

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION:
INTERNATIONALIZATION AND
INSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN TWO
DIFFERENT TYPES OF UNIVERSITIES IN
KOREA

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This study explores the internationalization dynamics and institutional shifts in Korean universities in response to globalization trends. It investigates what forces are pushing universities to move toward internationalization and which strategies are being pursued by universities to accomplish that end. My motivation is to better understand how neoliberal ideology may be impacting higher education and how universities have responded to globalization while pursuing internationalization. It has also been important to consider how and whether these changes have altered the educational environment at universities and to investigate the impact of various reforms on academics. For its methodology, this study adopts a qualitative multiple-case study approach, employing as its primary methods document analysis and interviews with academicians and administrators. Case studies are produced involving

two universities: Seoul National University was chosen to represent a research-focused university and another university was chosen to represent a teaching-focused university. As students are major stakeholders in higher education, this study also explores their engagement in international higher education.

In the name of internationalization, the notions of competitiveness and efficiency have been incorporated in academic environments. Academic disciplines are now driven by external accountability, and academic governance is shaped by powerful decision-makers. Thus, many academic fields have become more strongly linked to industries. Academicians often criticize this type of globalization by citing concern about the nature of universities where the search for knowledge for its own sake was once given the highest value. Both case universities are reforming their institutions while pursuing diverse internationalization strategies. In doing so, the universities are slowly but certainly moving toward an entrepreneurial culture. This is manifested in overseas student recruitment and increasing university-industrial ties that secure further funding.

This study demonstrates that internationalization and institutional reforms in Korea have taken a path that is very similar to global trends. At the same time, the phenomenon of local action, whether in Korea or elsewhere, continues to be distinct in many ways.

RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION: INTERNATIONALIZATION AND
INSTITUTIONAL REFORM
IN TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF UNIVERSITIES IN KOREA

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Dedication

To my mother

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Globalization is a major challenge faced by universities today and internationalization has become a widespread and important phenomenon in higher education (Altbach, 2001a; Scott, 1998; Stromquist, 2007; Teichler, 1999). Higher education today has become a tradable commodity (Knight, 2006; Stromquist, 2007) and commercialization is an increasingly important driver of internationalization (Knight, 2008a). Internationalization is accelerated by globalization forces and contemporary universities are increasingly influenced by marketization. According to an International Association Universities (IAU) survey (2005) that examined responses from higher education institutions in 95 countries (including Korea), internationalization provides benefits to higher education (96 percent of respondents), and 70 percent of respondents also believed it comes with potential risks. The survey identified the risks as “commodification and commercialization.” Institutions are becoming more responsive to the changing environment, including the international dimension, in line with deregulation and increased institutional autonomy. This has also led many institutions to seek out and develop a diverse funding structure, and in doing so, institutions are becoming more entrepreneurial (Van Vught et al., 2002). Slaughter and Leslie (1997) observed that universities compete for external funds under market-led forces and described this process with the term entrepreneurialism. There are growing partnerships between universities and industries, while educational products, in creating market niches, commute across borders in a borderless higher education system. Higher education institutions subjected to globalization are now

involved in entrepreneurial activities that generate income from international sources, such as international student exchange study, cross-border study programs, and international research cooperation. Within this dissertation, the term globalization is used to refer to a neoliberal economic ideology and market-oriented forces that enable a borderless world. The concept of internationalization represents the holistic activities of higher education in their response and adjustment to globalization.

OECD (1996b) encourages universities to see internationalization as preparation for a neoliberal economic society, emphasizing cross-border trade in higher education services. When Korea joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2006, it opened the doors to Korean education reform. The notion of globalization (*segyehwa*) was implemented in a central governmental policy and internationalization became one of the major trends in Korean higher education. This trend has encouraged cross-border trade in educational services and increases in trade related to a university education. Along the same lines, higher education today is viewed as a fundamental element for advancing the economic growth and prosperity of a nation-state.

Korean higher education has entered into a massified stage: enrollment rate has risen from 5.4 % in 1970, to 52.5 % in 2000, and to 68.2% in 2014 (KEDI, 2014). The massification of higher education has led to severe competition for funds, as well as for students and faculty, which is increasingly associated with the marketization of universities (Byun, 2008; Cho, 2006). With the deregulation of Korean higher education, universities have had to individually market themselves, recruiting overseas students, especially from neighboring Asian countries. The universities

prefer self-paying students. Internationalization, in its early stage in Korea, was confined to the physical mobility of students crossing borders in an international higher education context. Realizing the importance of the international student market, and the declining number of college-age people in Korea, the Ministry of Education (MOE) adopted proactive approaches, such as the Study Korea Project¹ in 2004. MOE also simplified immigration procedures and loosened immigration law, making it easier for international students to find jobs after they completed their studies in Korea.

The Korean government has made increasing efforts to internationalize its higher education in order to enhance its national competitiveness in a knowledge-based society. As part of an effort to strengthen the nation's academic status worldwide, national universities in Korea have become corporatized in order to make them more flexible and responsive to a changing global environment, which has brought about the introduction of market principles and practices in higher education (Rhee, 2007).

Research universities worldwide are now competing to achieve greater prestige, which is often measured through rankings (Longden, 2007; Marginson, 2006; Meredith, 2004). To make Korean universities more globally competitive, various internationalization projects have been launched, such as Brain Korea 21 (BK 21)²

¹ Study Korea project was the first government-level policy for foreign students in Korea. The initial goal was to attract 50,000 foreign students to Korea by 2010. The number of foreign students studying in Korea ballooned from 16,832 in 2004 to 86,878 in 2012.

² BK 21 was launched in 1999 and continued through 2005. It was the largest government-initiated project in the higher education sector with 1,306 billion Korean won (US\$1.2 billion) in its first stage (1999-2005), and 1,847 billion Korean won (US\$1.7 billion) in its second stage (2006-2012) (<http://bnc.krf.or.kr/home/bk21/index.do?method=getList&menuSN=0201>).

and World Class University (WCU)³, both of which are intended to concentrate funding and resources to develop a few select research-focused universities into world-class universities. Becoming major project recipients are universities that excel in science and technology research (Byun & Kim, 2011). Universities have also used English as a teaching medium in their institutions and English has become an academic language in Korean academia. Apart from research universities, all types of universities are encouraged to internationalize their campus environments. Government accountability for higher education subsidies has introduced an internationalization index. Thus, the extent of an institution's internationalization is critical to the level of government subsidies it receives. In addition, to encourage university specialization, the University for Creative Korea (CK) project was initiated in 2014. CK provides financial support for the internationalization of institutions in regional areas. Responding to current globalization forces, Korean higher education institutions have been working to revise their missions and goals and to reform their campuses within an internationalization framework.

Case studies of university responses to globalization in Northern countries (Currie et al., 2003; Stromquist, 2007) revealed that actions to reform institutions and efforts geared toward internationalization are developing at the same time. As Knight and de Wit (1997) noted, "The globalization affects each country in a different way due to a nation's individual history, traditions, culture and priorities, globalization is a multi-faceted process and impacts countries in different ways" (p. 6). The main

³ The WCU project was initiated in 2008 with 825 billion Korean won (US\$750 million). Its objective was to invite prestigious scholars from abroad, and it encouraged them to conduct research in collaboration with Korean students and scholars. WCU supported 140 programs at 33 universities, most of which were in the Seoul metropolitan area (Kiyong et al., 2013).

purpose of this study is to investigate the internationalization of universities and, concomitantly, examine how they are reforming their institutions by adopting globalization trends in different types of universities in Korea.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

In contemporary Korea, the international mission of higher education has been given priority and globalization has accelerated internationalization activities within universities, with the expectation of achieving benefits such as national prestige, multicultural acceptance, and economic profit. Internationalization is recognized as a new approach to enhancing teaching and research by encouraging competition worldwide and achieving international excellence, and it is transforming higher education into a commodity within a market of international trade.

Higher education in Korea has been reformed to enhance institutions' academic competence and international competitiveness. The significance of the international dimension in higher education is felt globally and is now critical in Korea. In 2005, the Study Korea Project was initiated to enhance Korea's competitive position in global higher education by achieving growth in the number of international students from a wider range of countries and by building academic partnerships and alliances. It is well-known that international students offer direct financial benefits to the economy of the host country. However, the expected benefits gained from internationalization are much more widespread than economic gains. In fact, Korea has been trying to increase the quality of their higher education system and transform its universities into world-class institutions.

The expanded significance of the international dimension in higher education has prompted the Korean government to offer incentives to universities, which are evaluated based upon the extent of their internationalization. The government funds for internationalization differ between research and teaching universities. Top-tier universities benefit from the government-supported funds, such as BK 21 and WCU. It has been debated whether these funds were established with the aim of targeting only a very few top research universities, such as SNU, since many other well-positioned research universities have difficulty becoming recipients of these projects. While these funds are not limited to research universities, in practical terms, teaching universities are not qualified to apply for these government projects. Therefore, teaching universities mostly turn to a variety of other government funds, some of which they can use to increase their level of internationalization.

In the Korean higher education system, most higher-positioned four-year universities are clustered in the Seoul metropolitan area. Typically, the further away an institution is from Seoul, the lower its prestige. This is the case except for a few national universities in regional areas and the two other top universities specializing in science and technology, Pohang University of Science and Technology (POSTECH) and the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST). Compared to the more prestigious universities in Seoul, many of the universities outside Seoul do not, for the most part, provide diverse educational studies. Rather than offering a traditional liberal arts curriculum or some competitive studies, they offer practical fields of study, such as science and engineering or medicine. These universities are not recognized as research-focused institutions, despite their offering

of master's and doctoral programs. Most universities in regional areas do not have the goal of becoming a research-focused university and rather they have a mission of commitment to their own regional community.

Then, why are universities in regional areas working toward internationalization? It is well known that international student recruitment is an easily accomplishing manifestation of internationalization. It could also be used to parlay compensation for funding deficit. Nonetheless, not all of the small universities in regional areas see internationalization merely as a source of income. In fact, apart from international student recruitment, universities employ various internationalization strategies.

This dissertation investigates the internationalization of Korean universities by comparing a research university in Seoul and a teaching university outside of Seoul in the Gyeong-Gi province. The internationalization processes at the research university and at the teaching university were considered by examining their internationalization strategies. Furthermore, the academic environments, which changed during the internationalization, were also investigated at both universities. The idea of why a teaching university is pursuing internationalization is brought forward, even though their ultimate goal is not to become a world-class university, which is the main goal of research universities. Special attention is given to international student recruitment as the most distinctive strategy for internationalization. By analyzing the dynamics of national-level policies with the internationalization of higher education and shifts in university responses, this dissertation explores why a teaching university is driven to internationalization.

The motivations driving internationalization are critical to understanding the international dimension of higher education, since these motivations reflect the core values of international higher education. Rationales for internationalization help to explain why a university believes internationalization is important, what strategies are implemented, which benefits are brought, and which risks are encountered.

Internationalization is perceived differently by teaching and research universities. This study explores these two types of institutions to better understand their responses to internationalization. Each type of university has pursued internationalization according to its own understanding of this concept, employing various strategies in the pursuit of internationalization. Of particular interest are strategies that focus on the academic environment (or research and teaching environment) and international students. This dissertation has organized several research questions into two sets.

Set 1: Internationalization in teaching universities and research universities

1. What are the internationalization strategies being pursued by different types of universities?
2. What are the rationales/forces pushing these different types of universities to move toward internationalization?
3. Why do universities emphasize international student recruitment as a strategy of internationalization?

Set 2: Characteristics of international students and their motivations for choosing Korean higher education

Why do international students choose particular universities in Korea as their study abroad destination?

Unlike the international students in many Western countries, most in Korea are not enrolled in research universities. However, given that over 80% of the total for international students enrolls the institutions outside of Seoul, these universities provide benefits for those who enroll in them. How less prestigious universities in regional areas and international students have come together to form this peculiar trend for international student mobility in Korean higher education is explored. In addition, observations were also gathered regarding the different motivations of students according to gender.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation contributes to the field of comparative education and to the context of international education in the following ways. First, it contributes to the growing body of literature on the internationalization of higher education in Asian contexts. Much of the research into internationalization of higher education has examined cases mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries. There is limited literature concerning Asian countries. Therefore, this study is necessary to broaden the literature and to better understand the internationalization of universities in Korea, which is a marginalized study area in the current academic hierarchy.

Second, this dissertation is significant in that it expands the research scope of internationalization of universities by investigating different types of universities. Much of the previous literature only probed the institutional dynamics of research-focused universities. However, this study also gives attention to teaching-focused

universities, which is also a marginalized study field in the international higher education context. My previous experience in Korean higher education as well as current work in US higher education benefits the examination of institutional shifts in Korean universities in an international context.

