have lost touch with their roots due to their sojourner status. The underlying assumption of the *gyopos*' unfavorable plight is that Korean citizens are "Korean" not only through their residence and status within the physical borders of the nation-state but also through their language and culture that is an extension of blood and heritage. John Lie (2004), himself an ethnic Korean who grew up in Japan and Hawaii, argues for a rubric of "peoplehood" through which race, ethnicity, and nationality are unifying elements within the modern world. Similar ideas have been advanced by

other scholars (I. Wallerstein, 1987; R. Smith, 2003). Through such a rubric, *gyopos* can be understood as ethnic Koreans tied to other Koreans living in the Korean peninsula by their race, ethnicity, and nationality but in a transnational trajectory that creates a chasm in their language and culture as a function of the physical separation. However, it is important to highlight *gyopos*' difference with diasporic Koreans, ethnic Koreans who migrated overseas, and indeed, this distinction in terminology is hinted at even in the language used by the students whom I interviewed. Diasporic Koreans are those who moved away from the Korean peninsula in large numbers, which relates to the loss of the original homeland or home, real or imaginary (S. Ryang, 2008), and which includes Korean immigrants to the United States and their descendants, like myself. My own understanding of *gyopos* is that they are ethnic Koreans who are temporarily living overseas—even if "temporary" means their entire lives—but who can ultimately be distinguished by their desire to return to the Korean peninsula at some point in their lives, whether or not they actually do. Thus, the *gyopos'* break from Korean language and culture is not a permanent loss, as it is in the case of diasporic Koreans, but merely a temporary interlude that can be expected to end sooner or later.

I met many such *gyopos* studying at UIC. The commonality is that they all chose to return to South Korea for their university education after considerable time living abroad. A *gyopo* whom I met, Audrey[1], was born in South Korea and spent the majority of her life in Europe. She graduated from an international high school in Germany, where the instruction was primarily in English, but she can also speak fluent Korean (as well as a number of other languages). When she was applying to college, she had first considered studying at a liberal arts college in the United States. Her international background gave her a perspective in which she

[1] All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

felt she would be most comfortable pursuing a university education in the spirit of the American humanistic tradition.

> I think my first choice was the States. Why was it the States? I don't know… because I grew up abroad? When I was a senior in high school, I didn't necessarily affiliate myself like a typical Korean, so I just wanted to experience a liberal arts education in the States. I thought that was really appealing to me.

While Audrey had considered US schools during her college search, it is important to note that she did not choose UIC over them. UIC was very much a secondary, perhaps even tertiary, option. In fact, when her US options did not work out for her, Audrey chose to come to South Korea and applied to the best school in the country, Seoul National University, to a traditional department. Because that option also did not work out for her, that left Audrey with one remaining option, Yonsei University. The all-English liberal arts curriculum that UIC offered was certainly something that piqued her interest and why she included UIC amongst her college applications, but that reason alone was not enough to choose UIC over that of US universities. At some point, Audrey chose to come to South Korea, and UIC was a natural fit within that choice. The unique curriculum that UIC offered within a Korean university setting was certainly a draw, but Audrey was willing to enter even a traditional department within a Korean university at that point in her decision-making process.

In fact, the choice to come to South Korea first, and UIC second, was quite common amongst the *gyopos* whom I met. Two UIC students whom I met, both friends, were both born in South Korea and had grown up in Canada. When I asked them why they chose to come to UIC, one told me,

> Because I was starting to really lose identity of the fact that I was Korean, not Canadian, and every Korean person that I know who has graduated from university in Canada or the States couldn't find work and they all end up coming back here. So, it's pretty pointless. I think it was really good that I came here because I'm re-grasping the society.

Her friend iterated a similar point.

> Well, there were a lot of reasons. I liked some parts of Korean culture. I wanted to be with my sister. I wanted to find out more about my background because I didn't know anything about it. I never visited Korea for 13 years. I wanted to get better at Korean. Why I chose UIC, not Korea? […] Because I'm not fluent in Korean. So, if I want to go to school here, I thought the only way I could go is if it's an all-English school.

Indeed, UIC offers an English language gateway for *gyopos* who desire to return to South Korea for their university education as a way of establishing roots within their country of citizenship in their adult life. Further fueling this desire is the perception that the job market and other professional opportunities are better in South Korea than in their countries of residence. However, contrary to what UIC senior administrators and faculty members have told me, the *gyopos* do not choose UIC in order to continue their English language advancement per se but choose UIC as a de facto option because their lack of Korean fluency limits their options amongst Korean universities. All of the *gyopos* whom I met wanted to attend a Korean university regardless of English language advancement; if anything, they desired to improve their Korean language capability as part and parcel of "re-grasping the society."

But the UIC liberal arts curriculum is certainly an enjoyable component to the *gyopos*' student experience. Audrey spoke fondly of the common curriculum courses that she took in her first two years as a UIC student.

> Overall, the thing I always recommend about UIC to other people who are considering UIC is its liberal arts program. I tell them that we have a really strong common curriculum. We have a really strong liberal arts program, and the professors are really good, who are strong and know their area. That's really unique for Korea, to have that kind of thing. So, the best thing about my whole experience was to be able to take these diverse classes and have built it up to my major, and to see how History and Philosophy can also be applicable to International Relations and Political Science, and be able to make those connections.

It is important to highlight that Audrey was already open to and looking for this kind of educational experience, and UIC provided that for her. However, her experience changed as she

got to her major courses within a traditional department at Yonsei University, primarily because of the cultural differences between the two different kinds of learning ecologies created by the faculty members. Audrey really enjoyed learning from the Western faculty members at UIC and not so much from the Korean faculty members in her major department that stems from linguistic differences, according to her.

> Most of our majors are taught by Korean professors. Some of them, their native tongue is Korean whereas common curriculum professors, their native tongue is English. So there's a different kind of style. The atmosphere is different. I don't know if I should be saying this, but the *bunwigi*, the atmosphere, is kind of different. I don't really want to say that the discussions are not in depth, but…

She further explained that the Korean faculty members will occasionally use Korean in their small talk to the students that creates a Korean-style atmosphere even in English-taught courses.

> When they teach, they don't usually mix. […] But when they're doing small talk or […] making jokes or talking about what they did over the weekend, they would speak in Korean then. Then you can totally feel that this is a Korean kind of joke or Korean humor that maybe international students won't be able to understand.

Indeed, this is a sentiment commonly shared amongst many UIC students, as Audrey's friend also told me,

> Because their native tongue is Korean and also their mindset is Korean, […] the jokes, especially, are very much targeted to Korean-speaking people. That made me a bit uncomfortable sometimes because in class there are international students as well. […] So that was really uncomfortable.

Both Audrey and her friend can speak fluent Korean, and yet, both felt uncomfortable in courses taught by Korean faculty members because the language used often overlooks the presence and comfort of those who cannot speak Korean. This is certainly not the case within UIC-only courses that strictly use the English language medium, though the hypocrisy is that *gyopos* like Audrey will often use Korean in their private conversations with one another that excludes non-Korean speakers within UIC (see chapter 4). But just who are the "international

students" that Audrey and her friend both refer to? When Audrey used the term, she was referring to those who cannot speak Korean, and it is such linguistic abilities and inabilities that affect how students like Audrey cultivate their positionalities within Yonsei University. While Audrey is fluent in Korean conversation, she does not feel comfortable in academic-level Korean to take any Korean-taught courses, and so she stuck to only the English-taught courses for all four years at Yonsei University. She felt comfortable taking these courses with UIC-only students taught by UIC-only faculty members her first two years, but beginning her junior year when she joined a traditional department, she began to notice a clear cultural divide between traditional students and herself.

> Sometimes, [traditional] students and [UIC] students take English courses together. They overlap. There might be 50 of us in the room, but you'll probably notice that it's UIC students who are participating the most. Maybe that's because we're more comfortable in English. Or maybe that's because we're […] not afraid to ask questions or reply. Most Korean students are very quiet because I think they're more used to lecture-based whereas we're more used to discussion-based classes.

Such classroom dynamics fostered resentment amongst traditional students, she told me. When I asked her to elaborate on the reasons behind such resentment, she explained that it has to do with her English fluency that gives her an aura of privilege.

> People view us as we have this privilege, like we have this advantage of English because most, well some of us, for me, for my upbringing and because of my parents. So they view that as being stuck-up, or it's just a natural privilege that I didn't necessarily earn. But it was very natural for me to grow up and learn English whereas for them it's not natural.

But her English fluency does translate into an educational advantage in a very tangible way, as she added, "English allows you to be more direct, I guess. So I think [UIC] students more freely approach their professors. We get more attention than [traditional students] do." And it is these kinds of unearned advantages that stigmatize UIC students at Yonsei University.

Perhaps Audrey fits the UIC stereotype: a Korean Overseas student from a well-to-do family who attended international schools in several European countries. At the time we met, she had recently graduated from Yonsei University as a Political Science major and was preparing to study abroad in Egypt in order to study Arabic. It's easy to see how traditional students might peg her as the UIC poster child of privilege, and her native fluency in English is only a symbol of much deeper unearned advantages. But Audrey was critical towards this conflation of English language ability and privilege. She highlighted that English language ability alone does not indicate anything meaningful about a UIC student because of the many different kinds of fluent English speakers at UIC.

> A lot of people were very fluent in English, but their mentality was very Korean. A third of us have grown up abroad, a third of us have spent childhood, maybe one or two years abroad, but the rest of the time in Korea, and a third have just grown up in Korea with no time abroad.

Embedded within this statement is Audrey's belief that many UIC students are "Korean" in mentality because of their relatively less time spent abroad—and perhaps recognizing what is understood to be "Korean" can uncover underlying assumptions about privilege and the positionalities of UIC students within these assumptions. Indeed, these positionalities that equate levels of privilege with how "Korean" or "international" one is resonate for all students in subtly different, but ultimately similar, ways.

Brandon is another *gyopo* whom I met. Like most *gyopos*, he came to UIC as an extension of coming to South Korea. Brandon was born in South Korea but moved with his family to the United States when he was only an infant. He attended mostly public schools and graduated from a public high school. Though he was accepted to a nearby state university in the United States, because of his citizenship status, he did not qualify for in-state tuition. Thus, primarily because of his citizenship status and financial reasons did Brandon decide to look into

his options amongst Korean universities, enrolling at UIC in 2011. Indeed, Brandon contradicts the stereotype of a UIC student as a kind of globetrotting *gyopo*. He does not come from an exceptionally privileged socioeconomic background. His family situation resembles that of many Korean immigrants who come to the United States without much economic or social capital but with the vague dream of pursuing a better future for their children; however, his parents had always intended to return to South Korea at some point. Brandon simply came back a little earlier when he began his university education, though not necessarily by choice. UIC was the only college that was available to him in South Korea since his Korean language skills were not very good, according to him. Meanwhile, his family stayed behind in the United States.

Brandon's experience at UIC is both typical and atypical of the *gyopo* experience. He has fond memories of Songdo because, to him, Songdo felt like a home, a community where he could find friends, especially because he had no other sense of community in South Korea.

> A lot of people say it's not so great and that they didn't have such a great time there, but I want to say that I think it was a good experience for almost everybody if not everyone there. Because one thing about Songdo is that it created this feeling of community and everyone knew each other. […] Since I didn't really have a home in Korea, I spent my breaks in the dormitory, in Songdo. In a way, I kind of see Songdo as my home. I feel comfortable when I go there, and I know there's always someone I know, friends.

Brandon was quite gregarious when we met, and it's easy to see how he could make friends quickly in any environment. Atypical of UIC students, he has friends both Korean and foreign. He empathized very much with the foreign students at UIC because he had gone through the same struggles, even though he has the benefit of Korean citizenship.