Third, much of the literature on Korean higher education has analyzed internationalization policies and addressed internationalization dynamics at a national level. However, this dissertation probes the institutional dynamics by presenting diverse stakeholders' perspectives and the tensions and conflicts among these actors.

Overview of the Chapters

This study is presented in six chapters. Chapter 1 describes the purpose of the study, research questions, and significance of the study. Chapter 2 includes two parts. The first part of Chapter 2 presents a literature review of higher education in the context of globalization and lays out the theoretical perspectives guiding this study. The second part of Chapter 2 introduces a broad overview of internationalization worldwide, including Korea. Chapter 3 describes the research design, methods, and data analysis. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 describe and analyze case studies of internationalization dynamics at two Korean universities. These chapters include two parts: the first part examines the institutions' responses to the globalization activities. The second part reveals the motivations of international students studying in Korean higher education. Chapter 6 presents the main findings and summarizes the study. Concluding remarks and implications of the study are also provided.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Higher Education in the Globalization Context

In discussions regarding the impact of globalization, Giddens described globalization mainly in terms of the concepts of distance and geography (Maringe, 2010). Going further, Held et al. (1999) described it as “a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power” (p. 16). This definition identified expanded aspects of the depth and speed of world interconnection beyond a geographical interconnection.

Globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that can be understood in economic, political, and cultural contexts (Knight, 2011; Stromquist, 2002) and it is broadly understood as a global collaboration based on the operation of free markets (Casey, 2006). Friedman (2005) argued that neo-liberalism is linked to free-market capitalism, based on a range of free-market policies such as deregulation, privatization, and reduction of welfare. The free market is based on the notion of profit, and has resulted in the “merchandization of knowledge under conditions where a subject in every aspect is tied to the pressures of a global market” (Prasad, 2007, p. 20). Castells (1997) identified a new world economy that has emerged in the era of globalization and that “productivity and competitiveness are, by and large, a function of knowledge generation and information processing; forms and territories are organized in networks of production, management, and distribution; the core economic activities are global – that is, they have the capacity to work as a unit in real

time, or chosen time, on a planetary scale” (p. 52). This argument shows the importance of knowledge and new forms of delivery by which knowledge is transmitted internationally.

While globalization is a phenomenon that can be applied to multiple domains, when concentrated in the specific context of higher education, its effects can be defined as “the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education” (Altbach, 2006, p. 123). This globalization can be further specified as the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement.

The world is moving toward a knowledge society (Geiger, 2004). In a knowledge-based society, the economic success of nation states relies on high value-added products and services that depend on scientific and technological knowledge (Bridges, 2007). The proponents of globalization argue that globalization will restructure education to better meet the needs of a national economy. Since universities are knowledge-producing entities, the demand for higher education will increase and play a vital role in the era of globalization. The importance of higher education and scientific and technological knowledge disciplines is emphasized through international initiatives, such as the declarations that emerged from the 1980 Education for All (EFA) and the 1998 World Conference on Higher Education, and Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

Scientific and technological knowledge disciplines tend to occupy positions of strength in universities (Stromquist, 2002). The development of scientific and technological knowledge disciplines is emphasized with globalization, and at the

same time it precipitates globalization. For example, the development of technology leads to changes in transportation infrastructures. Subsequently, changes in transportation infrastructure facilitate “the extent and intensity of global connectedness and have important consequences for the development and evolution of global interaction capacity” (Held et al., 1999, p. 19). As evidence, much international student mobility has evolved around science-derived disciplines and many exchange programs are focused on science and engineering departments (Douglass & Edelsteing, 2009; Guruz, 2011). Globalization often provides the rationale for restructuring education to better meet the needs of a national economy. In a learning society, economic success is seen to rely on the production of higher value-added products and services that depend on scientific and technological knowledge and on continual innovation. Since high-value information is the source of national wealth in a knowledge-based economy, “many Western nation states seek to reposition themselves in the face of rapid capital and information flows” (Caruana, 2010, p. 54). Thus, their universities face many pressures that challenge their historic identity. Arguably, in producing, transferring and disseminating economically-productive knowledge, the university plays a vital role in maintaining a global competitive edge.

As a knowledge-based society requires highly-skilled global workers (Stromquist, 2002), higher education has moved further into areas of high value-added and knowledge-based production and service sectors. Education is a critical factor for economic growth in nation states in a competitive society (Oplantka & Hemsley-Brown, 2010). In short, higher education is evolving to contribute to global

labor market needs and the new global worker. Higher education has unprecedentedly been emphasized in a knowledge-based society in that it plays a role in educating people for the new economy and in creating new knowledge (Scott, 2000b). Given that universities are places where productive knowledge is transmitted, the university plays a vital role in nurturing the worker in a knowledge-based society. As evidence, international organizations are now increasingly focusing on higher education. Participation in international organizations is often used as an indicator of integration into a globalized world system and can lead to collaboration around higher education.

There are four principal international organizations that have the capability to influence internationalization in higher education in terms of globalization: the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Educational Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the World Bank. These organizations have been active in higher education, although previously for several decades, they paid little attention to higher education.

UNESCO holds a regular forum for discussion on higher education and produces statistics and publications on higher education issues. This organization has launched important initiatives regarding higher education such as accreditation and quality assurance. UNESCO has also established regional offices that focus on higher education, such as the UNESCO European Center for Higher Education, the Center for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, and UNESCO's Southeast Asian offices in Bangkok, Thailand.

The OECD has worked actively in conducting higher education research, such as collecting statistics on a wider range of higher education issues, and the organization has made its data and analyses public. Its evaluation of higher education is useful for research on national higher education (King, 2007). The World Bank has increased the amount of lending funds for higher education in developing countries and has sponsored research on higher education with a special focus on developing countries (Bassett, 2006). The WTO has been actively involved in higher education. The current debate concerning the General Agreement between some government agencies revolves around how richer countries will integrate higher education into the legal structures of world trade through the WTO. This is an indication of how important universities and knowledge have become in the contemporary world.

In today's society, higher education is becoming a booming market and an international business. As mentioned earlier, globalization and the notion of a free market are inextricably interconnected. Supporters of a free market system in higher education argue that competition among education institutions will enhance education quality, and thus students will choose the most qualified institutions (McCowan, 2009).

With the growth in market forces, globalization has rapidly established higher education as a commodity within international trade (Knight, 2002). Higher education is seen primarily as a private good, as a tradable commodity that can be subjected to national and international markets (Giroux, 2002; Tilak, 2008). Higher education is subject to not only domestic, but also international markets. As an example, international students contributed about US\$15.54 billion to the US economy. In fact,

some governments even give incentives to universities that are doing well in expanding their international higher education programs (Bridges, 2007). Currently, the GATS and the WTO do not prescribe formats that countries must follow, however, many countries market their educational products overseas and are adapting to well-established accrediting systems (Verger, 2009).

As an example, governments are increasingly concerned about the recruitment of international students and express interest in both the emergence of new markets and the maintenance of quality to ensure that such objectives are fulfilled. Another example of such a government initiative is the Erasmus Mundus program funded by the European Union, offering substantial financial support for international students to come to Europe. For governments, international students offer direct financial benefits to the economy. The perceived benefits, however, are much wider. As de Wit (2002) noted, such students often fill skill gaps in local or national labor markets and also offer long-term prospects of closer trading links with the country concerned.

Definition of Internationalization of Higher Education

The terms internationalization and globalization are often used interchangeably, but they are different processes. The literature on globalization does not discuss the globalization of education, and rather centers on a process called the internationalization of higher education. Globalization is presented as a phenomenon that affects the internationalization of higher education. Globalization is defined as “the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, ideas across borders. Globalization affects each country in a different way due to a nation’s individual history, traditions, culture and priorities” (de Wit et al., 2005, p. 6).

Knight (2005) discusses the evolution of the concept of internationalization specifically and proposed a working definition of internationalization. Summarizing the debate on the concept of internationalization over the past decade, she points out that the definition of internationalization should be set in the context of the education sector and its goals and functions; however, it also should not be limited to only an institutional-based definition.

Internationalization has been defined by Knight (2008) as “the process of integrating an international or intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution” (p. ix). However, this definition has a limitation in that it is not applicable to institutions or countries that see internationalization as broader than teaching, learning, and the development of competencies. Knight (2012) subsequently proposed the following working definition: internationalization at the national, sectoral, and institutional level is “the process of integrating an international intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2012, p. 14). Knight (2005) mentioned that she intentionally created a neutral definition “to describe a phenomenon that is universal, but that has different purposes and outcomes depending on the actor or stakeholder” (p. 13). The conceptualization of internationalization by Knight (2005) is helpful in understanding internationalization as a holistic activity that goes beyond a simple description of internationalization as international student mobility.

Universities have always had an international element and character. However, globalization has accelerated internationalization activity within universities. There is much literature on globalization and internationalization in higher education that

explores a wide variety of perspectives on internationalization. Some include institutional strategies or activities to integrate the international dimension into institutions in order to enhance the quality of education. Others focus on the growth of an entrepreneurial culture associated with managerialism in higher education institutions. Internationalization reaches into every facet of university operation, from teaching and research scholarship, to the management of the institution.

Key Changes in Terms of Access, Completion, and Level and Forms of Degree and Across Social Groups, Gender, and Ethnicity

The importance of equal access to higher education was emphasized repeatedly in the declarations of the 1998 World Conference on Higher Education. The declaration includes emphasis on increasing the participation of underprivileged races, rural region, and women in higher education. UNESCO (2013) shows that participation in tertiary education has expanded exponentially throughout the world during the last several decades. Recent OECD data (2008) reflects the massification of higher education in that industrially advanced countries have enrolled upward of 50% of the age cohort. Korean higher education has already achieved massification of higher education in that the enrollment rate is 65%. Trow (2005) argued that US higher education has entered into the massification of higher education, however, limitations still exist for underprivileged groups. Many developing countries enroll fewer students than developed countries. Sub-Saharan Africa has only 5% of the age cohort enrolled (Kapoor, 2011), which is the lowest enrollment in the world (OECD, 2008). In low-income countries, tertiary-level participation has increased slightly, from 5% in 2000 to 7% in 2007 (OECD, 2010). China enrolls 23% of the age cohort,

while India enrolls only 12% (Ngok, 2008). Despite a steady increase in tertiary enrollment in Latin America, participation for the region is still less than half of the enrollment in high-income countries (OECD, 2012). Despite the emphasis on the importance of higher education and the expanded opportunities with globalization, some countries have massified higher education, while others have not.

Under current neoliberal policies, universities are facing budget pressures while trying to provide equal opportunity to every student. However, given that tuitions and fees have increased, only students who can afford the increases can obtain a higher education. Meanwhile, however, the emergence of low-quality institutions is making access possible through very low tuition and fees. The increase in budget pressures has brought about a significant financial burden to many students pursuing a higher education.

In many countries in Asia and Africa, the number of student grants and scholarships have been reduced, and even in countries where higher education was previously free, tuition fees are now being charged (Currie, 2003; Heller, 1999). Additionally, tuition fees have been gradually introduced in Europe, a well-known region for free public higher education (Currie, 2003). At present, it is being taken for granted that parents and students are responsible for tuition and fees.

It may appear that higher education is a personal choice, because everybody can pursue higher education and qualified people have access to higher education. However, in reality, the price of higher education acts as a significant deterrent if individuals cannot afford the costs of that education. In other words, they cannot obtain a higher education due to the costs involved. Given that the tuition and fees of

many competitive majors, such as scientific and engineering disciplines, are high and higher education is a prominent determinant on future careers and salary, the trend toward requiring a higher education may actually lead to further inequity in society. This issue weighs more heavily on students from a poorer background.

Many universities provide affirmative action programs. These programs are being used throughout the world to compensate for patterns of past discrimination. These programs may give priority to groups once discriminated against over other social groups. For example, initiatives to increase women enrollment are being implemented in Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda (Bloom et al., 2006). In some countries (Korea, for example), however, there are few affirmative action programs for women students in higher education. The belief in Korea is that inequity does not exist in terms of gender and access to higher education.

There has been an increase in the number of women in higher education around the world, both as students and as faculty members. However, just as we need to be careful with over-interpreting education access statistics, increases of women in higher education must also be closely examined. Stromquist (2002) argued that for women, the expansion of institutions of higher education comes with a sweet-sour taste. While women have increased their representation in universities as faculty members, this growth has been mostly as part-time faculty (Stromquist, 2002). Globalization has led to an increase in enrollment and education for women; however, women have not gained a similar level of political and economic power as that possessed by men. International initiatives have to pay more attention to women's social status and well-being, rather than just the proportion of schooling participation.