> Most of [my friends] are Korean, but I also do have a lot of international friends since I can relate to them. I try to go out of my way to help them. Since they need a Korean citizen in order to get a phone, it makes it a lot easier for them. Also, they need to go get an alien registration card. There are all these complicated things that international students have to do, but they can't do without a Korean student's help. Even though my Korean isn't very good, I try to help them out as much as I can because I know how much of a hard time that they're going through.

While his ability to associate with both Korean and foreign students makes him quite popular, he also showed irritation towards his Korean peers, who, to him, are rather standoffish.

> International students believe that Korean students should approach them first, especially because international students are here visiting in a new environment and they're lost and confused. I also believe that the Korean students should take that first step of getting to know them. But from my observation, Korean students are very reserved, and they isolate themselves within their clique. So once these students get in their clique, it's really hard to try to get involved with them and get to know them. They literally just move about in their group, only their group.

It's fascinating how Brandon refers to himself. He refers to Korean students within UIC as "them" but will switch to "we" when speaking of Korean students in general. Brandon uses his liminal position to act as a mediator between Korean and foreign students within UIC.

> I have talked to both sides and I try to facilitate some kind of intermingling, but the Korean students say they just don't know what to say. Also, they feel scared to talk to them since they can't speak Korean and they need to speak only English for this communication to work. I even felt this, too, that Korean students are scared of me. One, because […] back then it was kind of hard to speak to me in Korean, so they had a hard time trying to communicate with me. And two, it's a huge culture difference. What kind of jokes were acceptable in the United States are definitely not acceptable here. We're much more reserved. If I want to crack a sexual joke to them, they'll be disgusted here, but my other friends would crack up. So it's not much of a language barrier, more of culture barrier, in terms of students like me. But definitely a language barrier for them, and Korean students just being too reserved to reach out.

I asked Brandon if Korean students ever approach the foreign students in English since everyone at UIC can speak fluent English. He answered,

> Maybe in class. The first approach is usually something to do with homework or something educational. Sometimes they'll eventually get to a point where they talk more. I've actually seen more often that international students approach Korean students, but that's just because I think the international students are more socially outgoing.

But he did find Songdo was a good way to get Korean and foreign students to mingle better with each other.

> We're forced to take the same classes. We're forced to live in the same building. But here [on the main campus] it's really easy to just walk past whoever you don't really feel like

> talking to. […] So in Songdo, you're kind of forced to mingle with everyone. I make it sound bad if I say forced, but it was good.

Perhaps not surprisingly, many UIC *gyopos* whom I spoke with, who had lived in Songdo during their freshman year, echoed similar sentiments as Brandon. Because *gyopos* do not have the benefit of a pre-existing community in South Korea, Songdo allowed them to become close to one another and make friends very quickly.

Still, Brandon is not particularly adept at relating to most Korean students, even *gyopos* like himself, because of linguistic and cultural barriers despite that he is of Korean racial and ethnic background. Certainly when I met Brandon, he struck me not so much as a *gyopo* in the way that Audrey and others are like: cosmopolitan polyglots who chose to return to South Korea in their adult life. Rather, he reminded me of something more akin to a Korean-American: irreverent, independent, monolingual—in short, an *American*. His lack of Korean fluency marks him as an outsider even within UIC.

> I remember during my freshman year, it was really easy to talk to everyone since I have this peculiar background where I'm Korean, but I only speak English. I can relate somehow with these Korean people, but my stories and things I say are not of their standard, so I was interesting at first. At first I was interesting and people wanted to talk to me, but gradually I became weird to them. So it was kind of hard for me to join the cliques, especially because it was hard for me to understand their jokes, get interested in what they like.

And it is in this way that Brandon equates time spent abroad not as a privilege but as a disadvantage. His growing up overseas in tandem with his lack of Korean fluency is what marks him as "weird" even within UIC, especially because he is of Korean citizenship. For Brandon, it is better to be linguistically and culturally fluent in things Korean, especially if one is of Korean citizenship. Though Brandon benefits from a Korean racial and ethnic background that allows him to mingle with Korean students in a way that foreign students cannot, it is exactly because of his background that also creates the expectation that he should be more linguistically and

culturally adept and what marginalizes him even within UIC. It is also this expectation that turns him off to other Korean students.

Similarly, Audrey was also cast as an oddball because she appears to be something that most Korean students are not, in large part because of her native fluency in English that is a by-product of her time spent abroad. For Audrey, it was only until she arrived at UIC and was forced to reconcile with negative attitudes coming from traditional students at Yonsei University did she begin to fathom her relative privilege; up until that point, her English fluency was quite "natural" for her. But unlike Brandon, Audrey is fluent in Korean conversation, and for this reason she can bond easily with other Korean speakers within UIC—especially because it provides *gyopos* with a sense of kinship that they cannot share with traditional students at Yonsei University. She considers "international" students as those who cannot speak Korean, perhaps even students like Brandon, and both her statements and Brandon's reveal that this is something to be pitied and not privileged amongst UIC students. So what does it mean to be privileged, more broadly? Notions of privilege are not developed in exact parallels with definitions of "international" but instead are developed in tandem with something much more fluid and positional, especially in the interactions between UIC and traditional students.

NATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Traditional students can sense UIC students' unearned advantages in the classroom stemming from their English fluency, and this is why traditional students develop the perception of UIC students as exceptionally privileged students. This definition of privilege, however, is not a stand-alone definition that is directly related to linguistic ability but is shaped out of the complex interactions between traditional students and UIC students. As a traditional student told me,

> [UIC students] tend to participate in debate and raise their voices high when a professor offers them suggestive questions on certain issues. Usually, they are the ones who raise their hands most fast, and they tend to not care much about what others think about their opinions. So they're more free. That's kind of different.

The reason for their different participation levels, according to another traditional student, is because of UIC students' vastly different educational backgrounds and life experiences before arriving at Yonsei University.

> They are different because they were raised in different environments. I was born and raised in Korea and they lived in, say, Europe or America for more than 20 years, more than 10 years. So they are more open in discussions. They are more frank.

Indeed, this commonly understood binary of Korean students versus UIC students reveals traditional students' assumption that UIC students are somehow not Korean.

> People normally think UIC students are foreigners, either foreigners like non-Korean citizens, or Koreans that lived abroad for a long time (Koreans who can speak English better than Korean). When you go into the classroom, you can spot UIC and non-UIC right away. Like how they just carry themselves and what they wear. Even the fashion items, you can definitely see the difference.

Another traditional student made an even more extreme statement that there are no Korean students at all within UIC: "There are no Korean students in UIC. […] Most of the UIC students are Korean-Americans or study abroad students. Some of them can't even speak Korean, so it's really different." Embedded within this statement is the perception that UIC students are not Korean because they are "Korean-Americans" (which, I suspect, is code for those who are racially Korean but speak very little Korean) or because they are "study abroad students" (which, I suspect, is code for racially non-Korean). The underlying assumption of all these comments is that UIC students are somehow not Korean and therefore do not belong at a Korean university, that they are temporary visitors who will eventually go back to their home countries that are not South Korea. Their perceived lack of Korean fluency only solidifies this impression. Because of

their visitor or otherwise outsider status, UIC students are oftentimes oblivious to the linguistic and cultural nuances of Korean students, according to a traditional student.

> They don't know the normal Korean norms, and that's what makes them impolite at times. They don't know the basic Korean etiquettes and Korean manners, which is partially true. [Koreans] think when people speak in English, their voice becomes a bit higher, their intonations become higher. Sometimes the volume becomes a bit bigger. Koreans will think that that's because they want to show off their English.

Indeed, it is not so much the use of English in and of itself but the blatant, unselfconscious, and sometimes just plain rude use of English that identifies UIC students and marks them as something distinctly not Korean in the eyes of traditional students.

Interestingly, these comments about the linguistic abilities and inabilities of UIC students were told to me, a Korean-American graduate student, who was interviewing traditional students entirely in English. My Korean language skills are proficient enough for small talk but insufficient for advanced academic conversation. Actually, I can follow relatively easily most forms of conversation when listening (having studied *hanja*, Korean script written in Chinese characters, has helped), but my stunted speaking skills belie my advanced listening skills. Korean native speakers often assume that I cannot understand Korean due to my American accent or my awkward spoken Korean, but in actuality, I can understand via listening quite well. I often strategized this mix of linguistic ability by consistently lowering myself and downplaying my Korean language ability whenever someone asked. While some Korean faculty members sensed that I understood them without difficulty and switched to speaking in Korean entirely during my interviews of them, most students whom I spoke with used primarily English but often inserted Korean words and phrases to explain certain concepts of Korean language and culture. Depending on who I was speaking with, the conversation structure sometimes took on a teacher-

student dynamic in which I was the unknowing ingénue who could learn something via the students' "lectures" on Korean language and culture.

For example, a traditional student, who had taken courses and participated in extracurricular activities with UIC students, commented on how he found a significant lack of advanced vocabulary amongst them.

> When Korean students start speaking, we use these so-called high-level words or sophisticated vocabulary to discuss something, but those sophisticated vocabulary, many UIC students lack them. So they speak a bit more passively or they somehow step backwards and would rather do something else, researching job or searching the Internet to provide the data, but not speak out.

Rather than object to any of the comments he made, I simply allowed him to continue with his perceptions of UIC students.

> I'll give you a real example. [Audrey], when she starts speaking Korean, she finds it hard to pick out the proper words, the exact academic words employed to explain certain things. Like the Cold War, for example, you'd say *naengjeon sidae*. Or bipolar structure in the Cold War, and she doesn't know the word "bipolar" (*yanggeuk*) in Korean. She finds it hard to take out the words from her brain.

Our conversation took on a dynamic in which I felt that he was also lecturing me, indirectly via his comments about Audrey, on how to also properly say things like "Cold War" or "bipolar" in Korean. Perhaps my own positionality as a Korean-American, which I made clear at the beginning of the interview, allowed him to more comfortably take on the role of an expert in things Korean that he could then explain to me. It perhaps also helped that I am a woman, that I do not physically appear to be of considerable age difference, and that I had no personal connection to UIC students. Whatever the situation, lowering myself and positioning myself as an outsider encouraged some traditional students to "lecture" me on things that they believed I could or did not understand by virtue of my outsider status.

Another effective interviewing technique that I used whenever possible was to deflect the question onto a student's peers. For example, if I asked a traditional student directly what he or she thought of UIC students, that student often told me some bland remark. I then followed with a question that asked what traditional students generally think of UIC students, thus deflecting the question onto his or her peers. The answers I received were much more telling. One traditional student told me,

> Some Korean students feel that they lack seriousness. […] The level of commitment to teamwork or team assignments would be—I mean, it depends on the student—but it's normally higher in native Korean students than UIC students. That's at least the image of UIC students. The UIC students would be a bit more individualistic and they would not exceed the work they are given. The assignment they are given, if you say, please write 10 pages, they would write exactly 10 pages. You won't expect them to write 17, 20, or 25 pages and do overwork. I'd say many people think they are more individualistic and they stick to the job they are given.

By qualifying one's own beliefs about UIC students as those that are shared by many others, traditional students were more unrestrained in sharing the negative views that they held towards UIC students. Indeed, embedded within this particular comment is the belief that UIC students are not hardworking, dedicated, or team-oriented, qualities that traditional students are. Though traditional students would recognize that not all UIC students behaved this way, their comments still pitted UIC students as always a polar opposite to traditional students. Another traditional student told me,

> There are half, or maybe smaller than half, of the UIC students who are really dedicated to their major. They really participate actively with debate, and they actually lead the debate in every English course. But the other half of the UIC students, they tend to just not come to the classes or participate actively. Maybe that's because they are study abroad students, I'm not sure. Because the study abroad students don't usually care about the grades.