Many international initiatives emphasize the importance of higher education and it works to the extent that the proportion of those pursuing higher education has grown globally; however, the growth of higher education participation has not benefited all segments of society equally, and traditionally underprivileged groups still face significant challenges. Access to higher education is simply understood as enrollment in higher education; however, true equal access to higher education includes the completion of higher education and further opportunities in the job market.

Students of color in the US have a much lower completion rate than white students do (OECD, 2008). In Argentina, where secondary school graduates have free and open access to public universities, the completion rate (based on the ratio of graduating to entering students) is less than 24% (UNESCO, 2013). Only limited data are available about completion rates by race, class, and region in Korea. This type of data is important for creating broader inclusion.

While the actual number of participants has grown, the proportion of those from an underprivileged group has not. In actuality, higher education gains have taken place mostly among upper-middle and upper-income countries (Teichler, 1999). Furthermore, while developed countries, such as the US, and middle-income countries, such as Korea, have a growing proportion of individuals in higher education, higher education should not overlook the proportions of traditionally underrepresented groups in higher education, such as indigenous groups and those from rural areas.

Although participation in higher education has increased globally, traditional patterns reflecting inequity in higher education still persist in that higher education gains have come mostly among privileged groups, such as the upper-middle class, whites, and those in urban areas. However, women show exceptional trends in some countries. In the US, women are now overrepresented in higher education. In the case of Korea, the proportion of women who hold master's degrees and doctoral degrees doubled from 2000 to 2012, and the current enrollment of women is almost even with that of men.

Globalization has improved technology; therefore, new teaching methods are also available for education. In theory, this improvement of new teaching methods should increase the diversity of opportunities to more people. As an example, distance learning has made higher education significantly more accessible. According to the OECD (2012), there are 1.8 million students enrolled in the Indira Gandhi National Open University in India, and 250,000 students pursue distance learning through the University of South Africa.

Despite its positive effects, distance learning is not easily achieved for everybody. Particularly in rural Africa, there is a lack of infrastructure and the cost to acquire new technology is prohibitive. This reflects the unequal distribution of wealth and resources and a perpetuation of inequities in higher education that may even further the gap. Given that many of the lower classes and underprivileged people live in rural areas, it is also important to look at the data of tertiary education by region. Tertiary education is not distributed evenly throughout a nation. Rural populations are more likely to be more distant from postsecondary institutions. Many working class

students both study and work at the same time. However, their completion rate has been very low. While new technology should in theory help bridge this gap, until now, in the era of globalization, the trend has not changed.

As a group, there has been an increase in the number of women in higher education around the world, as both students and faculty members. However, just as we need to be careful with over-interpreting education-access statistics, increases of women in higher education must also be closely examined. While the proportion of schooling participation in higher education has increased, much of this increase is in noncompetitive departments. Gender equity issues will continue to exist as long as men predominantly occupy modern competitive fields. Stromquist (2002) pointed out that the higher-status positions in most institutions are occupied by men and that women students do not choose a competitive majors. UNESCO (2013) data shows that women represented 21% of the enrollment in engineering, manufacturing, and construction (average of all reporting countries) in 2000 and only improved to 23% of the enrollment in those fields by 2007. In contrast, women represented 65% of the enrollment in education in 2000, and this grew to 68% in 2007 (UNESCO, 2013).

Cost remains an enormous barrier to access, obviously affecting some social sectors more than others. Enrollment costs are obstacles common to much of the developing world. Although “tuition is low (compared to higher income countries) or free at many public universities in the region, attendance still entails significant private cost (education-related costs, living expenses, opportunity cost) that average 60% of gross domestic product per capita” (Foskett & Maringe, 2010, p. 34). As more countries “privatize” public as well as private institutions, more direct costs are being

passed along to students. Although universities may, in some cases, refrain from charging tuition or other enrollment fees, students have to bear indirect costs, such as living expenses and the loss of income. For students who reside in rural or remote areas, access to higher education may require the additional expense of relocation. As private universities grow and funds on public universities decrease, the equity issue will increasingly impact low-income families' students that cannot go to university or cannot complete for any reason, such as financial capacity or the need to marry for women in underdeveloped countries. In order to mediate cost as an obstacle, many countries offer scholarships, grants, and/or loan programs (Usher, 2006). These programs are demonstrating some degree of success, but cannot by themselves remove economic barriers.

Influences of Globalization on Higher Education in the West and the East

The centrality of a knowledge economy has given higher education an unprecedented importance within countries and internationally, because higher education creates new knowledge which is necessary for the new economy (Casey, 2006). Globalization encourages the expansion of higher education; the proportion of higher education in developed countries is increasing and developing countries are undergoing the process of massification. The proportion of higher education in OECD countries almost doubled between 1975 and 2000 (22% to 41%), although there are still equality issues with underprivileged groups that cannot access higher education. The trend of higher education growth has also spread to developing countries. Globalization offers opportunities for some developing countries to expand their higher education infrastructure. Alongside domestic attention to the development of

higher education, new actors, such as transnational corporations or nongovernmental organizations, increase the supply of higher education as emerging providers. In developing countries, the benefit of outside providers comes through an increase in the supply of higher education without pressure on national funding.

Globalization provides opportunities to access higher education in both developed and developing countries. Globalization, however, has shown up in higher education in different ways. Many Eastern universities are based on a Western academic model and are becoming increasingly reformed in a manner similar to their Western competitors in the global world (Mok, 2010). In general, the historical model of an Asian university is Western, and the basic ethos, organizational structure, and curricular development are based in large part on Western traditions (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004). The Western higher education system has been embedded in Asian higher education. There are also key Western influences from globalization. The overwhelming fact is that North America and Western Europe produce the bulk of the world's scientific research, publish most of the scientific and academic books and journals, and spend the major portion of the world's research and development funds (Altbach, 2001a).

English is the major academic language and the influence of English is pervasive worldwide (Stromquist, 2002). With globalization, the scientific and engineering disciplines make English the main scientific language. English holds a monopoly in the international distribution of scientific knowledge. Contemporary scientific culture is communicated in Western languages and Western scientific products are transmitted in Asian universities through textbooks written in English.

The large majority of the world's international students come from developing nations to study in industrialized nations. Contemporary scientific culture is communicated in a Western language. The rest of the world now recognizes that they must accommodate this reality. The importance of English is growing and given that science is a dominant discipline for contributing to the economic growth of nation states under globalization, Asian countries must cope with the role of English. English is the predominant language to attain not only the scientific knowledge, but also knowledge from other fields. In Korea, for example, knowledge of English is mandatory for advanced graduate study and for an academic career in many fields, including most of the sciences. A majority of international students choose English-speaking countries as their study destination.

It is clear that most Asian academic systems are working towards greater involvement in the global English-speaking academic network. For example in Korea, publication in international journals is necessary for academic advancement, and international journals are predominantly in English (Lee & Kim, 2009; Rhee, 2006). Korean scholars publish in these journals in order to access the international knowledge network or gain international prestige. The impact of training overseas is also considerable in creating ties between Western and Asian countries (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004). As many returnees have studied in Western countries, their ties with Western colleagues or knowledge-based on Western perspectives leans toward this perspective. This is a reflection of the Western impact and the trend for international student mobility toward the pursuit of study in English-speaking countries.

The development of information technology has also precipitated the phenomenon and impact of Western academics on Asian institutions. The information age has introduced a significant change in higher education and academic institutions are being transformed. The elements of revolution in information technology lie in the power to transform higher education through new means of communication, storage, and retrieval of knowledge (Castells, 1996). Despite this clear trend, it is still important to consider that Asian universities have been reformatting toward Western academics and it is unclear how this will end up affecting Asian countries and higher education.

The World Trade Organization considers higher education as best freely traded around the world and considers it as a mutually beneficial commodity. However, it is still left to doubt whether higher education exchange is mutually beneficial to developing countries in ways similar to developed countries. Developing countries typically import rather than export their education. As evidence, most international students flow from developing countries toward developed countries. Western universities dominate the production and distribution of knowledge (Lee & Kim, 2009; Mok, 2010). There is unclear evidence whether there is circulation of knowledge between Western and Eastern universities. The circulation of scholars and students helps to distribute international knowledge; however, it still primarily only occurs with developed countries.

International Student Mobility in Western Countries and Korea

International student mobility is one of the fastest growing phenomena in twenty-first century higher education (Guruz, 2011). The extent of international

student mobility is one of the key indicators regarding the internationalization of higher education (Teichler, 1999). International student mobility is associated with the second of the four WTO/GATS modes for supplying services.⁴ The trend of international student mobility reflects the change of international education into a service and has become a large market (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007; Teichler, 1999). International student recruitment may help diversify the funding base of institutions, making public universities less dependent on government sources, and is clearly attractive for universities facing financial problems (Baltodano, 2012; Giroux, 2002).

The number of students enrolled in higher education outside their country of citizenship has risen dramatically from 0.6 million worldwide in 1975 to three million in 2007 (OECD, 2012). By 2025, it is expected to reach approximately eight million (OECD, 2012). Although international student mobility has existed for some time, the development of modern transportation has facilitated student mobility and made travel much more convenient and practical (Held et al., 1999).

Along with technological development, the modes available for transnational education have also diversified. UNESCO (2001) defines transnational education as “all types of higher education study programs, or sets of courses of study or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based” (p.

⁴ GATS defines services trade as occurring via four modes of supply, all of which are relevant to education: Mode 1: cross border delivery; delivery of education services via internet (distance education, tele-education, education testing services), Mode 2: consumption abroad: movement of students from one country to another for higher education (foreign students in US universities), Mode 3: commercial presence: establishment of local branch campuses or subsidiaries by foreign universities in other countries, course offerings by domestic private colleges leading to degrees at foreign universities, twinning arrangement, franchising, and Mode 4: movement to natural persons: temporary movement of teachings, lectures, and education personnel to provide education services overseas.

1). This concept suggests that even when students do not physically travel abroad, students can gain an international education through various approaches, such as with distance learning or online study in their home countries, as part of an “internationalization at home” agenda (de Wit, 2002). Although this type of virtual international student mobility is important, this section specifically addresses student mobility in terms of actual physical presence abroad.

The US, as a developed country, and Korea, as a middle-income country, has different trends in terms of international student mobility. For the US, there has been an increase in international students and there are now 690,923 students, comprising 3.5% of total enrollment in US higher education as of 2010. The US is a major receiving country (host country) and students comprise 80% of total international students globally.⁵ In contrast, Korea is well-known as a country for primarily sending students overseas.

A comparison of current trends in both countries regarding international student mobility reflects several distinctive characteristics. Gore (2005) argued that the US has never encouraged students to study abroad at the national level. There has been some alternative discourse to support the quality of study abroad among supporters, certainly among policy makers, however, Gore (2005) identified that there is a long and sustained dominant line of thought that hinders study abroad for US students. Study abroad is often typically thought of as a sort of “Grand Tour” experience pursued predominantly by women and is academically unimportant (Gore, 2005). US educators believe in the superiority of their institutions to others in the

⁵ The number of international students decreased after the 9/11 attack; however, trends are now returning to historical pre-9/11 levels.

world. These beliefs marginalize study abroad (Gore, 2005). The Open Door data demonstrates that only 2.71% of full-time undergraduates at a US two or four-year institution study overseas. Only 4% of full-time graduate students study abroad, and these are mostly in short-term programs and in English. Most students will do their study abroad in a developed Western country, but it is not a part of their degree requirement (Gore, 2005).

On the contrary, Korea has always been a major sending country. Lee & Kim (2009) verifies that there is a social belief that students can learn better knowledge from Western countries and that a Western degree is considered as having greater value than a Korean degree when entering the employment market. This is especially the case for individuals considered to be from an underprivileged group, and a Western degree would be considered as offering them more future opportunities than a domestic degree. Lee & Kim (2009) also identified that many women graduate students pursue a US degree when they encounter discrimination in the domestic academic field and job market. The access and completion rates of women in higher education, especially at a graduate level, have grown; however, the associated social status has not grown in line with this educational achievement growth. Korean students wishing to study abroad typically choose an English-speaking country, since English has strong capital in Korean society. Korean overseas students choose both short-term or language programs, and also degree programs.

Korea's higher education has already achieved a reach to the masses, but it now faces brain drain along with the other common challenges in East Asia. In an era of globalization, engineering- and science-related disciplines are considered as key

precipitators for the growth of a nation state. In fact, many of Korea's professionals today are recognized as being well trained in research, especially in engineering. However, there is growing concern in Korean contemporary higher education about a brain drain of its most promising students.⁶ Altbach and Umakoshi (2004) view international student mobility as a unidirectional phenomenon from peripheral or poor countries to core or wealthy countries. Many Korean students in engineering consider Western countries as having a deeper research infrastructure and believe that the higher degree capital of a Western degree will lead to better employment. One of the most serious challenges facing Korea and many Asian countries is the departure of their best scholars and scientists away from domestic universities. Lee & Kim (2009) looked at the trend for Korean overseas students pursuing science and engineering degrees and argued that this growing trend implies a brain drain issue for Korea. A Korean policy document has described a concern about a national brain drain and efforts to entice potential international students to fill domestic positions, especially in engineering departments. Korea has sought to minimize the migration of talent in an increasingly globalized labor market. However, these efforts have largely been unsuccessful in that there is a repetitive discourse that many students are still going abroad to study science and engineering.

⁶ The term "brain drain" is frequently used to "describe the movement of high-level experts from developing countries to industrialized nations" (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004, p. 17).

Neoliberal Ideology

Competition notion in higher education

Neoliberalism is an expression of capitalism that includes a free-market paradigm whose main element is competition. Competition within higher education takes place on multiple levels through relationships at national, institutional, and individual levels.

At the national level, countries compete for international prestige and thus for a greater share of the international higher education market. In a knowledge society, increased trade in services drives nations to recruit more human capital through international education initiatives that increase scientific, technological, and economic competitiveness (Knight, 2008a). Many Western countries, which are mostly export countries such as Australia or the United Kingdom, have used a strong national policy regarding their higher education to be competitive in the global market (Marginson, 2006). Asian universities, which are mostly import countries, have also used national policies to improve higher education to a level where they can compete in a global higher education market.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which formalizes education as a commodity, was established in 1995. In the GATS, education is considered a voluntary commitment, so each member nation decides how they want to implement the agreement. Elements of the GATS approach to higher education include opening up education to a global market and considering education as a tradable commodity (Tilak, 2008). From the perspective of the GATS, which is based on a neo-liberal ideology, higher education is a commodity to be traded on an open

market where competitive advantage controls. For the GATS, higher education is a common commodity that should be easily transferable from one country to another.

The commercialism implicated in the GATS notion impacts universities in both positive and negative ways. As commercialism enters the realm of universities, universities are providing greater resources, in effect producing better students and advancing knowledge. However, at the same time, it has also brought about negative impacts for universities in that universities are losing autonomy and are showing less interest in their mission of serving the public (Geiger, 2004). Commercialism challenges the conventional view of higher education as a public good, and rather views it as a private good, a term which is usually indicative of commodities for trade (Stromquist, 2002; Tilak, 2008). The question of whether higher education should be a private or public good has become a prominent subject of debate.

At the institutional level, as foreign capital enters other countries to establish foreign branch campuses or distance education in developing countries, institutions of higher education, especially in developing countries, are in danger of collapsing. Additionally, institutions of higher education within nations also compete against each other and those that are the most competitive obtain more governmental funding and can go on to compete with foreign capital. As the education market opens, students have more opportunities to choose education across nations, and the competition among institutions worldwide is increasingly intense.

Institutions now compete for excellence and seek to achieve a strong worldwide reputation or “brand” name as an internationally recognized high-quality institution (Knight, 2006). Institutions of higher education worldwide work towards

an international reputation; however it is still unclear whether a high reputation guarantees the quality of the education. Currently, international reputation is in part formed by rankings; however, most rankings primarily measure research productivity, and thus, less importance is given to teaching. To be a prestigious highly-ranked university, the quickest and most superficial step is to create a motto aspiring to be a world-class university. It is increasingly questionable whether these various ranking tables accurately measure the quality of education and whether international reputation is a true measure for quality (Altbach, 2013).

At the individual level, student-to-student competition appears in different ways in that international student mobility makes students compete in and between nations. Students now have more opportunity to choose better education across borders. At the same time, competition among students is increasing in various ways. There is a conviction that the global economy needs talented people who have acquired international competencies or foreign language proficiency (Van Damme, 2001). There is also an unverified recognition that overseas qualifications improve job prospects (Teferra & Knight, 2008). As students search for better, competitive education across borders, institutions of higher education are offering tailored and profitable programs targeting affluent students at both the domestic and the international levels. The massification of higher education also precipitates competition among students (Van Damme, 2001) in a way that the quality and value of credentials (degrees or diplomas) are becoming more important. Although students enjoy the benefits of wider mobility, only students who can afford the high expenses of an overseas educational experience can have a better, more competitive education.

Much literature (de Wit et al., 2008; Van Damme, 2001) argues that the quality aspects of internationalization activities have been overlooked in contemporary internationalization development. Van Damme (2001) suggests that the debate on the quality of international education and quality assurance of a foreign degree or diploma is unavoidable, given the rapid development of internationalization policies in higher education.

Marketization of higher education

Market forces have now intruded into almost every aspect of academia (Bok, 2003; Kirp, 2003; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and institutions of higher education are becoming more sensitive to market needs (Stromquist, 2002). Much of the literature (Bok, 2003; Clark, 1998; Geiger, 2004; Kirp, 2003; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997) discusses the introduction of market forces and commercial interests into higher education and the transformation of institutions of higher education in this changing environment. Following the implementation of neoliberal policies, a large change comes in the form of less government regulation and a concomitant decline of funding for higher education. Thus, the search for new sources of finance to replace declining government funding is now one of the strong imperatives for adopting a new managerialism in higher education.

The changing pattern of resource funding occupies the faculty with the task of acquiring funds (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) and increased efforts to garner grants engenders colleague competition, which clashes with the long-sustained culture of collegiality and mutuality (Stromquist, 2002). All of this results in less attention to the students (Currie et al., 2000). Faculty now undertake applied research to produce

profit for industry rather than doing basic research for public service and as an academic duty. In doing so, faculty and industry collaboration generates an ideology that “anything beneficial to industry is beneficial to society as a whole” (Campbell & Slaughter, 1999, p. 343).

Internationalization activities are closely linked to the commercialization of institutions of higher education (Knight, 2008a). Recruitment of international students is a very revealing strategy adopted by institutions of higher education as a substitute for scarce resources. Many academic institutions have entered the competition for international students and international students are becoming significant income sources. Van Damme (2001) pointed out that internationalization has now moved into such activities as exporting higher education. Diverse international programs are becoming market oriented in that institutions of higher education search for a chance to sell a distance learning or an international program to meet market needs, such as through a student exchange program or a joint degree program, which generates profits (de Wit, 2002; Scott, 2000a).

As the structure of academic work is changing (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), students also show manifestations of consumerism (Stromquist, 2002). Students decline to just be apprentices who come to the university to sit and enjoy learning, and rather they want to maximize their investment in education (Hayes & Wynyrd, 2002; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). In many universities, particularly at the undergraduate level, class attendance and participation are becoming voluntary, arrival and departure times are self-determined, and a passing grade is a typical expectation (O’Meara, 2001). Students view themselves as consumers (Hayes &

Wynyard, 2002; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997) and institutions of higher education define students as the customer (Slaughter, 2001; Stromquist, 2002). Students are even considered as products that will contribute to the economy (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

Internationalization Policy Changes in Korean Higher Education in an Era of Globalization

Over the past several decades, higher education in Korea has experienced a drastic expansion, and more specifically, the universalization of higher education has been driven mainly by the rapid increase in private colleges and universities (Chae & Hong, 2009). Currently, more than 80% of the college-age cohort is enrolled in higher education institutions which depend largely on their tuition and fees (Rhee, 2007). Significant events in the 1990s spurred Korean society to undergo tremendous changes in many aspects of society, including the education sector. In 1996, Korea became the twenty-ninth member nation of the OECD and started to participate in the WTO. In 1997, Korea faced an economic catastrophe followed by the Asian currency collapse, and started to obtain financial aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since the IMF period, the Korean labor market has experienced an increase in unemployment rate that was at 7.9 % in 1998, that then decreased to 4.1% in 2000. More than 60% of laid-off workers were either temporary or daily laborers and the government put greater effort into vocational retraining. This was part of a life-long learning approach that emphasized a learner-centered, diversified, and autonomous education. Under IMF stewardship, all social sectors were forced to restructure inefficient systems burdened with high costs and the education sector was not an

exception. The notable manifestation came in the form of cutting a number of members in institutions of higher education. Following the change in the retirement age and work period, people started to recognize the importance of vocational life-long education in order to cope with the changing job market in a knowledge-based society.

Going through these neoliberal events and becoming a member of world organizations, the neoliberal ideology has brought fundamental changes to various aspects of Korean higher education, all in the belief that market-oriented reform will lead to maximum efficiency. Since the changes involve participants worldwide, the Korean government started to reform higher education from a neoliberal perspective, arguing that it was necessary in order to enhance global competence in a knowledge-based economy.

Although education was traditionally recognized as a public good, this traditional value has changed, and new education values have been manifested in institutions of higher education through market competition, university autonomy, economic effectiveness, and education services. These new values have pushed higher education toward decentralization, privatization, liberalization, and deregulation.

Decentralization

Decentralization contains two dimensions: the devolution of power from the central government to local governments and a shift toward granting autonomy to higher education institutions. The devolution of power causes a decline in financial support instead of less intervention to the subsectors. Decentralization in Korean

higher education discourse mostly implies that more powers and responsibilities are devolved from the state to individual universities (Byun, 2008). And as a reward for less state intervention, followed by a decline in the provision of state funding to higher education institutions, universities are allowed to have autonomy in some aspects of their operations, such as establishing and running their own programs or in the selection of students.

Korea has traditionally had a centralized higher education system. However, the Korean government started to emphasize enhancing its world position in a knowledge-based economy and started to reform higher education with a fundamental idea of maximizing efficient development through the provision of more freedom to and competition among institutions. The Presidential Commission on Educational Reform (PCER) was established on May 31, 1995, also known as the 5.31 reforms, which addressed higher education in particular. The PCER published its report, *“Recommendations for Educational Reform to Build a New Educational System,”* which considered moving toward decentralization based on deregulation and liberalizing governmental control of higher education.

Korea has now applied decentralization principles to institutions of higher education. At the same time, however, the state’s role as a regulator and controller of higher education has been strengthened. Brain Korea 21 (BK21) and World Class University (WCU) are major higher education reform initiatives to prepare Korean human resources for the knowledge-based society. Every selected university must undertake these BK21 and WCU initiatives under the direction of the Ministry of Education. Both BK21 and WCU are national-level higher education reform projects

and the Korean MOE started a new process for the provision of funding to higher education. This funding occurs only when universities meet the requirements of the government.

These state-supported projects targeted a few research universities and support their development and efforts, promising universities that they could become world-class universities (McNeill, 2008). The object of these initiatives is the development of higher education quality through the establishment of a competitive research atmosphere, an open-door policy, and industry-university cooperation with the hope that this would in turn lead to the internationalization of Korean higher education, and improved nation-state progress (Mok et al., 2003).

The movement toward decentralization in higher education is being pursued as part of an effort to build the links with top research universities abroad by promoting managerial efficiency and cost effectiveness. The main argument is that the universities are expected be able to respond more quickly to challenges emerging in a knowledge-based economy.

Institutions of Korean higher education acquire autonomy as a result of the decentralization mainly due to economic interest, and they do not actually obtain full academic power from the decentralization. Only select universities and programs within universities are provided funds from the government, and only when they meet specific requirements. Given that institutions in Korean higher education do not have much experience, these funds are not provided to professors in the form of research grants and instead go to graduate students in the form of stipends or financial support for overseas study. Korean higher education institutions have been dependent mainly

on governmental funds, therefore, they do not have experience in expanding their funding sources. Competition among institutions and professors for government funding has been intense. Performance assessments, such as those through professor review systems or incentive systems, are being implemented.

The core element of the decentralization mechanism is competition among institutions. This has changed the Korean higher education atmosphere to emphasize equal opportunity for funding by focusing on the efficiency of investments. Therefore, less prestigious universities now have fewer opportunities to obtain financial support from the government. The most critical criteria for an institution to receive funding is their research performance. Given that most less-prestigious universities are not research-focused institutions, the majority of universities have fewer chances to increase the quality of their education, and very few universities have the actual opportunity to improve research performance.

While the autonomy of institutions has expanded, the state's role as a regulator and controller of public services has also been strengthened. Institutions of Korean higher education are still actively implementing performance-based distribution of research funds among universities similar to a centralized system with strong government intervention driven by funding. Performance criteria are now a means to distribute research funding among universities. The government has been applying principles of decentralization to institutions of higher education by providing partial autonomy, while still controlling these institutions in various other ways. The overall principle of decentralization has not yet been fully implemented.

Deregulation

The Korean government maintained strict guidelines to control institutions of higher education until the initiation of the 5.31 reform in 1995. Previously, strong government regulations were maintained over all aspects of higher education such as the number of incoming students, student selection methods, the amount of tuition charged, and personnel policies for professors. However, a dramatic shift occurred with the 5.31 reform. The policies adopted deregulation as a major policy objective. The Presidential Commission on Education considered the recent education problems to be a result of heavy regulation, and the government geared up to loosen those regulations. Student quotas and school licenses were primary targets of deregulation.