Again, this statement rings familiar to the prejudiced views that UIC students are not as competent as traditional students. But these comments also make me wonder whether traditional

students are conflating UIC students with so-called "study abroad students" more generally. Many exchange students do come to Yonsei University every year and take English-taught courses alongside traditional students—and maybe they are less serious academically because they are temporary visitors with no recourse in their grade performance—but these students are quite distinct from UIC students. But by pitting "native Korean students" against everyone else, such comments not only reveal traditional students' prejudiced attitudes but also reveal a conflation of all those who are not "native Korean students" as one indistinguishable group that falls under the umbrella of UIC. Essentially, anyone who appears to be something different from a traditional student is labeled as a UIC student whether or not that label is accurate.

Hence, traditional students' comments reveal quite clearly the views that they have of themselves as opposed to anything meaningful about UIC students. Whatever UIC students (or those perceived to be UIC students) are or are not, traditional students are the exact inverse. As mentioned earlier, traditional students view themselves as hardworking, dedicated, and team-oriented, inferred from comments that describe UIC students as "[lacking] seriousness," "individualistic," and who "don't usually care about grades." By cultivating my own positionality as a Korean-American outsider, traditional students were more frank with me in their descriptions of what can be understood as "native Korean students," something that I could not be by function of my own lack of Korean fluency and the fact that I was encouraging them to "lecture" me on things Korean. In a sense, my own linguistic positionality served as a conduit for which traditional students revealed most clearly their own self-perceptions, especially as they discussed all of which is in opposition to "native Korean students."

It is in this way that notions of privilege express themselves most tellingly in this complex pitting of us versus them, of the blunt and somewhat inaccurate binary between "native

Korean students" versus "UIC students." Definitions of privilege are inherently associated with UIC students because of their English fluency that gives them access to Yonsei University that they would not have without such linguistic ability. As a traditional student told me, "I've heard that some normal Korean students think that UIC students […] just came to Yonsei University just because of their language skill, not in other qualities. It's kind of prejudice, of course, but I've heard." The prevailing idea amongst traditional students is that UIC students were able to gain admittance to Yonsei University via their English fluency that is a by-product of having spent much of their early life overseas, not by "other qualities" of hard work and dedication that traditional students embody and that gives them the right to their place at one of the most prestigious universities in South Korea. This idea is only reinforced when traditional students interact with so-called "UIC students" and witness that they are, indeed, academically less competent, which then leads to animosity. Traditional students feel as if they must tolerate the academically inferior UIC students (or those perceived to be UIC students) because UIC students paid for and did not earn their place at Yonsei University. As one traditional student explained to me,

> So those who've passed through all this competitions see the UIC students as those who pay more money and have gone through less competition so they can sit in the same class. Some might even think they just buy it off or they're the so-called privileged class who had somehow the luck to have a parent work in a foreign company or the Korean embassy in foreign countries, to come to this class without studying the same thing that they did in high school. […] [The] image [is that] UIC students [are] privileged [students] who just purchased their seats.

By contrast, traditional students are the exact inverse of privileged because they did not "pay more money" and go through "less competition" to arrive at Yonsei University through such unsavory means "just because of their language skill." Traditional students' comments that UIC students are undeserving outsiders who merely "purchased their seats" and otherwise do not

belong at Yonsei University reveal that it is traditional students alone who earned their place at Yonsei University. The harsh distinction of such privileged UIC students speaks to traditional students' self-perceptions that they are inherently unprivileged, or in other words, rightfully deserving students of Yonsei University.

UIC students are well aware of the negative perceptions that traditional students hold of them, and thus, their English fluency becomes the mark and also the burden of privilege that UIC students carry throughout their university education that traditional students do not. This is especially revealed when UIC students compare themselves to traditional students. I asked Audrey what she thought of the traditional students within the same Political Science major as her, and she told me,

> UIC is fairly new, and [Political Science] has been around for a long time. Even within Yonsei, it's a very strong department. If people say, "I'm a Yonsei [Political Science] major," they immediately know, "Wow, this kid is smart." I think that the students have that pride. They know that they've earned that because they're just at the top of their peers. Definitely, they have this sense of pride in their identity as a Yonsei [Political Science] Department. You can see that. Whereas UIC identity…

Audrey trailed off. In a way, Audrey's statement reveals the complex identification that UIC students have in relation to traditional students; it isn't that UIC students do not benefit from their English fluency per se, but the burden of privilege stemming from their English fluency gives UIC students a prevailing sense of shame. That same burden is also what prevents UIC students from strongly identifying as Political Science students—because traditional students shame UIC students for not having earned the "right" to call themselves Political Science students in a way that traditional student can. Those who enter the Political Science Department through traditional means have rightfully earned the prestige and respect that they are given for their academic achievements that gives Political Science students, and in general all traditional

students, an unflinching source of pride in their departmental and university identity that cannot be marred. UIC students, on the other hand, are privileged outsiders who do not belong.

BLURRED BORDERS

But many traditional students whom I met were also fluent English speakers, and this begs an important question: Are UIC students that much more privileged than traditional students? One traditional student whom I met, Minkyu, was a student of the Political Science Department. He spoke to me with near-native fluency in English. He attended Daewon Foreign Language High School, an elite foreign language high school in South Korea that focuses on cultivating foreign language capability, though primarily for the purpose of getting its students accepted into prestigious universities. As a young child, he spent his first year of elementary school in Australia for early study abroad, and subsequently every winter break for a number of years for both language study and vacation. When we met, he had recently graduated from Yonsei University with both a major in Political Science and a minor in Economics, and was preparing to study abroad at a prestigious university in the United States to pursue a master's degree in International Relations. When I asked Minkyu how his educational background helps him reach his goals, he highlighted the importance of his foreign language ability.

> In the case of the education background influenced by education in foreign language, I'd say the English language I learned from 1991 until now has helped me a lot and it's opened lots of opportunities for me. Like awards from English language competition, German language competition, and so on. I went to Daewon Foreign Language High School with the award from the English competition, and then to Yonsei University from the award from the German competition. Learning foreign language in Korea opens lots of chances and opportunities here, even in the job market. I'd say foreign language education can be included in the educational background, and I think that part helped me the most.

Because of his multilingual background, Minkyu regards himself a little differently than from typical Korean university students. This is because he entered Yonsei University not by taking the *suneung*, the Korean national entrance exam, but through a special admissions track called the *susi* that preferences various other areas of excellence. Yonsei University students can find many alternate paths to enter via the *susi*, including for their extracurricular talents (*myeongpum injae* that translates to "excellent person of talent"). In fact, Minkyu makes a definition for what he calls "native Korean students" as specifically those who took the *suneung* to gain admittance to a university.

> I'll say just Korean students for native Korean students, although the line between them is blurred. For students like me, I don't really think of myself as a native Korean student or Yonsei student. I just stand in between. But for Korean students who pass through all this university examinations…

Embedded within Minkyu's statement is the perception that many Yonsei University students are not "native Korean students" because they, like him, also entered university without taking the *suneung*. It is in this sense that the *suneung* that endows Korean students with distinct ownership over their own academic achievements is lacking even amongst many of the traditional students at Yonsei University. Many Yonsei University students, including Minkyu, are quite aware of this distinction.

Another traditional student whom I met, named Sujin, also spoke with near-native fluency in English. While she was born in Seoul, she lived in the United States for several years when she was in elementary school because of her father's business, and that is where she developed the foundation for her English language skills, she told me. Like Minkyu, she attended Daewon Foreign Language High School. Also like Minkyu, she gained admittance to the Political Science Department at Yonsei University not by taking the *suneung* but via the *susi* admissions track.

> You know, we take the *suneung*, most of the students, but I didn't take *suneung*. I went as *susi*. I did it mostly through interview. […] The percentage of that entry is more than 70 percent right now because [Yonsei University] thinks that this type of entrance can actually acquire more competent students. I didn't actually focus that much on *suneung*. Rather, I focused on TOEFL iBT and the Spanish, DELE, El Diploma de Español. […] I had to focus on writing and interviewing, those kinds of skills.

In fact, Yonsei University has several different *susi* admissions tracks whereby a student can gain admittance without having to take the *suneung* at all. The way Sujin entered is perhaps not that dissimilar from how UIC students gain admittance. She recognized the importance of English to this process.

> The reason why I could speak English relatively better than Koreans is because I stayed in the US for two years when I was little, not for studying purpose, but random purpose, but it is true. So I think that my experience, my elementary school years, affected my entering college.

It is in this sense that the unusual admissions track that stigmatizes UIC students because they entered Yonsei University because of their English fluency is rather hypocritical in light of the many traditional students who also gain admittance in very similar ways via the *susi* admissions tracks. Despite the hypocrisy, many traditional students still feel rightfully deserving of their place within Yonsei University. Sujin emphasized that students who enter via the *susi* admissions tracks are still competitive, perhaps more so than those who enter via the *suneung* admissions track: "Yonsei University [knows that] the students from this kind of *susi* are more competent in academic grades or accomplishments."

Certainly Sujin is an accomplished student who deserves her place at Yonsei University. She entered into one of the most competitive departments at Yonsei University. She has broad interests in History and Law, and was inspired by her Law classes in high school to pursue her Political Science major. She spent her junior year studying abroad at a university in England, and recently completed a highly coveted internship at the Blue House. She has ambitions to be a

journalist. When we met, she was preparing to take a semester off from her studies so that she could complete another internship at a national newspaper. Proficient in at least three languages, she told me that she tries to take as many English-taught courses offered in her department as she can.

> I try to take as many courses as possible in English if they are offered. […] One of the reasons is that, it's really a practical reason, it's graded based on the absolute scale not on a relative scale. It doesn't mean that it's easier to get an A grade, but it's more comfortable to me, that absolute scale. Also, […] the atmosphere tends to be more open and we get to meet a lot of other study abroad students. […] And also to develop language skill so that I don't forget the language.

Sujin's comment on English-taught courses having a more "open" atmosphere echoes what another traditional student told me.

> I had an experience where I took the same class, Korean Political Economy, and the same professor teaching in Korean and then in English. I took both of those classes, but the ambiance of the class would be so different, even if it's taught by the same professor teaching the same material. […] The thing is, the professors, most of them have got their higher education in the States, so they're aware of that discussing and ambiance and not just a professor to a student one-way thing. […] [In the English courses], the way they talk, it just seems more laid back and free, but in the Korean courses, they would just stand behind the podium.

Yet another traditional student who takes coursework in both languages told me that the Korean-taught courses are less inspiring.

> The English classes and Korean classes are really different. What I feel like is that [Korean classes] teach in a knowledge-oriented [way], as in they just provide knowledge, but it doesn't really ever make me want to search or research about something. I just feel like I'm getting or obtaining knowledge rather than being motivated to seek it out for myself.

Sujin and others also commented that yet another benefit is that English-taught courses usually have fewer students, which allows traditional students to benefit from the more intimate class size and atmosphere.

This practice of taking as many English-taught courses as possible is not so different than UIC students sticking to English-taught courses within their majors. And those traditional students who have the linguistic fluency to take English-taught courses alongside UIC students enjoy the same auxiliary benefits. But by sharing the same classroom space, the traditional students are not stigmatized for their own academic proficiency in English; instead, they deflect such privilege over their own linguistic abilities by pitting themselves in opposition to those whom they believe are UIC students within English-taught courses. As Sujin told me,

> Korean students don't raise their opinion too openly in this public space because during the middle school and high school years, they are accustomed to just sitting down in the classroom and just taking notes of what the professor is saying. […] A lot of Korean students are afraid that their answers or opinions might be wrong or too corny or whatever. So they care on what they think of themselves. That's why they tend to just stay calm, they just take notes, and just memorize what professors are saying. […] There are so many other Korean-Americans that are so good in English, and they're also worried that their English might be bad as well.