Subsequently, the government increased the provisions for autonomy in setting enrollment quotas and institutional management. Private universities were allowed to control the number of incoming students and the distribution of students in each department. Along with the deregulation of admission policies and student enrollment, institutions were allowed to increase the number of incoming students. Many institutions in regional areas needed to address a deficit in student enrollment. To bring in more revenue, private universities, particularly in regional areas outside of the Seoul metropolitan area, began accepting more students. Furthermore, many universities initiated supernumerary admission and recruited international students as their supernumerary enrollment. Later, the Korean government recognized that less qualified universities were recruiting many international students. The government initiated policies to restrict or stop such recruitment when universities did not meet qualifications.

As higher education has become more liberalized, it has become more like a marketplace. With less government regulation of accreditation, it is increasingly easy to establish private universities. Since the 5.31 reform, which is considered a type of neoliberal reform, privately funded “mini universities” have increasingly been established, although the Ministry of Education has begun to reinforce stricter accreditation. Mini universities are characterized as institutions without many of the assets that were once previously thought of as indispensable requisites for a university such as libraries, number of classrooms, or an education curriculum at a higher education level. While the Korean government does not yet allow for-profit universities, these new university forms are very much profit centered. For example, a regular university recently shifted to a “China University” with a focus only on recruiting Chinese students. Another university has become a “Car University” that only provides an education program focusing on automobiles. These institutional forms cannot be properly recognized as universities but are rather just institutions that merely sell degrees.

Privatization

Korean higher education has undergone a transition from the public sector to steadily increasing private sector participation in higher education. The number of private universities increased dramatically from the early 1980s to late 1990s and now comprises 81% of higher education. Korean higher education expansion has depended on private institutions. One of the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education is 65% of the student cohort enrolled in higher education, which reveals the stage of generalization of Korean higher education. The completion rate

for higher education was third worldwide and the entrance rate to higher education was the first worldwide as of 2003 (Grubb et al., 2006, p. 7). Previously, education was considered as a public good as well as a responsibility of the state and it was controlled mainly by the public budget. As marketization has transformed diverse aspects of society (Bok, 2003; Giroux, 2002), institutions in higher education have also introduced the market economy into their own management, and many consider this approach as a solution to recent higher education problems. Since Korea joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, which regards higher education as a private good (Knight, 2006; Mok, 2006), higher education has been restructured to reflect to a greater degree the principles of marketization, privatization, commercialization, and corporatization. With the rise of the private sector involvement in education, the monopolistic role of the state in providing education has declined, and the diversification of education finance has become the trend in Korean higher education.

Despite the debate over education as a private or public good, the government has allowed the private sector to get involved higher education. Institutions have the autonomy to provide their own established programs, which are now mostly intended to create a profit. For example, many universities are providing life-long learning programs, although individuals attending these programs are not the students at those institutions. These programs are considered profit-centers, rather than purely educational services. Institutions now treat education as a service industry and students choose an education so as to obtain a better future career.

Globally, funding for higher education comes from diverse sources, such as tuition and fees, governmental aid, grant and research contracts, endowments and so forth. The universities in Korea, however, rely heavily on tuition and student fees. Public universities function based on approximately 40% from tuition and fees, and 55% from government aid. Private universities rely on approximately 80% of their funding from student tuition and fees, and 20% from government aid. As government funding decreases, the proportion of funding has shifted increasingly to student tuition and fees, even at public universities. Institutions in Korean higher education that have previously been dependent mainly on government funds do not have experience in expanding their funding sources. In my view, institutions in Korean higher education might become more easily commercialized than those in other countries that had previous experiences obtaining funds in various other academic pursuits.

Liberalization

Korean higher education has been undergoing rapid changes from internationalization after Korea participated in negotiations at the WTO in 1995 and with the accession to the OECD in 1996. Korea agreed to the General Agreement on Trades in Service (GATS) in 1996. GATS is the first legal trade agreement focusing on trade of services rather than products. The WTO administers GATS, in which education is one of the 12 service sectors. In particular, education is targeted by GATS as one of the major sectors because of the value of trade in education services (Knight, 2002). The international aspects of higher education have been steadily emphasized, along with the academic mobility of students, faculty and staff members,

and knowledge. In Korea, it is estimated that the value of trade in education services was about US\$20 million in 2002.

Since this turning point, higher education has been considered an economic commodity. The Study Korea Project, initiated in 2004, is the main policy collaborating with the fast-growing Asian student market, which is targeting Chinese students in particular and has a goal of recruiting 50,000 international students. This policy has resulted in an unprecedented growth in international student enrollments in higher education and has nearly reached the project goals. The number of international student enrollments in higher education increased from 4,682 in 2001 to 22,526 in 2005, and then to 49,270 in 2007. In 2008, the second Study Korea Project was initiated, with a goal of 100,000 international students. At the same time, the Korean government launched a government subsidy program targeting prominent scholars due to a consistent “brain drain” issue.

Looking at its recent history, Korea used to have an education sector controlled by the government and was opposed to opening up the higher education market. Even after agreeing to enter GATS, the Ministry of Education pointed out the importance of education as a public good and expressed concern about allowing the remittance of foreign investment assets on higher education. In 1994, the 10th services negotiations of the WTO including education was proposed by the US, and due to considerable opposition from educators, it ended up being turned down by the Korean government.

However, the stance of the Korean government changed in that it has exerted efforts to attract prestigious higher education institutions from abroad by releasing

restrictions and providing incentives. The Special Act for the Establishment and Operation of Foreign Educational Institutions was initiated by the Ministry of Education in 2005. This act “(a) drastically eased restrictions on the establishment of institutions by foreign universities; (b) provided foreign-owned institutions with autonomy in deciding the size of their student enrollment, except in certain fields such as pedagogical education and medical studies; (c) permitted the transfer of surplus assets overseas under certain conditions if a school corporation was liquidated; and (d) allowed the Korean government to fund foreign-owned universities” (Park & Weidman, 2000, p. 168).

Subsequently, in 2008, the first foreign branch campus was initiated and was called the Netherlands’ Shipping and Transport College, which opened in the Gwanyang Bay Free Economic Zone. Following this college, several other colleges and universities from overseas have been established in free economic zones, including Incheon (Songdo/Cheongra Area), Pyeongtaek, Busan, Jinhae, Gwanyang Bay, and Jeju Island. Universities from overseas are provided rent-free campus buildings in these economic zones. The Korean government attempted to establish the first overseas branch campus of Stanford University by providing incentives such as subsidizing initial operating costs during the first five years. Despite these efforts, a branch campus for Stanford University was not established. According to an officer in the International Higher Education office at the Ministry of Education, the failure was partly due to the fact that few Stanford faculty members were willing to come to work at the Korean campus (personal communication, June 14, 2012).

The China-Japan-Korea Roundtable conference was held in October 2011, and the ASEAN Plus Three Leaders' Summit was held in Thailand in April, 2012. The practical outcomes are not yet known; however, it is very revealing that the internationalization of Korean higher education is entering a new phase that is attempting to go beyond the mobility of students, staff, institutions, and programs.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study provides an in-depth analysis of the internationalization that has been put into place at two different types of universities in Korea. This chapter devotes itself to presenting a comprehensive picture of the research methodology in a twofold approach. In the first part, the conceptual framework is detailed as a lens to examine the institutions. In addition, key themes for analysis are presented. In the second part of the chapter, the basic characteristics of the two field sites are introduced. Research participants as well as the other sources for the research data are also presented. In addition, confidentiality and anonymity for the study respondents are discussed. Lastly, possible limitations of the research are noted.

Conceptual Framework

The working hypothesis of this dissertation is that neoliberal education reform affects universities and that different types of universities respond to internationalization according to their own recognition of the changes brought about by higher education reform. This dissertation looks at different types of universities and their approaches to internationalization through the conceptual lens of change in the academic environment and the deployment of particular institutional strategies.

Changes in academic environment.

According to neoliberal higher education reform, there have been changes in the academic environment concerning the role of the professoriate and education programs. The traditional roles of the professoriate have faced significant challenges. Financial pressures demand attractive courses and require increasing accountability.

The role of the professoriate has been altered with the privatization of higher education and the expansion of private academic institutions. Higher education institutions no longer require only a higher academic standard for the professoriate. Universities are now sometimes hiring personnel that are popular with public, regardless of whether they hold a doctorate or have demonstrated qualified research production. As a result, the proportion of the professoriate in tenure track positions is steadily declining.

Particularly in the case of small private universities, faculty are now required to do administration work that was previously done by administrative officers. This has led to less attention to teaching students. Furthermore, faculty members are now occasionally required to recruit international students by participating in study abroad fairs and by advertising their education programs.

Internationalization normally focuses on activities that entail movement across borders and defines “internationalization abroad.” As an alternative to internationalization abroad, Knight (2005) defined internationalization at home as a process that focuses on the activities that take place on campus to acquire intercultural and international competencies. “Internationalization at home (campus based)” includes five categories: curriculum and programs, teaching/learning processes, extracurricular activities, and liaison with local cultural and ethnic groups (de Wit et al., 2005).

In the process of internationalization, curriculum and programs that include an international/intercultural dimension have been established in many institutions in Korean higher education. Area or regional studies in graduate school have been

popular and programs with an international theme have been provided. Foreign language study is emphasized and foreign language proficiency is becoming a requirement, as it is considered an essential element of being a global citizen. In fact, various programs are providing foreign language instruction within their academic institutions. In particular, English as a *lingua franca* has been underlined, and the professoriate are increasingly being required to teach in English, which is an important criteria in their performance evaluation. Arguments have been raised that courses instructed in English are unnecessary, especially since students and professors cannot easily discuss and argue about academic issues and a student's scope of understanding is limited compared to when instructed in the local vernacular, such as in Korean.

The effects of reforms on curriculum in the process of internationalization are also represented as a way to place more emphasis on science and engineering fields. With the advent of globalization and rapid technological innovation, science and engineering skills are considered to be more high value-added and more effective knowledge.

Institutional strategies.

Institutions of higher education have a strong motivation to achieve a worldwide reputation (Altbach, 2006). Traditionally, prominence has been given to the importance of achieving international academic standards at institutions of higher education (Teferra & Knight, 2008). This motivation is still important, but it appears to have been shifted to a stronger desire to obtain worldwide prestige as a world-class university. This shift is attributed to the introduction of a market ideology in higher

education, where competition is a key element (Foskett & Maringe, 2010), and being competitive is increasingly seen as a main issue in the management of higher education.

According to a key theoretical assumption of market ideology, the quality of teaching will improve through competition among institutions of higher education, which in turn will increase the efficiency of research in higher education (Tooley, 1992). Competition was initially defined as “producers striving to attract consumers to choose their service or product instead of those of other providers” (Phillp et al., 1998, p. 139). In an era of globalization where students cross borders to obtain better, competitive education credentials, institutions of higher education are increasingly competing on the world stage not only to keep more students at home, but also to attract more from abroad. Many institutions of higher education now also compete for higher positions in rankings, which provide consumers with information.

In an era of globalization, higher education has gained greater importance with the wider distribution and dominance of a knowledge society. Therefore, research and training for a knowledge society are important objectives for higher education (Altbach, 2006). Attention is increasingly given to the research performance of institutions of higher education, as improvement and achievement in this area is considered to contribute to a nation state’s development. Given the excessive emphasis on the importance of research, global competition appears to be a story that only elite research universities can be competitive in the modern knowledge society.

As evidence of this trend, many ranking tables give great weight to and measure research productivity in various ways (Altbach, 2006). Popular global university rankings such as the Academic Rankings of World Universities (ARWU) and the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THE) only consider the world's top research universities. One commonality in the ranking tables is their emphasis on a university's research mission. Research performance is evaluated in different ways by each ranking table, looking at the number of publications, the number of citations, academic peer review, or intensity of Ph.D. production and so on.

Ranking tables place far more importance on research performance over teaching and learning performance (Brennan et al., 2007; Ishikawa, 2009). Furthermore, rankings not only place a greater weight on research performance, but also on STEM fields, thus de-emphasizing the humanities and the social sciences. Recently, rankings have placed greater emphasis on the humanities and the social sciences. It is still the case that universities having a higher position in science fields rank higher than those having high positions in other fields (Brennan et al., 2007).

Given that research garners the most attention in a knowledge-based society, states worldwide want to have competitive research universities. Such a drive has led to the neglect of other types of universities that have different missions and goals. Therefore, some very important elements that previously were valued and typical at universities are now increasingly ignored, such as undergraduate teaching, learning quality, and providing educational opportunities to underserved populations.

The competition for world prestige among institutions of higher education worldwide is advantageous to Western universities. Altbach (2009) points out that

metrics in rankings are advantageous to Western countries in that they measure publication via the Institute for Scientific Information (SCI), which includes mainly journals published in English.