However, this "Korean" practice of not openly raising their voices is in direct contrast to what she told me of Political Science students like herself, who are more outspoken than students of other departments.

> I think [Political Science] students tend to be more competent in expressing their opinions than, relatively, than other majors because that's what they learned for a whole four years, to set their standpoint and learn theories and learn how to express their viewpoints that applies on certain political situations. They tend to speak well.

And it is in this sense that the boundaries that demarcate someone as privileged versus unprivileged become blurred by traditional students themselves. Though traditional students believe that UIC students are privileged outsiders who do not belong at Yonsei University, they also recognize that they, too, share many of the same qualities that mark UIC students as such—including fluency in English. However, because of the strongly held and shared assumption that UIC students are inherently different from them, the label of privileged is cast onto only the UIC

students while traditional students' own privilege remains unchecked because UIC students are a convenient diversion. While Sujin believes that "native Korean students" like herself can be distinguished from those whom she believes are "UIC students" by their lesser English language ability, she also recognizes her own English fluency in providing her distinct advantages in selecting her courses and as a primary reason for how she gained admittance to Yonsei University. In fact, traditional students do recognize this ambiguous distinction, as Sujin even commented, "Some of the normal UIC students are not really that different from us," but UIC students serve as a convenient deflection for any shame or guilt that traditional students may feel over their own privilege.

But just who are the "normal UIC students" that Sujin refers to? Is it Koreans who have never lived abroad? Certainly Sujin thinks so, as she told me, "Korean students who've never been abroad, they tend to be more quiet, silent, in English courses." I spoke with one such UIC student, Yuri. Like Minkyu and Sujin, Yuri also graduated from Daewon Foreign Language High School. It is because of her high school education that she spoke with near-native fluency in English, she told me. Indeed, Yuri has neither the extensive period of living abroad that *gyopos* like Audrey and Brandon do nor the early study abroad experience that her high school classmates Minkyu and Sujin do. Because of her lack of experience in living abroad, Yuri lowers herself in comparison to other UIC students as she finds this a relative disadvantage in her case.

> I was very dormant in my social life at UIC, actually. But that's also because I felt left out from the beginning because I just grew up here all my life. All of my international experience was just traveling for a bit. I stayed in Toronto in Canada for five months when I was young. So that was all I had. But all the other students had international experience for their whole life. That was something very different from me. And they had different mentalities as well. So I found it very difficult to interact with them at first. Now, it's okay, but at first, it felt very different for me. So I didn't really participate in a lot of activities.

Given that Yuri did not fit in when she first arrived at UIC, I was curious to know why she even chose to attend an international college. She told me,

> For me, I was originally preparing for going to normal universities that is taught in Korean. But in my senior year in high school, I got to know about this program, UIC program, at Yonsei. First of all, like Yonsei University, it has a good reputation. […] I hear that there's a separate college devoted to English language instruction. So that was fascinating for me, and that's how I decided to come here. Major courses are interesting, too, but in my freshman or sophomore years, they have this common curriculum program. It's mandatory for us to take History and Literature, and that was really fascinating for me. That was also the reason why I applied for UIC, that they kind of bragged about having a strong liberal arts program, at least for the first two years of university. And that's not really common for other Korean universities.

It is important to highlight that Yuri had also applied to Seoul National University to the Art History Department but failed to gain admittance. She did not apply to a traditional department at Yonsei University because, by the time she received her acceptance notification to UIC, it already precluded her from applying to any other department (the admissions process is no longer like this).

Indeed, many UIC students whom I met are similar to Yuri in this respect. They are not *gyopos* but were born and raised in South Korea. Some had early study abroad experience and some did not. Almost all had attended foreign language high schools. The most striking similarity is that all had decided to stay in South Korea and somehow ended up at UIC. Like Yuri, many had applied to Seoul National University and failed to gain admittance there. Some had applied to a traditional department at Yonsei University and also failed to gain admittance there. A few UIC students whom I met had been preparing to go to a US university and took the SAT and Advanced Placement exams during high school but ultimately felt unprepared emotionally to go abroad. Because they had not been preparing to take the *suneung*, they applied to UIC as a de facto option within South Korea that would accept them based on their SAT and Advanced Placement exam scores. Another whom I met, who considers herself "good at English,"

told me that she had picked which universities to apply to solely based on programs that prioritized English language skills in their admissions processes as a way to enter a top university in South Korea. After she was admitted to both UIC at Yonsei University and the Division of International Studies at Korea University, she chose UIC; she did not consider any other universities at the time.

Thus, the very notion of inbound globalization (see chapter 4), whether in rhetoric or in practice, is actually nonexistent. While the rhetoric of UIC professes that inbound globalization is a way to attract foreign students to Yonsei University, the admissions categories and qualifications suggest that inbound globalization is perhaps best understood as primarily a way to provide a domestic alternative for Korean students who would otherwise study abroad in pursuit of the prestige of a degree from a Western country and English language advancement. As one UIC faculty member even mentioned, most students who attend UIC are those "who would be probably studying in the United States or in other foreign countries." But from the testimony of many UIC students whom I met, it seems as if the Korean students who attend UIC do not choose to come to UIC in lieu of any university abroad, or even in order to further develop their English language skills. The Korean students choose UIC *because* they are able to gain admittance there *for* their English language skills—meaning that the choice to come to UIC actually reflects the choice to attend a Korean university—and this defies the very notion of an international college. But UIC students are not the only students who enter Yonsei University in this way. Many traditional students also enter Yonsei University based on their English fluency, but UIC students serve as a convenient deflection for any negative stigmas surrounding their privileged status as fluent speakers of English despite that many UIC students are perhaps not so different from traditional students upon entering Yonsei University.

TRANSFORMATIONS WITHIN THE BORDERLANDS

While many UIC students are drawn from the same pool as those who would be traditional students, the educational, linguistic, and social transformations that UIC students undergo are certainly what make UIC a unique space within Yonsei University and, to a larger extent, within South Korea. For one, the common curriculum that UIC offers provides UIC students with an intellectual experience that they may not have experienced as traditional students of Yonsei University. Many UIC students enjoyed the rigor of the common curriculum that focuses on developing critical thinking skills via reading and writing. As one told me,

> I just love reading and writing, and I like to study the humanities. So, I think I really benefitted a lot from the common curriculum classes at UIC. […] The professors are really nice. […] They really encourage discussion. They're very open to ideas. I'm not ashamed or embarrassed about speaking in class. I just like the fact that it's not about memorization. It's about thinking, as they always emphasize. I agree with them, that such skills are really necessary for whatever career that you take in the future.

Another commented,

> I think UIC's faculty is really good. I seriously think [common curriculum] professors are really, really high level. […] For students like me who have graduated Korean high school and doesn't have a lot of experience, it was difficult for me to adjust in my freshman year, because I really didn't know anything about writing essays in English. […] In UIC, you have to speak a lot and you actually have to read the actual classic text. I had difficulties writing papers. […] Now I know what's going on. It took me a semester, I think.

Another UIC student even told me that she found some of her common curriculum courses much more difficult than her specialized major courses due to their fluid nature and lack of strict disciplinary boundaries.

> I think the common curriculum classes are sometimes even more demanding because it really tries to give you a comprehensive view. […] Major courses I feel more comfortable with because I know more and I'm more comfortable with the reasoning of that particular major and theories. But for liberal arts, the common curriculum tries to

> give me Literature classes and History classes and Philosophy. I remember awesome seminars. Sometimes it seems more demanding, but it's really interesting.

Several UIC students also mentioned how enjoyable it was to be able to take a broad variety of courses that encouraged them to explore their passions. As one told me,

> Freshman year, I took a class on Friedrich Nietzsche for a whole semester, and that was just very interesting—that we could read his work for a whole semester and just talk about that. Other common curriculum courses, too, like Creative Writing Workshop, that was also really interesting.

Because of the freedom to explore and choose their majors during the first two years of their university education, UIC students often felt motivated to choose a field that they had genuine interest in. A UIC student who chose Political Science as her major told me,

> I get the sense that we're more academically interested. Maybe more so than the Economics or others because [Political Science] is more of a discipline. Economics is also a discipline, but a lot of students really aim to *chwieop*, get hired and get a job. [Political Science] itself is not really directly connected to the job market in Korea. It's really not. In Korea, they're all looking for Business majors or Econ majors. […] We can choose whatever we want even though there are other options. If we choose [Political Science], I think it would mean that we are actually interested in the discipline academically.

In addition to the common curriculum itself, students also enjoyed the easy access to UIC faculty members. As a UIC student told me,

> The UIC faculty I think is one of the best parts about UIC because you could just go to their office at any time and literally someone's in there. You talk about your school life and gossips. Really, they're very, very open. I found a drinking relationship with some of the professors. I think that is one of the most envious points of normal Yonsei students. They cannot just go up to a professor and say, "Hey, Professor, let's have a drink." It's usually not like that. I think there's a close relationship within the environment itself that has been pretty satisfying.

Another UIC told me that through her close relationship with one particular UIC faculty member, she was encouraged to pursue her true passions and not follow expected choices.

> I had questions about being doubtful about our future and because we're so all over the place. "We don't know what we're doing. Do you think it's going to be okay for us once we graduate?" He would say, "Don't worry about the expectations of what other people

> want from you guys. That's a very Korean thing, and everyone all the time is going to ask you, What have you accomplished?, but don't be afraid to go out there, even after college, and try to find whatever it is that you're passionate about." So he was very encouraging about not following the regular, I guess, expected Korean path of future choices, current choices, that kind of thing. So he was one of the, for me, very memorable professors.

Thus, the transformation happens via the flexibility of the first two years of a common curriculum during which time UIC students are able to discover their passions and choose a major that follows suit, and via the close relationships developed with UIC faculty members through which UIC students are further encouraged to pursue their passions. Though a UIC faculty member mentioned that most UIC students still choose to major in Economics and still want to work for a *chaebol* (Korean corporate conglomerate) like Samsung or Hyundai upon graduation, given the opportunity to do otherwise, many UIC students do opt to take an alternate path. By comparison, traditional students must choose their majors before entering Yonsei University, and oftentimes they pick their majors for practical reasons or as a strategic approach to be able to enter the university. For example, Sujin told me that while she finds her Political Science major valuable to her future as a journalist, her true passions lie in English literature; however, she did not apply to the English Language and Literature Department because she did not think that the degree would help her reach her goals. Towards the end of our conversation when we were sharing study abroad experiences in England, I mentioned how I had participated in a summer intensive theatre program in London when I was an English major in college. She expressed noticeable envy when I told her that. I wondered if, given the chance, she would have also enjoyed the humanities focus of the UIC common curriculum and the encouragement by UIC faculty members to pursue her passions—and perhaps even have picked a different major after experiencing that transformation.

While also broadening possibilities for their academic pursuits and future careers, UIC students certainly do go through a linguistic transformation, even if they are all fluent English speakers to begin with. Yuri felt that the English immersion allowed her to reach a deeper level of English fluency that she would not have attained as a traditional student, especially because she had never lived abroad before. When she studied abroad during her junior year, she found the adjustment period quite easy in comparison to the adjustment period of her first two years of an English immersion environment at UIC.