English publication is an issue, since research performance is probably the most important criteria in the rankings. Furthermore, proxies such as Nobel Prizes and star professors, which are measures of international recognition, are disadvantageous to developing countries and small universities around the world (Altbach, 2009). In most global league tables, the leading countries in the published lists are the US, the UK, Germany, and France. Global ranking tables do not reward many important characteristics of institutions of higher education in developing countries and of developed countries that are not in Western regions.

The Korean government wants to have top-ranking universities and has initiated several state-supported projects that are aimed at enhancing the academic competence of universities. The government subsidy for higher education has been increased, mostly for research development. Other types of universities are not assigned pertinent funds and are being forced to seek other funding sources. As research now garners the most attention, universities worldwide now want to be research-focused universities, which facilitate trends away from other types of universities that have different missions and goals. Furthermore, universities in Western countries have advantages in obtaining top-rankings. Therefore, the competition undervalues the institutions of higher education in Asia and other regions.

In an effort to obtain international prestige and address financial necessities, many universities have turned to international student recruitment and an emphasis on

university-industry cooperation. International students have always been a component of Korean higher education and international student recruitment is now intertwined with the idea of a knowledge society in which high-skilled individuals emerge from higher education with a societal advantage. Competition among universities worldwide for international students has been vigorous because of historic financial advantages and also as knowledge sources for academic improvement. In Korean higher education, the increase in the number of international students is a result of efforts by the government and universities involved in higher education. The Korean government has introduced a series of policy initiatives to recruit more international students as a means to counterbalance a declining proportion of domestic students. Many universities, particularly those in regional areas, are also turning to international students as a funding source.

As international students have become an important element for the development of Korean higher education and a national-level policy, Study Korea Project was successful, and the scope of this project has been expanded. The main element impacting the Study Korea Project was an expansion of government scholarship programs to international students. There was also an effort to establish a network by setting up regional offices to recruit international students by providing information. The project also supports institutions providing university lectures in English to facilitate international student study in Korea, and this has become one of the criteria for evaluating universities. This is very important because government funding is assigned to each university based on the university programs and students choose universities based on the university evaluations. Domestic students are also

attracted to universities that are more internationalized, so many universities are actually advertising their internationalization to attract domestic students. Therefore, universities want more international students not only as a revenue source, but also to attract domestic students.

Similar to economic motivations for international student recruitment, universities increasingly construct linkages with the economy and business. University-industry cooperation is also a crucial component in the process of internationalization in that it helps to increase research performance and financial support for university departments collaborating with business.

Key Themes

This dissertation looked at the dynamics of internationalization of higher education and institutional reform responding to the globalization. Two case universities implement the internationalization dimension into research, teaching, and service functions, as well as management policies and university system according to their understanding of the internationalization. Globalization provides similar challenges to institutions, but internationalization is not applied to every university equally. By analyzing the internationalization of these two case study universities, this dissertation examines how two different types of universities see the changing situation, looks at the effect of globalization on the institutions, and studies how they cope with internationalization. This dissertation addresses the following four main issues.

Motivations and goals of internationalization.

The rationales for internationalization are influenced and constructed by the viewpoints of universities on internationalization. Therefore, in order to understand how each university sees internationalization, interviews are done with academicians and administrators who have been involved in internationalization projects. Additionally, document materials regarding internationalization of each university were reviewed. The assumption was that the rationales for internationalization were different in each type of university based on institutional interests and capability. Much research has observed the economic rationale of internationalization; however, this study goes further by looking at how this economic rationale is implemented in different types of universities and what factors are forcing this economic rationale upon institutions.

Academic strategies and organizational strategies.

Various activities are implemented by universities for internationalization. Knight (2005) divided these institutional activities for internationalization into two major categories: academic strategies and organizational strategies.

Academic strategies refer to academic activities that fall within the framework of internationalization of higher education and are grouped into four different classes of activity: research-related activities, education-related activities, activities related to technical assistance and development cooperation, and extra-curricular activities and institutional services (Knight, 2005). Organizational strategies include administrative activities to support academic programs and activities to lead to successful internationalization.

In order to examine the functions of internationalization for universities, this dissertation analyzes internationalization activities based on the classifications of Knight (2005), as shown in Table 1. The following academic and organizational strategies were reorganized after selecting pertinent programs from the case universities based on the strategies put forth by Knight (2005). Given the research questions of this dissertation, special attention was given to academic programs and research and scholarly collaboration in academic strategies and operation.

Table 1

Academic and Organizational Strategies

	Academic strategies
Academic programs	Student exchange programs
	Study abroad
	International students
	Faculty/staff mobility programs
	Teaching/learning process
Research and scholarly collaboration	International conferences and seminars
	Published articles and papers
	Research exchange programs
	International research partners in academic and other sectors
	Organizational Strategies
	Adequate financial support and resource allocation systems
	Support services for incoming and outgoing students

Source. Knight (2005, pp. 24-25)

This dissertation analyzes the process of internationalization based on the specific element of academic and organizational strategies put forth by Knight (2005). In terms of academic and organizational strategies, this study assumes that both research and teaching universities implement similar strategies; however, their scope and depth of programs would be dissimilar.

By analyzing and comparing the academic and organization strategies of each university, it is possible to verify differences and similarities in the

internationalization process for two different types of universities. The latter part of this dissertation also analyzed the differences and similarities of the internationalization process in research and teaching universities while considering linkages to the viewpoints (motivations and goals) of each institution in terms of internationalization. The main question of this analysis is what specific strategies were pursued in the effort to internationalize their institutions.

Funding mechanisms.

This dissertation looks at how funding mechanisms have changed for each university and how those mechanisms have affected them. Korean higher education is now at a development stage where there is a 65% enrollment in higher education. Enrollment in higher education has increased 14 fold over 40 years from 4.5% in 1970 to 65% in 2010. Meanwhile, government educational expenditures have only increased just 3.5 fold over the same time period.

The mode of funding activities within the framework of internationalization varies depending on the type of university. Seoul National University (SNU), as a national university, has depended primarily on government support, while RU, as a private university, is highly dependent on self-financing. Since decentralized education policies were introduced, the funding structures of universities have been privatized. Thus, universities seek out other funding opportunities besides tuition and government funding.

International student mobility.

International student recruitment in many countries is often pursued with an economic rationale (Robin & Rebecca, 2010). This study also indicates that it is done

primarily as a revenue source for universities. In addition, since many high-achieving domestic students choose to study abroad at the graduate level, students abroad are expected to contribute to academic development, particularly in the science and engineering field where domestic students may be lacking as a result of brain drain. Korea financially supports international students at a national level, particularly those in the science and engineering fields; however, it is still up for discussion whether overseas students enrich Korean academia. Despite the governmental effort to attract talented international students to science and engineering departments at the graduate level, when looking at the general trend of international student enrollments in Korea, the majority of international students are in the liberal arts and at an undergraduate level. SNU has a slightly different trend from the general trend of international students in Korean higher education. The proportion of graduate students has been almost even with the proportion of undergraduate students. In contrast, the majority of international students at RU were in the liberal arts at the undergraduate level. These different trends in international student composition are mainly attributed to the backgrounds of students and their gender, which have led to different decisions regarding higher education.

Research Methods

A qualitative research methodology is used for this research, along with extensive analysis of statistical data on Korean higher education. While analysis of the statistical data shows certain trends in the internationalization of Korean higher education and universities, the qualitative case study approach allows for a deeper investigation of internationalization at universities in Korean higher education.

The primary methods employed include document analysis and interviews with administrators, and international program staff who are in charge of internationalization at their universities and faculty members and international students and administrators in the international higher education office at the Korean Ministry of Education.

Qualitative studies are classified into five types: a narrative-biographical study, a phenomenological study, a grounded theory study, and an ethnography, and a case study. This study employs the case study approach, as it fosters a thorough understanding of organizations and the subjects within them.

To answer the research questions, two particular universities are selected to illustrate how different types of universities are responding to the internationalization of higher education. The two different types of universities are a research-focused university and a teaching-focused university. There was an assumption that internationalization had different meaning to the two different types of university. By concentrating on certain universities, the aim was to uncover the various elements of internationalization and effects on the organization of universities within a globalized world. The case study is “an extremely useful technique for researching relationships, behaviors, attitudes, motivations, and stressors in organizational settings” (Berg, 2001, p. 331).

The study thus uses a multiple-case study approach and each university is the subject of a case study in a multiple-case design. Multiple-case studies are also known as cross-case studies, comparative case studies, or contrasting case studies (Berg, 2001). This multiple-case study approach is considered more compelling;

therefore, the overall study would be regarded as more robust, and this is also a pertinent method to represent contrasting situations (Yin, 2013).

The case study method is defined and understood in various ways. The case study method is defined as “an attempt to systematically investigate an event or a set of related events with the specific aim of describing and explaining this phenomenon” (Berg, 2001, p. 317). Berg (2001) organized various definitions of case study, “a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event and “in depth, qualitative studies of one or a few illustrative cases” (p. 317). Berg (2001) defined case study as “a method involving systematically gathering of enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates and functions” (Berg, 2001, p. 317). These various explanations suggest that case study is an approach that allows researchers to understand the function of subject with a holistic description. Berg (2001) mentions as an advantage of case study that researchers in a case study can capture important elements that other research approaches might overlook, since rich, detailed, and in-depth information is characterized in a case study.

Data was collected in various ways using analysis of documentary data and interviews with academicians and administrators and students at both universities as well as the central administrators at the MOE. All data were collected and brought together for each institution. A particular institution’s internationalization was examined in isolation and by comparing case pairs.

Selection of Research Sites

To observe the internationalization dynamics at different types of universities, two institutions were selected. One is Seoul National University (SNU), which is a top national research-focused university in Korea, and the other university is a private teaching-focused university referred herein as, “Reforming University (RU).”

SNU

SNU was founded in 1946 as the first national university of Korea, and is a competitive and leading university. SNU contains 16 colleges, one graduate school, and nine professional schools with a total enrollment of 27,978 students in which there are 16,623 undergraduate students in B.A. programs and 11,355 graduate students (8,169 students in M.A. and 3,186 in Ph.D. programs), with 2,540 full-time faculty members as of 2012. In terms of international students, there are 2,608 international students pursuing degrees, of which 851 are in undergraduate programs, 1,042 in master’s programs, and 715 in doctoral programs as of 2012. As a public university, finance of SNU has mainly depended on government funding (about 60%), and students also contribute as a primary source of revenue (about 30%). In addition, major state-supported projects such as BK21 and WCU have been assigned to SNU academics with the growth of research funds, since SNU, it is understood, has a strong potential to be competitive with prestigious overseas universities, and thus become a recognized university worldwide (interview with top positioned administrators of MOE). SNU is currently ranked 31st as per the QS University Ranking in 2013, which is a position that has quadrupled over the past 10 years. SNU put forth a 21st century vision of becoming a “world-class university in pursuit of

academic excellence” (SNU, 2006, p. 4) and has been reformed to enhance its academic competence and international competitiveness. Along the same lines, an SNU incorporation bill was passed in December 2010 and subsequently initiated in December 2012, making the university an independent corporate entity. The Internationalization Project implemented its first stage from 1996 to 2010 and is now implementing the second stage from 2010 through 2015.⁷

RU

For an alternative type of university, RU, which is outside of Seoul, was selected to represent a teaching-focused university. Teaching universities are usually less motivated by the internationalization mission; however, these universities also play an important role in contributing to international student mobility in Korean higher education. RU was chosen because this university has been pursuing internationalization of its institution, although it neither emphasizes research nor gives attention to international rankings as it is a teaching-focused university in a regional area. In addition, RU does not rely solely on marketable strategies for its funding, such as through international student recruitment; rather it has a sustainable and stable funding structure. The financial stability of the institution is important in order to answer research questions addressed in this study that explore the dynamics of external forces on a small university and expansion upon the diverse motivations of internationalization that go beyond simply an economic rationale. Previous

⁷ I have previous experience at SNU as a student. This background helped me to access the institution and contact interview respondents in various fields.

knowledge of this university was helpful, along with some degree of access to it.⁸ I was familiar with a current dean at OIA, who is a professor in the Chinese department, and was also close to a senior professor who had worked there for 20 years and had experience with deans of various fields at RU. Less privileged universities are not disposed toward being studied by external actors, and many studies on these universities are done by faculty at their own institutions or are very much limited in terms of in-depth investigation of internal voices at the institution. Personal acquaintance with RU was a definite strength and necessary to access the institution and to receive detailed information and opinions from RU members.