> For me, language skills that I gained at UIC definitely helped. I was more or less familiar with speaking or writing in English before I entered college. But it really helped me, the four years of training in academic English. That's probably why I felt like it was very difficult to adjust to college life in my freshman or sophomore years because, yes, I read newspapers in English, I watched TV shows in English, but it's something different if your schooling is in English. It's a totally new experience. I didn't really know that before I entered college. But after four years, I'm very much familiarized. I felt the power of English instruction during my exchange year. I found everything very easy to adjust to because the language was no problem for me.

While those UIC students who grew up in South Korea develop a deeper fluency in English, *gyopos* assert their Korean language ability even more strongly within their social interactions than when they entered as a way to legitimize their place within Yonsei University. When *gyopos* and students who grew up in South Korea share a linguistic space, what results is an unusual linguistic interaction through which both Korean and English are used interchangeably that has become the signature mark of UIC students and that confuses traditional students. As Yuri explained,

> We look Korean, right? But we don't really speak Korean, or we mix the two. When we mix it, it's very fluent. A lot of the UIC students, they have American experience, or they went to international school or American high school or whatever. So we're more or less Americanized, the atmosphere itself. So I think Yonsei students think of us as un-definable.

And it is the mix of Korean and English that becomes its own language as used by the inhabitants of the Borderlands and that reminds traditional students of UIC students' non-Korean characteristics. The irony is that not everyone who uses the distinctly UIC language is a *gyopo*. The *gyopos* assert their "Korean" identity via language even more strongly than when they entered; what results is an emphasized use of Korean but with academic vocabulary replaced with English words. Those who would be traditional students, on the other hand, further develop their English fluency and begin to speak similarly to the *gyopos*. The uniquely UIC language is a way for *gyopos* like Audrey and students who grew up in South Korea like Yuri to share the same linguistic space with one another through the friendships that they build.

Thus, it is through the hodgepodge of friendships formed at UIC that perhaps the most profound transformation happens to UIC students. While the foreign students who attend UIC are a small and marginalized minority, the UIC students of Korean citizenship come from very diverse backgrounds that affect the student culture through the mix of *gyopos* who come from abroad and the Korean students who would be traditional students at Yonsei University. While social cliques tend to cluster based on such divisions in backgrounds, because the *gyopos* are not a small and marginal group, *gyopos* and those who would be traditional students develop friendships through their shared academic trajectory. Through such interactions, UIC students who would otherwise be traditional students develop a broader mindset of what it means to be "Korean" by sharing a social space with the *gyopos* and meeting Koreans who do not necessarily come from South Korea. This is especially so for those who had never lived abroad before. Indeed, Yuri first had trouble relating to *gyopos*, and her comments regarding her early years as a UIC student echo what traditional students Minkyu and Sujin have said of how UIC students are quite different from "native Korean students." But by sharing a social space with many *gyopos*,

Yuri eventually felt much more comfortable around other UIC students, more so than around traditional students despite that they shared more in common upon entering Yonsei University. In fact, when Yuri tried to join a student club that is mixed with traditional students, she felt ostracized by them, which further pushed her to develop closer friendships within UIC.

> In my freshman year, I joined a club that is mixed with other Yonsei students. They were like, "Whoa, so you're from UIC? I've never seen one. You must speak really good English." They also told me that it sometimes feels awkward to see UIC students hanging out.

Over time, Yuri and Audrey became close friends during college. Yuri told me that it is exposure to such diverse friends like Audrey that allowed her to open up: "Having friends who already have international experiences—that also helped me because I got to know what it's like. So I think I became more broad-minded in that way through my friends." And Yuri is not alone in this transformation. Another UIC student, who had very minimal early study abroad experience during elementary school and had lived the rest of the time in South Korea, told me,

> When I first came to UIC, this kind of culture I haven't experienced before. Most of my friends have lived most of their life abroad. They already had a more liberal sense of thinking about things. And I changed, too. I think after coming to UIC, I respect the differences people have in their personal life. When I was in high school and middle school, most of my friends were similar and we spent a lot of time together doing similar things. But after I came to UIC, I met friends with totally different life experiences. What I would have considered strange when I was in high school, I would just think now, they just have their different life. I changed a lot coming to UIC. I think many students have experienced similar things.

On the other hand, though *gyopos* perhaps already arrived at UIC with broad possibilities for their futures, this feeling only blossomed during their time at UIC, as Audrey told me,

> I don't necessarily consider Korea my home, but that doesn't mean I consider another country per se my home. I'm not bound to one country, and I'm not bound to one language. It gives me the freedom to be able to communicate with people anywhere. […] Just being able to have different friends that have all different kinds of backgrounds, I think it gives you a greater understanding of people. So I can basically just do whatever it is I want to do. I don't have that fear of language. I don't have that fear of a different culture.

Such a fearless attitude must surely influence others at UIC, even those without much prior experience living abroad. In fact, when I asked Yuri if she envisions her long-term life in South Korea, her answer was "no," primarily because she wants to experience broader possibilities. This mindset is certainly different from traditional students Minkyu and Sujin, even though both had experienced several years of early study abroad. While Minkyu told me he would certainly be open to living abroad long-term, primarily in the United States, his motivation was for the career track that he chose. Sujin, on the other hand, told me that she enjoys travelling abroad, but because she also experienced what it was like to be a racial and ethnic minority in England and did not enjoy that aspect, she felt more comfortable envisioning her long-term life within South Korea.

However, many UIC students do not envision their long-term life outside of South Korea, and this is where the college is most deficient in providing students with the linguistic skills and social ties necessary for success in South Korea. For one, because UIC students are immersed in an English-only curriculum for their first two years, their Korean academic ability deteriorates by the time that they begin coursework in their specialized majors despite that most UIC students are fluent in Korean conversation. Even those who graduated from high school in South Korea feel uncertain of their Korean academic ability, particularly those who graduated from foreign language high schools, as a UIC student told me,

> Because I've been studying in English since high school, I feel more comfortable with English when it comes to academic writing and reading. I wasn't really sure whether I would do well in the Korean classes.

While this particular UIC student is able to take coursework in both languages, she is certainly an anomaly amongst UIC students, and even she expressed a distinct lack of confidence in her performance in Korean-taught courses. Most UIC students whom I met, who were

conversationally fluent in Korean, told me that they avoided taking any Korean-taught courses at all due to language limitations. However, this does not at all mean that UIC students lack the motivation to take Korean-taught courses, as one UIC student told me,

> I tried to audit one of the classes in Korean because the most quality education you could get in Yonsei is all in Korean. There is no doubt about it. There's many very, very well known scholars, and they all teach in Korean. But because of my limitations in Korean, I really could not take one, even though I really, really want to.

When I asked him about his experience auditing the one course, he told me, "I didn't understand it. Everyone around me is laughing as the professor is talking. Why are they laughing? I don't get it." Indeed, the lack of Korean academic proficiency amongst most UIC students raises questions as to the role of UIC in preparing its students for a long-term life in South Korea when their Korean language ability is not up to par for graduates of Yonsei University. The same UIC student told me,

> My Korean isn't all that good, even though I'm Korean and I'm trying to promote and market my English capability for a temporary job or applying for work. That limitation has really been catching up to me now that I'm trying to go beyond college into an actual career. […] I hope [to stay in Korea]. But the way it looks, I think it could be possible that I'll be much better off in a place like Hong Kong or Singapore because they are much more friendly to English exclusive people than Korea is.

These uncertainties are especially relevant in light of the many UIC students who certainly want to raise their Korean language ability to an academic or otherwise professional level. Even most *gyopos* choose to enroll at UIC not necessarily to improve their English but to improve their Korean as a way of reacquainting themselves with Korean language and culture; however, the UIC curriculum does not sufficiently provide them with that training for an active professional life within South Korea.

For those UIC students who are able to take courses in both languages, they had mentioned a significant quality difference between Korean-taught and English-taught courses within their specialized majors.

> It's very disappointing that we don't get to have all the good professors because some just don't teach for UIC students. […] The depth of the knowledge that we deal in class is much more deep in the Political Science classes conducted in Korean rather than English.

Indeed, in speaking to faculty members in the Political Science Department, one told me that oftentimes senior faculty members assign the English-taught courses to their juniors, which precludes UIC students who take only English-taught courses from having any interaction with the most experienced and prestigious faculty members of that department. At the same time, despite that many students commented on the more "open" atmosphere of English-taught courses, UIC students able to take coursework in both languages also often told me that the expectations of student performance are much higher in Korean-taught courses.

> I feel like professors in Korean classes expected more from the students, even though (or maybe because) the classes tend to be much larger in the Korean-taught classes. But at the same time, I think it's also because the professors expect more because they know more about the subject, in Korean, and they can communicate more easily.

Such students also commented that they rely on their English fluency as a kind of crutch since the English-taught courses are graded on an absolute scale whereby receiving a high mark is relatively easier.

> I honestly feel like a lot of UIC students, to be honest, including myself, use the English thing as a crutch. […] Whereas in the Korean context, it's a bit different because you actually have to write, say, even if it's six pages, five pages, it's single spaced, and then Korean is also very dense. So I think the language, the nature of the written language, makes the workload in Korean settings much more intense. […] It's [also] easier to get a good grade. I mean, my Korean and my English proficiency are similar, and it's definitely easier to get a good grade in an English class, even though the class size is much smaller.

Funny enough, bilingual students also utilize their Korean fluency within English-taught courses so as to communicate more efficiently, especially if the faculty member teaching the course is Korean, as a UIC student told me,

> If the professor is Korean, yeah, I would use Korean sometimes, and if the students are. For example, if you are a group and there are Korean students in the group, I would use Korean for the sake of speed and efficiency. If the students are foreign students and if the professor is a foreign faculty, then I would use English. But if they are Korean, yes, I tend to use Korean because it helps the flow of the discussion.

But interestingly, relying on one's English fluency as a relative advantage certainly does not happen within UIC-only courses because those courses are graded on a relative curve whereby a third of the class ends up with a C grade. This leads to extreme competition and a less collaborative environment within UIC-only courses in comparison to English-taught courses in traditional departments, which are graded on an absolute scale. According to one UIC student,

> For UIC, there's a lot of disconnect between students' level of cooperation […] because underneath everything we see each other as competition. […] It's all relative grading. You have no idea how much I felt betrayed when I got a B+ and when this friend that I spent all of my help on got an A in that same class. Ever since then, I stopped helping anyone else.

The irony of comments such as these is that they reveal the highly competitive nature of UIC students despite that traditional students view them as lax and uncaring about grades.

But more deeply affecting UIC students than the lacking linguistic skills or differences in academic rigor are the lacking social ties and alumni networks essential for success in South Korea. Because UIC faculty members are not plugged into the complex social networks within South Korea themselves, UIC faculty members are unable to help their students in establishing those important ties for students' career paths. One UIC student, whose ambition is to get a job within South Korea, told me that he finds a distinct lack of concern by UIC faculty members in assisting students in that respect.

> [UIC faculty members] should really try to engage us in finding out what we want to do for our future. Not everyone that chose Political Science wants to go to grad school [in the United States]. […] We have picked our major and our professors told us these are the paths that we could go with. Then this path is so narrow, and then once you cross them off, there's nowhere to go.

But even if UIC students do pursue their graduate education in the United States, they are still at a disadvantage when returning to South Korea beyond that. One UIC student whom I met wants to continue her Political Science studies at a doctoral program in the United States. She is open to either staying in the United States or returning to South Korea for her academic career beyond graduate school, but because she lacks strong relationships with the faculty members of the Political Science Department at Yonsei University, she finds herself at a considerable disadvantage when pursuing her academic career in South Korea. This disadvantage is in large part because she has not established the strong networks with alumni and faculty members of Yonsei University, which are essential to pursuing an academic career at an elite Korean university (see chapter 5). Though she is able to take coursework in both languages, she still finds her ties with Political Science faculty members lacking in comparison to traditional students. Most ironically, she cannot even return to South Korea as a faculty member of UIC because her degree from Yonsei University disqualifies her from being hired as a UIC faculty member despite that she has no strong *seonbae-hubae* (senior-junior) networks within the institution.

Indeed, such extreme marginalization of UIC students is a serious issue. A comment by Sujin implied that UIC students are at a distinct networking disadvantage in comparison to traditional students of her major department: "I'm sure that [UIC students are] much smaller in size than the Korean, normal [Political Science] students. We have a lot of friends here and we have networks here already that existed." In fact, Minkyu told me that older alumni may be

especially prone to marginalizing UIC students because of their utter lack of familiarity with what UIC is, even if they share the same majors.

> Those who graduated before [2006] might feel UIC students are somewhat different. They wouldn't discriminate them, but somehow think they are educated in a different way or that the curricula they took at Yonsei University might be different from them. So, I don't think they would be discriminating, but somehow this cultural and lingual barrier might yet work again with those alumni who graduated before the beginning of UIC.

And although issues of youth unemployment affect many university graduates in South Korea today, UIC students feel more acutely affected because of their utter lack of integration into established university alumni networks, and this affects them in very tangible ways. A UIC told me,

> The uncertainty with the future is basically everywhere. Ours is unique in the sense that we don't have any *seonbae* [seniors] that could guide us. So we have to look for *seonbae* outside of UIC.

Indeed, the lack of integration of UIC students into established university alumni networks forces UIC students not only to look for alumni networks outside of their college but also to disassociate with their identity as UIC students altogether.

ESCHEWING THE BORDERLANDS

Traditional students' identities are firmly rooted in what they refer to as "native Korean students" because UIC students serve as a convenient Other against which they are always able to position themselves as native. Sujin commented on how UIC students are more accustomed to American culture so that they may feel uncomfortable with traditional students' activities and social events, and it is her way of justifying to herself why she does not interact much with UIC students of the same major.

> For them, the environment would be so foreign. I would think it would be kind of hard for them to adjust because a lot of the UIC students are accustomed to American culture. In MT, we drink soju, and it's like typical Korean culture. So a kind of cultural gap exists.

But some students use different forms of otheriz-ing by emphasizing that the barriers between UIC students and traditional students has little to do with linguistic or cultural differences and is more a form of self-segregation on part of UIC students. A *gyopo* whom I met commented on UIC students,

> If they did want to socialize more with the normal mainstream Koreans, I think what they would do is join a normal department *dongari* [student club]. But I guess the reason why they chose to go to UIC is they want to study in English, and that's why they're in UIC. If they did want to socialize with us, there are ways.

Though she is a *gyopo*, she is a traditional student from the Political Science Department. What I first noticed about her was her unusual accent in Korean when she gave her drink order at the coffee shop where we met—a subtle yet noticeable undertone of a foreign accent that I could not place geographically. She told me that she was born in South Korea but grew up in several different Southeast Asian countries before coming to Yonsei University. She is equally comfortable interacting in both Korean and English and therefore takes many of the same courses as UIC students in the Political Science Department. But despite her multicultural background, she feels more familiar with those whom she refers to as "normal Koreans" than UIC students.

> People like myself, we have very multiple identifies alright. And if I was in UIC, I would be more UIC-ish, but since I'm in the normal department, I just blend in with the Koreans. We can do that. Even if people who have a multicultural background, when they're in the normal department, they just look like normal Koreans. You can't really tell the difference.

In fact, another *gyopo* whom I met, who is also a traditional student in the Political Science Department, finds that any culture gap with UIC students is not based on language or experience living abroad but on the divisions created by their formal education. Though this student is a

gyopo and shares many of her courses with UIC students, she hardly ever interacts with UIC students in any meaningful way because all the social events she attends are limited to her Political Science major consisting of mostly traditional students.

> We just hear about UIC, but we don't really know them. We don't really meet UIC students or have a lot of interaction. The events that happen in school, it's usually major-based, and so students in the same major would hang out a lot and there wouldn't be any exchange or anything.

This particular *gyopo* was born in South Korea but lived almost her entire life in Indonesia before coming to Yonsei University. Similar to UIC students, she struggles with the Korean language in her courses, as she told me, "I guess the Korean language is the hardest for me. I can understand everything. It's just hard to express my views, or express it accurately and as much as I want to in Korean." Like many of the *gyopos* of UIC, she lacks advanced academic vocabulary in Korean.

> I can speak casual language, but then when it comes to presentations or using a foreign language, it's harder and more difficult. It's not as fluent, or it doesn't come out as fast as English does. So, it's okay, but also I just feel like there's a difference, not just in language but also because of my background. It's an international background, so the way I think or my dreams or what internal goals would be are more international in that I might not be rooted here in Korea.

Because of her linguistic abilities and inabilities as well as her dreams and ambitions that she finds quite different from other traditional students, most of her friends are *gyopos* like herself, but within the same major department. When they speak, they use a mix of Korean and English, much like how UIC students do. But despite her obvious similarities with UIC students, she told me that she doesn't know much about UIC students and that they are rather "mysterious" to her.

At the same time, because of their forced structural separation and lack of meaningful interaction, UIC students also develop stereotypes about traditional students, though not necessarily uniformly. A UIC student told me,

> [UIC students] have a misperception that Koreans are *dabdabhae*, like so inhibited and not tolerant. I've heard a lot students say that, the ones that really lived all of their life abroad. But for students that lived abroad two to five years, we don't really think that. I think there's a stereotype going on. Like being less motivated, more timid, maybe myopic? Some students think that.

But such notions of what it means to be "Korean" are quickly let go, especially after UIC students begin to take courses with traditional students. Another UIC student told me,

> When UIC students would be talking about the Korean students, they would call something Korean, and just leave it at that. For example, they would say, "Oh, it's too Korean," or they would say, "Oh, that person's really Korean." They would mean it in a not necessarily pejorative, but a very uncomfortable way. […] It's very authoritarian, very homogenous, sort of unbalanced, not cosmopolitan, somehow backward. That was the general idea of what it meant to label someone Korean. But after taking a lot of classes with a lot of [Political Science] students, I think most [UIC] students didn't really use that fallback as much.

Indeed, this shift in UIC students' views of traditional students happens once their structural separation is less forced by sharing the same classroom space, and perhaps this breakdown of stereotypes and insults has potential to create the same shift in traditional students' views of UIC students. Unfortunately, that is not the case.

For a very palpable reason, traditional students still feel a structural separation from UIC students. It is because of the higher tuition that is almost double what traditional students pay that makes UIC students seem like they are on a different playing field, as a traditional student told me, "I know the school fees are more expensive, so I guess we think that there would be a difference." The higher tuition also reinforces stereotypes of UIC students as privileged outsiders that do not belong at Yonsei University. Even Minkyu doesn't feel as if UIC students and traditional students belong together in the same Political Science Department because of the significant tuition gap.

> UIC students pay much more money than the native Korean students. So, UIC students think, or they might think, that they deserve better classes because they paid more tuition. I think the core issue or the thing lying behind this is that we pay less and they pay more.

> Maybe this tuition gap should also be narrowed somehow. I don't want to sound so egalitarian, but at least we should feel like we are belonging to the same department, not two departments consisting of foreigners and Koreans.

In fact, the tuition gap turned into a thorny issue in 2007 when all Yonsei University students faced significant increases in their student fees. At the time, the university-wide Student Council made subtle jibes against UIC students for their higher tuition, using UIC as the symbolic representative of academic capitalism against which all other university students could protest against because of the significantly higher tuition. Such representations of UIC still resonate today amongst Yonsei University students. Even UIC students are not especially happy with the higher tuition because they see little justification for it when they share all of their major courses with traditional students, as a UIC student told me,

> We don't see them all that differently, but they see us differently. We're paying double the tuition but taking the exact same classes these students are taking. But from their perspective… I don't know. I don't have any Political Science friends, so I couldn't really say what they view us. But ours is that of not very happy because […] we're paying more than they do for the exact same quality of education.

Because of such images of UIC that resonate today amongst all students at Yonsei University, the UIC students slowly begin to disassociate themselves with their college affiliation. One UIC student told me,

> I call myself a Yonsei student, not UIC student, for instance, when I introduce myself. […] UIC kids are not very well respected in general. […] I've been distancing myself from UIC because I really cannot. I've become much more Koreanized. […] Maybe not as a freshman or sophomore when you are exposed to this whole new world and you're excited by it, but as time goes by, you interact more with general Yonsei students, you try to form more networks with other colleges, you see all the things happening outside of there, how organized they are, how much respect they have for each other. Then you look at our school, and it's just anarchy.

This particular UIC student also told me, "UIC basically taught me that you shouldn't be dependent on UIC if you want to pursue a future. That's what it taught me." Indeed, the perception that UIC brings no advantage in prestige or reputation, in tandem with the lack of an

established university alumni network, pushes UIC students to hide or otherwise downplay the fact that they are UIC students. This is especially so the longer UIC alumni have finished their university education. I spoke to two students from the UIC inaugural class, one of whom told me,

> We really didn't have any identity, and we would always talk about, "What are we? What does it mean to be UIC-ers and not have Yonsei people recognize us?" Because we also had the burden of saying, "Okay, so once we graduate, everyone will be looking at us and evaluating whether we are successful or not." So we always felt like we had to be someone, do something. During college, you were like, "What track can we take? What sort of career options do we have?" That kind of stuff. But we really had nowhere or no one to turn to. […] Our Dean gave us a lot of motivational lectures and speeches, but they really weren't providing us with an outlet to express our complaints. They could have given us enough advice of what to do because it was just so experimental at the time.

The fact that she was part of the inaugural class certainly put pressure on her to prove something to others, but without proper guidance or earlier predecessors, she felt lost at her best, and regretful of her decision to come to UIC at her worst. Now that she is several years past her time as a UIC student, she does not feel so closely connected to her UIC identity, if she had one at all.

Such sentiments resonate for many UIC students, including more recent graduates. And these sentiments arise because UIC tries to establish an "American-style" learning ecology within a Korean university setting by disregarding students' future contributions as professional participants within South Korea, while the students who choose to come to UIC desire to become more "Korean" by attaining fluency in the language and integrating better into established social networks. Such desires are held by both those who grew up in South Korea and those who returned to South Korea as *gyopos*. A UIC student who is a *gyopo* even told me, "My view is that you're in Korea, be like Korean. You're in Korea, you're being educated in Korea, why aren't you trying to take things more like a Korean?" Meanwhile, traditional students may recognize that UIC students are not so different than themselves, but UIC students serve as a convenient deflection for traditional students' guilt or shame over their own English fluency that

is only enhanced by the arbitrary structural separation and higher tuition that has little to do with the students who actually attend UIC. Even *gyopos* who are traditional students find that the structural separation of the college is what defines UIC students as an alien group within Yonsei University despite that they share many things in common as *gyopos*. And because UIC students are stigmatized, UIC students are clearly disadvantaged in accessing university alumni networks that are essential to establishing a successful professional life in South Korea, which only furthers UIC students' marginalization, and which causes UIC students to hide or otherwise downplay their UIC identity. The long-term effects of dislocation of UIC students within established alumni networks remain to be seen.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have shown how meanings of "Korean" are what become contested even though UIC students and traditional students share the same Korean ethnicity and are oftentimes not so different in their education and language backgrounds. This is because UIC students are drawn into the novel learning ecology offered by UIC and undergo the educational, linguistic, and social transformations that mark them as "international" students—including both *gyopos* and students who grew up in South Korea. Because of their transformations, UIC students must carry the burden of shame and guilt over with their fluent English and are treated as misfits within Yonsei University. But even traditional students who hold prejudiced views against UIC students embody the same qualities that they stigmatize UIC students for. However, because UIC students are cast aside as privileged outsiders, traditional students do not feel the same burden of shame and guilt over their own English fluency, and inherently view themselves as the only ones rightfully deserving of their place within Yonsei University. Thus, meanings of "Korean" take on

meanings of belongingness within Yonsei University that is not afforded to UIC students because they are believed to be something distinctly non-Korean via their linguistic abilities and inabilities despite that those same abilities and inabilities might exist amongst traditional students. As such, meanings of "international" that designate UIC students as privileged outsiders override any association that traditional students might share with UIC students even though they may be the same ethnically Korean students.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: MEANINGS OF 'INTERNATIONAL'

This dissertation began as an exploration into meanings of "international" through a spatial understanding of human relations along three different levels of an international college: institutional, faculty, and students. I intended to examine ways in which meanings of "international" were imbued with racialized and paradoxical undertones. But this dissertation also reveals how meanings of "Korean" are imbued with racialized and paradoxical undertones in tandem with meanings of "international." By looking at ways in which both international and Korean are understood, my research speaks to a broader conception of how South Korea sees its place in a multicultural landscape.