The structural specifics of RU are deliberately left out to hide the identity of this selected university. Korean universities today are required to show greater transparency; therefore, considerable information is provided to stakeholders through a website by the MOE. In addition, compared to other counterpart institutions, government accountability based on relative evaluation encourages universities to be continuously developed. Despite a higher evaluation, in some considerations, it is always supposed to be lower than some other institutions. Therefore, RU is today very sensitive to sharing their data, although their performance is quite successful.

This university contains nine colleges, one graduate school, and one professional school, with a total enrollment of 4,079 students. RU does not have a medical school, but has recently expanded the engineering department. In terms of

⁸ The specific history of the researcher in terms of RU was deliberately not described in order to protect the identity of the university.

international students, there were approximately 200 international students, who are mostly from China (except for very few other countries), as of 2013.⁹

It is important to note that the teaching university chosen for this dissertation is “outside of Seoul.” In Korea, people normally divide universities between those located in Seoul and those located outside of Seoul. Except for the main public and professional universities, it is typical to consider universities far from Seoul as lower privileged institutions.¹⁰

There were three reasons for choosing an RU outside of Seoul. First, most universities in Seoul are positioned higher than those outside of Seoul in domestic rankings. Furthermore, teaching universities in Seoul, although positioned lower in the Korean higher education hierarchy, do have socio-cultural advantages by being in Seoul, which is attractive to overseas students. Therefore, it is quite understandable that those universities are implementing internationalization strategies.

Second, there are some private universities that cannot fund and operate their institutions without the tuition and expenditures of international students. These universities have already lost the identity of a university, and were not selected.

Third, RU stays in Gyung-Gi province, which is very close to Seoul and located in a western coast regional area that has mutual economic exchange with

⁹ RU has endeavored to keep its number of international students below 200 so as to avoid affecting its academic environment.

¹⁰ In Korea, people normally divide universities as either an “in Seoul university” or a “regional university (*Ji-Bang-Dae-Hak*).” This terminology, regional university, does not convey positive impressions and suggests that the institution is of lower level. Officially, the MOE categorizes regional universities as those that are outside of the Seoul metropolitan area; however, it is socially recognized that universities outside of Seoul are all described as a “regional university.” Although RU in this study is actually within Seoul metropolitan area, the university often refers to itself as a “regional university.” Therefore, in this study, the “regional university” reflects universities that are seen as less privileged outside of Seoul.

China. According to the statistical data (KEDI, 2014), apart from the Bu-San area, a majority of the international students are enrolled in universities in this region.

Academic fields investigated

These two case universities show various shifts in numerous fields. However, the intention of this study was not to represent all the institutional shifts, but rather to understand institutional responses to internationalization dynamics. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) revealed some particular academic fields of business, vocational, and professional programs that have benefited the most from globalization.

Therefore, for SNU, the business school and engineering school were selected for the investigated academic fields. In addition, Korean language and Korean literature (Korean studies) were selected, since these academic fields particularly reflect increasing international student mobility and cross-border education programs.

For RU, administration and business departments were selected as they have shown greater shifts and are favored academic departments by Chinese students at RU. In addition, the Chinese department was selected, as it has many international students and the professors are deeply involved in the internationalization strategies.

Research Participants and Interviews

The interviews focused on the internationalization dynamics of each university in response to globalization. In order to understand the university's responses, it was useful to look at how universities have changed over recent years. This perspective was accomplished through interview data. To understand the university adjustments to the new globalization era, the subjects were observed at work and dialogue was initiated with several coworkers. Therefore, there was

interaction with many actors and stakeholders at institutions engaged in internationalization activities. Having an opportunity to speak with various participants involved in these changes provided improved background information and insights.

Interviewing is described as a “conversation with a purpose” (Yin, 2013). This method is in fact based on a fundamental qualitative research assumption, namely that the participant’s perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as how the researcher views it (Yin, 2013).

In order to become familiar with the study context and to find study respondents who were willing to be interviewed regarding their viewpoints, a pilot study was initiated in the summer of 2012 prior to conducting the full research project. For the pilot study, I did an internship at the Office of International Affairs at both universities and the Ministry of Education. After that, potential participants were identified. This dissertation employed interviews with administrators from the Ministry of Education as well as administrators, faculty members, and international students from the two selected universities. Furthermore, I talked informally to staff members in various departments at the case study universities and consequently managed to better grasp how the organizations functioned and triangulated this with other interviewee narratives.

Interview records when possible were transcribed after the interviews on the same day. In order to prepare for ongoing interviews, the recordings were reviewed and important issues raised by the study participants were noted. With the many study participants who were interviewed, it took two months to transcribe the interview

recordings. All interview data were crosschecked with documentary data and also crosschecked between academicians and administrators.

Central administrators at the Ministry of Education

This group included six administrators responsible for internationalization of higher education in the International Cooperation Department at the Ministry of Education. In the Ministry of Education, there is International Cooperation Department in which there are two sub divisions: Global Cooperation and Education for Overseas Koreans. Administrators in the International Cooperation Department are rotated whenever a new administration is introduced. Two people, one former and one current, from each division at the International Cooperation Department were interviewed. The latest two ministers at the Ministry of Education were also interviewed. The previous director general at the International Cooperation Department, with whom I had a close relationship, gave me an overview for one hour. He provided detailed information about the position of administrators who are in charge of particular tasks and provided several introductions to administrators.

Faculty

All faculty interviewees were previously or currently in leadership positions in their departments and were knowledgeable on the topics and are in charge of internationalization initiatives at their schools. Hence, most of the professor interviewees in this study were senior professor at their universities.¹¹ In order to explore of faculty experience and the perspectives across gender, rank, and discipline, faculty at both SNU and RU were interviewed in three academic fields and included

¹¹ The views of senior professors regarding the identity of a university are much linked to maintaining important traditionally values in Korean higher education.

those with prior experience as former deans, program directors, and curriculum development chairs.

Professors were interviewed at their discretion and as their schedules permitted, and interviews were typically scheduled quite abruptly. Interviews were not requested of all faculty at the same time in order to better meet their various schedules, and professors were available for interviews after lunch time and before office hours. Due to busy faculty schedules, interviews were mostly done between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m., and only one interview could be done per day.

For SNU, 15 faculty members were chosen from three academic fields and were interviewed evenly across each of the selected academic fields: school of business and school of engineering, and department of Korean language and department of Korean literature (Korean studies). The faculty interviewed ranged from full professors to associate professors, and their length at SNU ranged from 3 to 35 years. An emeritus professor who was deeply involved in the internationalization strategic plans as a top-level administrator was also interviewed. Given that senior faculty are involved in the school's strategic plans and in charge of the internationalization, only full professors were interviewed at the business and engineering schools. Two assistant professors in Korean studies were interviewed because they are in charge of Korean language education programs. The interview lasted for one hour. In addition, all academician interview data were crosschecked with both administrators' interview data and documentary data.

For RU, nine faculty members were interviewed evenly across the administration, business, and Chinese departments, which have shown a fast shift in

the academic environment and where there are a majority of Chinese students. Various ranks of faculty from full professors to associate professors were interviewed. Their work experience at RU ranged from 5 to 30 years. Professors who were in top-level administrative positions were interviewed. Interviews with faculty lasted two hours and some professors were interviewed twice. Few faculty at RU had served consecutive terms that covered the entirety of the period implementing university strategic plans and internationalization initiatives.

The respondents were asked similar questions, but these questions also varied slightly to accommodate the respondents' interests and roles in their school. A larger number of women were sought out at both SNU and RU, but there was only one tenured woman faculty in three academic fields in SNU as of 2014, who was interviewed. RU also had only one woman professor in the selected academic fields. In order to anonymize the identity of the respondents, all faculty respondents were referred to in the masculine tense of "he."

Administrators at the Office of International Affairs

This group included five administrators at each university in charge of internationalization initiatives and deeply involved in internationalization activities such as those for administrators involved in student-recruitment, international student advisors, international students admission and scholarship programs, transnational partnerships and exchanges, and Korean language programs for international students. Interviews were done primarily at the Office of International Affairs (OIA), but others who were key participants in internationalization projects at the institution were also interviewed outside this office. I had a list of pertinent administrators for

this study, but the faculty also helped me to contact administrator interviewees; professor interviewees introduced some administrators in person or asked them via e-mail or phone to assist with the project after the interviews.

These participants were largely responsible for carrying out the various international initiatives of each university, and in many cases were in charge of making decisions about programs and content. Their views on internationalization strategies were useful for understanding the internationalization of each university.

A number of crucial issues were addressed with the administrators at each university. Several key areas were addressed, including discerning how each university sees internationalization, pursuing an understanding about what changes have occurred inside and outside both universities in terms of internationalization, and what the motivations are for initiating current internationalization projects. It was important to capture what types of changes have occurred as a result of the internationalization initiatives at each institution, what each university wants as a return from the internationalization project, and what results the universities feel have come about from the internationalization. These topics allowed a better understanding of the background, motivations, and responses that each university has been taking in terms of their internationalization strategies. These issues were included in the interviews with all participants.

International students

For this dissertation, a number of international students were interviewed to investigate their motivations for choosing Korean higher education. All interviewees were very carefully selected for in-depth interviews. They had the highest level (level

5) on the Korean proficiency test, Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK). In order to have interviewees who are familiar with Korean, I chose students with length of stay in Korea of at least four or more years, except for students of Korean origin. Therefore, being interviewed in Korean was not considered an issue.

For SNU, 15 international students were interviewed based on continent of origin, level of degree, major, and gender. Interviews were done in both Korean and English, but mostly in Korean. Except for the two doctoral students at the school of engineering, whom I interviewed in English, all of the international students had enrolled for one year of a Korean language intensive program. SNU has a majority of students in Korean origin; therefore, they were also important participants in order to investigate the characteristics of international students. Presidents of the International Students Association were interviewed and they also contacted other students for further assistance. Since most interviews were done during the semester, international students were not easily recruited. In order to evenly select among the various academic fields and by degree, I spent time at each school and asked for interviews.

In particular, international students of Korean origin could not readily be distinguished from other Korean students by appearance or a way of speaking, and thus I recruited them at the OIA international student lounge. In addition, fliers were distributed at SNULife (<http://snulife.com/>), which only SNU students and alumni can access.

For RU, interviews of international students focused on Chinese students, since they comprised most of the international students. Initially, six Chinese graduate students in the business department were introduced by a business professor,

but their language abilities were so incipient that they were limited to basic Korean greetings; therefore, I sought out other Chinese students. Since I was allowed to stay at the OIA, I selected Chinese students by contacting many students. Continuous efforts were put into contacting a large number of Chinese students from different backgrounds during the fieldwork. However, since very few students were proficient enough in Korean to participate in an in-depth interview, only seven Chinese students who were very fluent in Korean were selected for this study. The small number of international interviewees at RU compared to those at SNU was not due to a lack of effort or limited time to find more interviewees, rather there was a dearth of Chinese students that had Korean language skill levels for in-depth discussion. This situation also skewed the student interviewees in terms of gender distribution. Each interview ranged from one to two hours in duration.

Data Sources other than Interviews

In order to improve the credibility and quality of this research, in addition to interview tapes and transcriptions from study respondents, other data sources were also examined, particularly those relevant to the institutional context of Korea's universities and to the reform of postsecondary institutions in Korea. National and institutional materials and statistical data were cross-checked and utilized to draw connections to a later picture of university reform from the perspective of interviewees.

National and institutional materials

Official documentary sources were useful for collecting data and I became familiar with the possible use of records concerning the internationalization of

universities. All official documents are potentially valuable sources of information in a case study (Yin, 2013). This dissertation looks at the dynamics of internationalization policies at the national level and its practices at different types of universities. It also examines what changing situations were prompting universities to apply internationalization strategies as a response. Therefore, the document sources included two levels, a national level and an institutional level.

At the national level, policy documents regarding internationalization that were reviewed through content analysis include: Brain Korea 21 in 1995 and 2007, the 2001 Expansion Plan for Recruitment of International Students, the 2004 Study Korea Project, the 2007 Strategy of Internationalization of Higher Education, the 2009 World-Class University Project, and the International Students Restriction Law.

At the institutional level, materials regarding internationalization strategies that comprise the bulk of the review include Strategic Plans from mid-1990 to present and the Internationalization Project Report. Materials were reviewed for indications of the following: definition of internationalization, rationales for internationalization, specific goals and objectives of various internationalization strategies, and acknowledgement of challenges or obstacles to internationalization. The data included annual reports from universities, meeting reports, and university announcements. The documentation also included an assortment of official documents, such as policy actions, curriculum, faculty curriculum vitae, and evaluations of a university. Several issues were addressed by looking at institutional materials, such as the following questions: How do different types of universities see internationalization differently or in a similar way? What are the motivations for

internationalization? What are the rationales for international student recruitment? What are the major strategies for internationalization? And what has changed and affected each institution the most?