In examining the institutional framework of UIC within the larger setting of Yonsei University, I reveal meanings of international that imply something of a second-rate education for second-rate students, especially because of UIC's affiliation with Songdo, as I noted in chapter 4. While the role of an international college within the larger Korean university is to attract and retain Korean students who would otherwise study abroad at universities in Western countries, the students who attend UIC suffer from their affiliation with an "international" college. As a result, UIC students emphasize their "Korean" identity via their Korean language ability as a way to deflect such degrading stigmas onto their foreign student peers, and thus, meanings of "Korean" form a conceptual schema of race and language that creates in-group and out-group politics even within the boundaries of UIC. Paradoxically, the ways that UIC establishes itself as a non-Korean college are exactly why the ethnically Korean students aggressively assert their "Korean" identity even more strongly via their emphasized use of

Korean language. As such, the meaning of international in this context has little to do with foreign students who attend an international college, and instead resonates more strongly of a hierarchy formed amongst Korean students based on their departmental affiliations.

But Yonsei University certainly tries to define "international" as equal to that of something foreign, and this is revealed through the examination of the faculty members who work for UIC that I examined in chapter 5. While the UIC faculty members are quite diverse in terms of their nationality (albeit from only Western countries), ethnicity, and gender, meanings of international are created when UIC brochures and other marketing materials emphasize "international" scholars as primarily white men. Thus, white male faculty members become commoditized for the benefit of Yonsei University via their racialized and gendered appearance in order to advertise the novel learning ecology offered by UIC. But the fetishizing of white men does not mean the privileging of white men, particularly since Yonsei University does not advantage their foreigner or Westerner status in any meaningful way within a faculty power structure that emphasizes *seonbae-hubae* (senior-junior) networks within the university. The UIC faculty body, as a foreign faculty body, is distinctly lacking in any power within such a structure. Despite imbuing meanings of "international" with a clumsy interpretation of foreignness, Yonsei University is still privileging the expression of native identity within the institution while improving its relative position within a global hierarchy of universities that favors Anglo-Saxon universities in the West. In fact, Yonsei University is actually capitalizing on the imbalance of a global hierarchy of universities by advertising "international" faculty members as a way to attract and retain Korean students who would otherwise study abroad at universities in Western countries. As such, employing "international" advertising strategies, however blunt, actually

preserves a distinct form of "Korean," defined by the primarily Korean student body, within UIC and Yonsei University.

But because meanings of international imply something of a second-rate education for second-rate students, traditional students do not regard UIC students as the same as them despite that they share the same Korean ethnicity and are oftentimes not so different in their education and language backgrounds—what I analyzed in chapter 6. This is because UIC students are drawn into the novel learning ecology offered by UIC and undergo the educational, linguistic, and social transformations that mark them as "international" students—including both *gyopos* and students who grew up in South Korea. Because of their transformations, UIC students are considered privileged English speakers who cannot speak Korean as well as traditional students (whether or not this is actually true), and thus, meanings of Korean as a conceptual schema of race and language are further reinforced by traditional students. However, traditional students possess many of the same qualities that they criticize UIC students for, including fluency in English, but because UIC students serve as a convenient Other, traditional students' own privilege over their English fluency remains unchecked. As such, by strongly identifying themselves as "Korean" students while casting aside UIC students as something distinctly non-Korean, traditional students create a meaning of Korean that implies a sense of belongingness to Yonsei University that they alone deserve. Despite their own privileged socioeconomic backgrounds, traditional students will always consider themselves as underprivileged "Korean" students who belong to Yonsei University in comparison to second-rate "international" students who do not belong but were able to enter as privileged English speakers. This makes UIC students unable to bond with traditional students, and thus, UIC students are sorely lacking in

their integration into *seonbae-hubae* networks that will certainly affect them beyond their university education.

Such meanings of international unsettle the totalizing binary of domestic versus foreign in current discussions on international education. A number of scholars on the internationalization of higher education in South Korea implicitly define "international" as introducing something foreign into an established Korean institutional setting—such as comparing foreign students (J.-E. Jon, 2009; 2012; 2013) or foreign faculty members (D.-H. Jang & L. Kim, 2013) with Korean students and Korean faculty members, discussing the integration of a foreign language (i.e., English) within a Korean-language setting (K. Byun, H. Chu, M. Kim, I. Park, S. Kim, & J Jung, 2010; J.-E. Jon & E.-Y. Kim, 2011), or more broadly exploring the integration of foreign (i.e., Western) practices within Korean universities (J. D. Palmer & Y. H. Cho, 2012; 2013). But these studies seldom question the totalizing binary between domestic and foreign nor consider the possibility that a person, language, or practice can be both domestic and foreign simultaneously. By redefining "international" through the examination of an international college in South Korea and revealing a hierarchy amongst Korean students whereby to be "Korean" is to belong whereas to be "international" is to not belong, my research shows how "international" students can be both domestic and foreign simultaneously. On the one hand, UIC students are domestic in that they are ethnically Korean students who possess Korean citizenship, and many are not necessarily *gyopos* but students who grew up in South Korea. On the other, UIC students are foreign in that they defy a conceptual schema of race and language, whether in reality or in perception, that ultimately defines them as "international" students in the eyes of "Korean" students.

As such, when conceptualizing a Third Space as the difference between the "first space" of existing norms, practices, and rituals of a longstanding academic community in South Korea with the "second space" of the extreme interpretation of Anglo-Saxon academic paradigms within an international college, this research reveals meanings of international that become a third/Other meaning that deconstructs the presumed totalizing choices of domestic versus foreign, just as Homi Bhabha (1994/2004) deconstructs the presumed totalizing choices of "first" versus "second" spaces. As Edward W. Soja (1996) points out, thirding-as-Othering involves introducing another choice that "speaks and critiques through its otherness" (p. 61). Even my own positionality as a Korean-American researcher in South Korea "speaks and critiques through its otherness" in the process of locating a diametrical opposition and unsettling it. Similar to UIC students, I am both domestic and foreign that forces Koreans to redefine what it means to be Korean. I am domestic in that Koreans still consider me Korean via the one-blooded narrative; I am foreign in that I also defy a conceptual schema of race and language. In fact, when several of my student interviewees used the term "Korean-American" to refer to those who appear to be racially Korean but who cannot speak much Korean, such use of the term similarly parallels use of the term "international" to describe UIC students despite that the different terms imply different trajectories and immigration histories between *gyopos* and diasporic Koreans, as I discussed in chapter 3. Both "international" and "Korean-American" imply that we—UIC students and myself—are recognized as Koreans by virtue of our ethnic background but do not belong amongst other Koreans. In other words, we are insiders on the outside.

Such a conception of who Koreans are sheds new light on how South Korea sees its place in a multicultural landscape. Gi-Wook Shin (2006) argues that the Korean approach to globalization has not only been to appropriate globalization for national interests (*segyehwa*

drive) but also to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" in the face of rapid changes. Certainly on the one hand, the way an international college follows such an approach is by recruiting ethnically Korean students as the majority student body amidst increased student mobility. But when the students of an international college are still labeled as "international" that implies that they do not belong at a Korean university despite their Korean ethnicity, such a strategy of preserving a distinct form of "Korean" in the higher education sector becomes ineffective because new meanings of "Korean" relate not just to ethnicity but also to a sense of belongingness. Hence, to preserve a distinct form of "Korean" is to preserve a sense of belongingness, which an international college fails to do for its students when it fails to integrate those students into established *seonbae-hubae* networks. As these ethnically Korean students are no longer "Korean" but "international" because of their transformations within an international college, contradictions arise because the ethnically Korean students are expected to stay within South Korea by virtue of their ethnic connection but are still marginalized because they do not belong as "Koreans." In fact, new meanings of "international" only serve to justify why ethnic Koreans can marginalize other ethnic Koreans. As such, new meanings of "Korean" perpetuate a conceptual schema of race and language that determines one's sense of belongingness within South Korea. But while an international college fails to provide a sense of belongingness for the students within it, ironically, an international college provides a reinforced sense of belongingness for the traditional students within the larger Korean university. In other words, the "international" students serve as convenient deflection against which "Korean" students can still feel a sense of belongingness as a kind of backlash against the rapid demographic changes and aggressive reform measures happening within their institution, and even within themselves as they also experience time spent abroad and develop English fluency. Such a paradox speaks to

how Korean ethnic nationalism again reinforces itself in reaction to globalization processes, and speaks to how new meanings of "international" and "Korean" provide insight into how South Korea sees its place in a multicultural landscape.

LIMITATIONS OR POTENTIALLY ALTERNATE INTERPRETATIONS

It is important to highlight the limitations or potentially alternate interpretations within this study. One point is that I interviewed only students and faculty members who possess academic proficiency in English. Particularly for the students, whom I met through the snowball effect, interviewing only those who are able to take coursework in English means that I am inclined to meet only students who are rather socioeconomically privileged. While the zeal of English language learning is prevalent amongst almost all Korean students, those who are able to attain academic proficiency in English by the end of their secondary education are still relatively few in comparison. Those who are able to do so have gone through years of formal schooling in English, either in foreign language schools or through some form of early study abroad or international schooling (not to mention supplementary education at *hagweons* and through private tutoring), all of which indicate high socioeconomic backgrounds. While academic proficiency in English is a prerequisite for all UIC students, it is not necessarily found amongst all traditional students. However, the skewed sampling amongst traditional students does not necessarily invalidate the findings of this ethnographic study because it is still important to recognize the considerable population of traditional students who are not necessarily so different from UIC students in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds and linguistic abilities. The irony is that, despite their similarities, many traditional students still cast aside UIC students as privileged English speakers who are inherently better off than them. Still, the testimony of traditional students who only take

coursework in Korean may provide a potentially alternate interpretation of this ethnographic study.

I also did not examine gender issues in a more nuanced way within this ethnographic study. Especially for my student interviewees, gender roles and expectations can significantly shape their experiences to create further potentially alternate interpretations. For Korean women, the expectation to marry can play a significant role in shaping their future goals in the sense that marriage plans might temper career plans, especially for women in their late twenties. However, because I was interviewing current students or very recent graduates, most of whom were in their early twenties, perhaps marriage did not feel so immediate and pressing as to factor into their futures significantly. This may explain why especially the UIC students possessed such worldly ambitions and did not necessarily find it imperative to stay in South Korea upon finishing their university education. However, a female UIC student did mention that the expectation to marry does factor into how she plans her career. At the time we met, she was studying to take the Korean civil service exam to become a foreign service officer, but her family members expressed concern that this would hinder her ability to find a husband. She told me,

> My initial thing was I [didn't] want to stay here. Not because I hate Korea or anything but because I just like going around, trying new places, and being in that big world. Because I'm female, I have to start thinking about whether that's possible and whether I'm willing to sacrifice an attempt at normal family life with a normal marriage, or whether I would be more satisfied with living alone but having that fun experience. I'm not sure and of course I want both, but you know, it's not that simple. That's one of the reasons that a lot of my relatives were really against me preparing for the civil service exam because they're like, "We want you to stay here. That's not a good job for a girl. Who are you going to marry?" and I'm like, "I don't know, myself?" So that's one issue.
>
> I think female students in UIC are really driven and they have high aspirations in terms of their career, and especially because they come from an international background. We're all really into going abroad and maybe leading a global career, but that little bit of marriage thing is a big thing. We weren't thinking about it when we were freshmen, but now we're juniors and 24, and we're like, "Okay this is problem." I think a lot of my friends struggle with the same concerns.

As a concerned woman in her early thirties, I was inclined to take on the role of an older sister and tell her that there is no reason that she could not have a fulfilling career and a fulfilling relationship if she found a partner likeminded to her, and that worrying about a theoretical husband at the age of 24 in lieu of her exciting career plans is ridiculous. But as a researcher, I also tried not to project my own desires onto my interviewees, particularly since marriage decisions are deeply personal and culturally specific. Still, my own conscience could not allow me to forgo any comment, and I told her that it is important that she make decisions that make her happy and not just her family happy. I also wondered to what extent her sentiments are shared amongst other female UIC students and how their worldly ambitions are only a temporary phase that will end once they become closer to the expected marrying age—a future area of inquiry.

But for Korean men, the experience of their military conscription can play a significant role in shaping both their university experience and their future goals in the sense that military service does inculcate within them a strict hierarchy of age and school year that could potentially become the *seonbae-hubae* network that they otherwise lack at Yonsei University. However, I did not meet enough UIC students who had already completed military conscription to be able to gauge this possibility in any meaningful way, even though what one particular male UIC student told me forced me to consider such. This student had recently returned from two years of military service and was currently in his junior year (Korean men typically spend two years of military conscription in between their sophomore and junior years). He was critical of other male UIC students who had gone to live in Songdo during their freshman year and did not follow a strict hierarchy of age and school year. He told me,

> There are problems [with UIC students sent to Songdo] because *seonbae-hubae*, the connections there is all cut off. Those students who came from Songdo… we were very

> shocked because they didn't find it normal for *seonbaes* buying them food and stuff, they weren't familiar with that culture. That is part of what Yonsei or Korean universities can provide. We had to teach them again. Not teach them, but get them familiar with that culture. It took some time. […] I think in a sense it's more strict because Korean university students, they always had that *seonbae* thing, so they are more lenient with it because they are more familiar with it. They know it well. But UIC students, when they came to UIC, it was enforced on them. It was a new culture, right? So in a sense, they are stricter with it. They learned it. Because it's new to them, they are stricter with it.

This student's comments certainly imply that it is exactly because UIC students are not initially drawn into a strict hierarchy of age and school year that makes older UIC students, especially those who have completed military conscription like him, *more* strict in comparison to traditional students in enforcing the hierarchy onto younger UIC students. As a male UIC student, he probably went through an immersion process himself when he was a freshman and sophomore, and now he is the one to enforce it as a junior who also has a military background that has only heightened his awareness of a strict hierarchy of age and school year. I wondered to what extent such different expectations surrounding *seonbae-hubae* networks form within UIC based on gender divisions related to military conscription that could be further explored.

FUTURE AREA OF INQUIRY

In addition to exploring the above limitations and potentially alternate interpretations, an important future area of inquiry is to further unsettle the diametrical opposition between domestic versus foreign in an entirely different setting. While this dissertation has uncovered meanings of "international" within a Korean university setting, a future area of inquiry that will advance this ethnographic study could uncover meanings of "Korean" within a US university setting. What are the hopes, ambitions, and goals of Koreans studying at US universities that distinguish them from Korean-Americans? What is the Korean relationship with the Korean-American students within US universities? How do both groups' sense of belonging, or not

belonging, within the university affect their trajectories? How do the answers to such questions unsettle the totalizing binary of domestic versus foreign? By examining the intraethnic tensions that arise between Korean students and Korean-American students within a US university, I intend to explore further ways of understanding identity construction amongst ethnically Korean students. While scholars in Korean Studies have focused on the racialized belongingness of Koreans and Korean-Americans within the United States (N. Abelmann & J. Lie, 1997; N. Kim, 2008; N. Abelmann, 2009) and multidimensional trajectories of the Korean diaspora (J. Lie, 2004; S. Ryang, 2008), the intersection of Korean identity politics with education in transnational contexts has not yet been given sufficient attention. An exploration into meanings of both "international" and "Korean" via such a comparative project can speak to how Koreans construct both racial and national identities through their educational trajectories in transnational context.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR UIC ADMINISTRATION AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

1. Employment History
   - How long have you been involved with UIC? with Yonsei?
   - Through what route did you come to your position at UIC?
   - What is your role at UIC?

2. UIC Development
   - How does UIC fit with the rest of Yonsei?
   - What are the current goals of UIC?
   - How would you like to see UIC develop within the next 5-10 years?

3. Curriculum
   - How is the curriculum aiming to become more international?
   - What parts of the curriculum show the most interest from students? Why?
   - What future changes will happen to the curriculum?

4. Human Resources
   - From which populations are student recruitment efforts being focused?
   - From which populations are faculty recruitment efforts being focused?
   - What is the goal of UIC in terms of human resources?

5. Culture
   - What efforts are being made to internationalize student mentality?
   - What efforts are being made to internationalize faculty mentality?
   - What efforts are being made to diversify the culture so that it includes a broader range of international influences?
   - What efforts are being made to diversify the culture so that it includes a broader range of socioeconomic status?

6. Songdo International Campus
   - Discuss the UIC relationship with Songdo.
   - What are the student and parent reactions to Songdo?
   - What are the faculty reactions to Songdo?
   - What is the Yonsei perception of Songdo?

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES OF UIC ADMINISTRATION AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

DATE	POSITION AT UIC
2012-03-19	Founding Dean
2012-05-04	Associate Dean of Planning
2012-05-15	Dean
2012-07-16 to 2012-08-25[1]	Founding Board Member

[1] Interview conducted over multiple e-mail communications between these dates.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR FACULTY MEMBERS AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

1. Demographic Information
   - Name
   - Birthplace
   - Nationality
   - Native language(s)
   - Other languages spoken? (years of study and proficiency)
   - Have lived in a foreign country? (length and purpose)
   - Undergraduate education
   - Graduate education

2. Employment History
   - How long have you been teaching at Yonsei?
   - Through what route did you come to teach at Yonsei?

3. Professional Development
   - What are your professional goals?
   - What are the consequences to your career mobility by teaching at UIC/in English?
   - What are the advantages/disadvantages of teaching those courses?
   - How strong are your English/Korean language skills? How does this affect your career mobility? Perceptions of career mobility?

4. Classroom Experiences
   - What classes do you teach? In what language?
   - How did you decide on the texts for your classes?
     - If mandated by the program, ask about familiarity of contents.
     - Probe about other materials and resources.
     - Ask for sample syllabi.
   - Discuss the classroom dynamics of your students.
   - What do you perceive as the goals of your students?
   - What do you perceive as the strengths and challenges of your students?
   - What differences do you find in teaching UIC students versus other students?

5. Institutional Expectations
   - What do you perceive as the role of UIC to the rest of Yonsei?
   - What perceptions do others have about UIC?
   - Do you partake in any administrative activities in UIC?

APPENDIX 4

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES OF FACULTY MEMBERS AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

DATE	TITLE	ACADEMIC UNIT
2012-03-13	Associate Professor	UIC
2012-03-14	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-14	Associate Professor	UIC
2012-03-15	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-16	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-16	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-19	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-21	Associate Professor	UIC
2012-03-22	Associate Professor	Political Science
2012-03-27	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-27	Associate Professor	Political Science
2012-03-28	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-03-28	Associate Professor	UIC
2012-03-30	Research Professor	English Language and Literature
2012-04-09	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-04-10	Professor	Korean Language and Literature
2012-04-10	Assistant Professor	UIC
2012-04-12	Research Professor	College of Theology
2012-04-13	Assistant Professor	Political Science
2012-04-20	Research Professor	Economics
2012-05-10	Assistant Professor	Economics

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR STUDENTS AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

1. Demographic Information
    - Name
    - Birthplace
    - Nationality
    - Native language(s)
    - Other languages spoken? (years of study and proficiency)
    - Have lived in a foreign country? (length and purpose)

2. Educational Background
    - Where did you go to high school?
    - What is your year in college?
    - What is your major? How did you decide on this?

3. Arriving at UIC
    - Why did you come to UIC/Yonsei?
    - What other schools/majors did you consider?

4. Classroom Experiences
    - What are your favorite classes?
    - What do you think of your classes and faculty?
    - What is the biggest challenge for you in the classroom?
    - What differences do you find in common curriculum versus major classes?
    - What differences do you find in English versus Korean classes?
    - What would you change about the way UIC/major is structured?
    - What do you think of the other students (UIC/Yonsei)?
    - What do other students think of you (UIC/Yonsei)?
    - What common misconceptions do both groups have?

5. Social Life
    - Tell me about your friends. (Korean? International? UIC? Yonsei?)
    - How does language and culture affect your social life?
    - Are you involved in any extracurricular activities?
    - (if applicable) What is/was your life like at Songdo?

6. Post College Life
    - Discuss your goals after college.
    - How does UIC/Yonsei help you reach those goals?

APPENDIX 6

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES OF STUDENTS AT YONSEI UNIVERSITY

DATE	SEX	BEGAN	STATUS	DEPARTMENT[2]	CATEGORY[3]
2012-04-12	Female	2008	Senior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-04-12	Female	2007	Alum	UIC / PSIR	Korean Overseas
2012-04-17	Male	2011	Sophomore	UIC / IS	Korean Overseas
2012-04-18	Female	2012	Freshman	UIC	Korean Overseas
2012-04-18	Female	2012	Freshman	UIC	Korean
2012-04-18	Female	2012	Freshman	UIC	Korean Overseas
2012-04-18	Female	2012	Freshman	UIC	Korean Overseas
2012-04-18	Male	2012	Freshman	UIC	International
2012-05-01	Male	2010	Sophomore	UIC / PSIR	International
2012-05-07	Male	2012	Junior	UIC / PSIR	International
2012-05-07	Male	2003	Alum	Political Science	Korean
2012-05-07	Female	2008	Alum	Political Science	Korean Overseas
2012-05-10	Female	2009	Senior	Political Science	Korean
2012-05-10	Female	2007	Alum	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-05-11	Female	2009	Senior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-05-17	Female	2008	Junior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-05-18	Female	2009	Senior	Political Science	Korean Overseas
2012-06-21	Male	2008	Senior	UIC / PSIR	Korean Overseas
2012-06-25	Female	2010	Junior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-06-25	Female	2010	Junior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-06-27	Male	2008	Junior	UIC / PSIR	Korean
2012-07-07	Female	2006	Alum	UIC / PSIR	Korean Overseas
2012-07-07	Female	2006	Alum	UIC / PSIR	Korean

[2] UIC students are listed with their majors for those who are sophomores and beyond. PSIR stands for Political Science and International Relations. IS stands for International Studies.

[3] Korean Overseas could indicate Korean Overseas (3+) or Korean Overseas (12+). See table 4.1 for a breakdown of admissions categories and qualifications.

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