Statistical data

To gain a broad picture of the internationalization of Korean higher education, it was preceded by analyzing international student mobility. Therefore, analysis on statistical data on international students was a significant task. This task provided an analysis by combining data about countries of origin, field of study selected, level of degree, funding sources, and gender. These data also took into account trends at both national and at the selected universities' levels. For the national trend analysis, data was from the Korean Educational Statistical Service (<http://kess.kedi.re.kr>). For institutional data analysis, internal data was gathered by request and then analyzed for each university.

Data Analysis

Carrying out the data collection and preliminary data analysis, a recursive dialogue through the entire research process was developed in order to evolve an analytical framework (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). This is generally as an important part of qualitative research methods, which are designed to establish conceptual categories from research data. The analysis of data aims to identify key themes and their relationships in the framework so as to facilitate organized analysis. Polkinghorne (1991) characterized this as a recursive process within which researchers are able to achieve a forceful and coherent analytical framework while continuing to revise the concepts of the data.

Organizing codes or categories for analysis are gathered in order to conceptualize key themes after the first several interviews and overview of documents. Repetitive patterns of thematic codes were primarily employed within the recursive process in order to construct a consistent conceptual framework. This process continued until an analytical framework was accomplished. Since the most important part of this project was to analyze the viewpoints of academicians, I continued to review my observations and analysis with faculty study respondents. It should be noted that the professors' authority hindered me in asking sensitive questions, particularly those about gender issues and the US-dominated academic culture in Korean academia.

The conceptual framework continued to evolve and key themes were narrowed down within the analytical framework. Categories and codes for analysis were often shifted in order to gain greater conceptual coherence while some thematic codes were attached to previously established concepts during the process of data analysis. Universities are complex institutions with multi-faceted settings, missions, goals, interests, and capabilities. Different and similar analytical points of each study university were derived mostly from interview data of what respondents significantly addressed. Thematic lines were established while some categories were attached to or others are extracted from previously established concepts, which were derived from a large body of literature on internationalization from Western perspectives.

Triangulation

The case study approach has the strength of data collection from many different sources to develop the quality of a study. These different sources are

triangulated in order to increase validity (Yin, 1994). This study relied extensively on interview data and also a wide variety of sources, such as documentary data or on-site information, to develop reliable evidence. In order to maintain credibility for the evidence sources, interview data were crosschecked primarily in two ways: interview data were crosschecked with narratives from other interviewees and also with other documentary data. Considerable documentary data were found at the main libraries of the case universities, although some of the internal data were provided by faculty respondents. Volumes of general information and documentation around the policies of each school are sent to the main university libraries. However, documents such as school bylaws, faculty meeting minutes, or school evaluations are not distributed to the libraries. Professors provided some copies of necessary parts of such internal data. Also, I wrote them down after interviews at a professor's office.

In qualitative research, member checking is a crucial stage to assure data authenticity and accuracy in the findings (Yin, 2013). The transcripts of interviews and quotations and analysis were provided to respondents, but not much feedback was provided by them due to their busy schedules. This study made an effort to avoid any misunderstanding and misinterpretation of various pieces of evidence. Therefore, two emeritus professors reviewed the SNU analysis. Also, one senior professor who was a dean in various fields and one senior administrator with lengthy experience reviewed the RU analysis in order to confirm if each element was analyzed correctly in the institutional context and also to carefully check for the possibility of over-interpretation beyond the observed evidence.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Since study participants who were involved in the internationalization initiatives and decision making were positioned mostly at the leadership level and most had close relationships at each study university, as much was done as possible to protect their anonymity so as to encourage participants to talk freely about their personal viewpoints and to offer comments that might otherwise not be discussed in public. Study respondents were only identified with general titles, such as faculty member, administrator, or student. In Chapter 4 and 5, various descriptions are used with the same person so as to protect the interviewees' position, work year, interests, viewpoints, and their comments. A draft of my analysis was reviewed by several study respondents who made such request during the interview process. In addition, some parts of a transcription were removed per one faculty person's request after having reviewed the interview transcript.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited by the types of institutions investigated and the study respondents. Korean higher education includes various types of universities such as colleges and universities, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, miscellaneous schools, and open universities. Different types of universities in different contexts from the case universities might show different internationalization dynamics in comparison to the observations in this study. In addition, the limited number of academic fields investigated may prevent capture of distinctive internationalization dynamics in other academic fields.

It should be considered that the faculty respondents were mostly full professors with lengthy experience at their institution, which was pursued in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the shifts at the institutions. However, this might not capture junior faculty viewpoints at the institutions. In addition, due to the underrepresentation of women faculty in the investigated academic fields, this study could not present the voices and perspectives of women faculty.

The same limitation applies to the data collection and the data analysis that was drawn to interpret the viewpoints of study respondents and current institutions in regards to reform and internationalization. However, the primary interest of this study is neither to make an exhaustive or generalizable conclusion nor to determine the best model for the development of an institution's internationalization by accurately evaluating the recent reforms of universities in order to generate further policy-planning implications to other universities or societies. Rather, the purpose was to understand how different types of universities understand internationalization and how they are reforming themselves by utilizing similar or different strategies that are bringing about change in their organizations. The narratives of the study respondents at both universities reflect qualitative methods that enable interpretation and insight into the dynamics of internationalization at these universities. The question of generalizability is thus not the main concern in this qualitative study, nor is this a primary purpose of this dissertation.

Chapter 4: Analysis on Internationalization Dynamics of SNU

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce and analyze the internationalization dynamics of Seoul National University (SNU), which is a research-focused university. SNU has been pressured to involve the institution and its professors in the development of international interactions in pursuit of a world-class university. This chapter analyzes academic strategies that SNU is pursuing for internationalization and reveals changes that are occurring, particularly regarding the research aspects of education. While examining internationalization strategies, the shift in faculty roles and the changes in academic fields are also explored. As a national university, SNU has made efforts toward internationalization while trying to retain its public value of higher education. This chapter addresses the tension that has emerged between academicians and administrators regarding the value of higher education. International students' characteristics and particular motivations for choosing SNU in Asia are also investigated. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the internationalization carried out by the SNU. The second part investigates the particular motivations of international students in choosing SNU in Asia, looking both at students of Korean origin and at other international students from diverse backgrounds. Based on the results of analysis on internationalization dynamics in SNU, the conclusion presents how SNU sees internationalization by identifying its rationales.

Institutional Responses

SNU has encountered challenges in implementing internationalization initiatives, however, its efforts for internationalization have expanded enormously over the last 10 years. International students and faculty have always been present at SNU, but their numbers previously were too marginal to affect the academic environment or management of the institution. Over time, SNU has opened its doors to global higher education, since institutions abroad have started to interact with them. At the same time, SNU of today needs to evolve as a competitive worldwide institution. This section addresses the internationalization efforts of SNU by providing numerous strategies in order to respond to recent globalization challenges while struggling with various difficulties as an Asian university.

Incorporation of SNU

Previously, SNU was legally subordinate to the MOE. In 2011, it was given a legal personality and became “Seoul National University Incorporated.” Incorporation changed the legal status of SNU from a public university to an independent administrative agency. This was done in the hope that once SNU was incorporated, it would become more efficient and competitive in adapting quickly to the external environment, and thereby move towards becoming a world-class university. This was part of the government’s effort to lessen public financial support for higher education. Although various government regulations continue to exist in some areas such as size of enrollment and tuition fees, incorporation changed the way SNU is governed, funded, and evaluated. As a result, SNU now has more autonomy and flexibility in running the institution.

Incorporation changed the governance structure of SNU, and a major shift was in the structure of the governing board, which is today comprised of one president, two vice-presidents, and two sub-committees from the Education and Research Committee and the Financial Management Committee, half of which is required to include external members, such as businesspeople or professionals. SNU was previously governed by a faculty perspective and the president of SNU was selected by a voting system in which all faculty members participated. Incorporation is expected to alter the relationship between the government and SNU, as well as the power dynamics between the central university administration and the faculty senate, which was a decision-making body at SNU.

Now that SNU is incorporated, the governing board selects a president from the candidates recommended by the Presidential Search Committee. When it was a public identity, SNU was regulated by laws. Therefore, the minister of MOE was involved in personnel management, and the staff were public servants. Upon incorporation, personnel management shifted to the president's discretion, and staff are now non-public servants.

A central tenet of incorporation is to provide more institutional autonomy at the expense of losing government funds.¹² At the same time, it causes SNU to be more responsible for its own performance. In the past, public SNU received financial government support based on the number of students and staff as well as their needs. Subsequently, lump-sum allocation replaced the itemized funding system. The president in an incorporated SNU is required to set institutional goals every four years

¹² Further research requires both an explicit investigation of the autonomy given to an institution and an exploration of the extent to which freedom is given or taken back from faculty after incorporation.

in consultation with the minister of the MOE and has to announce a university management plan that reflects the goals before each academic year begins. This result is considered when receiving financial support, which is determined based on performance-based funding system.

SNU is now allowed to pursue profit-making activities, as long as they do not interfere with the core functions of the university, which are teaching and research. Although incorporation allows many opportunities to diversify funding, it is difficult to achieve significant growth in research funds, contributions, or profits from new activities because it has been a challenge for universities to move quickly in acquiring such funding. SNU's short- and long-term strategic plans for 2007-2012, while working on its incorporation, state that special remedies are needed to facilitate social and school consultation regarding the enormous increases in tuition. Contrary to the concerns with incorporation, student tuition has not increased yet. However, it is reported that scholarships provided by SNU to students are decreasing, and this portion is now being replaced by national scholarship programs. It has been observed that SNU is not investing in students themselves, and this trend diminishes the public nature of higher education.¹³

In the three years since SNU's incorporation, the institution has shown quantitative growth in international rankings based on research development. However, academic fields are also becoming increasingly bifurcated between

¹³ Since the Half-Tuition Policy was initiated, universities have increasingly encouraged cutting student tuition by MOE. Even after incorporation, SNU is still a national university; however, it cut only 0.1% of tuition in 2013. In addition, tuition remission for students from a lower-income group were down by half from approximately 7 billion Korean won (US\$6.3 million) in 2010 to 3.9 billion Korean won (US\$3.5 million) in 2012. SNU announced an increase in national scholarships to replace tuition remission. However, apart from the external support, it appears that SNU is not applying investments directly toward students.

practical fields and basic fields in that many academicians at SNU are involved in simple and practical researches being reported.

Public value and a very late start for internationalization

Many respondents indicate that SNU has not been affected easily by external factors due to its status as the best university in Korea. In other words, SNU -as a top national university- was well managed, and it had a stable funding structure that was supported mainly by the state; thus, it did not need to be reformed to compete for new opportunities in order to respond to a changing environment. As a public university, SNU was challenged when engaging in internationalization activities, since internationalization requires institutions to have some particular abilities, especially a generosity of resources, the intelligence associated with reforms, and timely decision based on the understanding of internationalization.

As a public university, SNU was strongly controlled by MOE before it was incorporated (SNU, 2010). Its decision-making and hiring process did not have as much flexibility as those of private institutions. In order to hire just one faculty as a public school, it was necessary to receive approval from the Minister of MOE. To have international presence, the hiring of foreign faculty is a common strategy; however, foreign names could not be put on the faculty lists before being incorporated, as professors reported.

Rigidity in the hiring system for faculty compared to other top private universities also used to be an impediment to properly coping with the new competitive environment. Most faculty members were public officers who “were older, with an average age over 40, and who did not have language proficiency and

knowledge about internationalization.” In addition, unlike long-sustained elite private universities, which are able to recruit a competitive workforce specializing in particular skills, SNU was not able to readily hire faculty for specific purposes. Thus, OIA is organized today mostly with contract workers who are young and have a fast-paced work ethic with strong language proficiency. The former dean at OIA adds that “In order to support internationalization efforts within each school, most offices started to hire contract staff with language proficiency, mostly English, and international experience.”

A majority of administrators point out that SNU’s late internationalization came about because “in order to hold onto as a top Korean university while expanding the number of international students, SNU also needed to be concerned about quality improvements in education provision.” For international students, SNU makes an effort to enhance the quality of faculty. Thus, instructors for the summer program are very carefully hired. All instructors in the summer program are comprised of SNU faculty members that have a strong professional specialty in their academic fields. Some of them are also invited from prestigious universities abroad, such as Stanford or Harvard, which led to a financial deficit for several years.

Administrators at OIA indicate that the number of international students at SNU has not expanded enormously, unlike that of other top private universities in Korea. Some administrators assert that SNU recruits international students only to the extent that they can handle in order to maintain the quality of education. Others say that the funding structure of a public university is also another element in the slow increase in the number of international students. An administrator who is in charge of

recruitment fairs for short-term international students noted, “A good thing about the slow expansion of international students is that it means our project has stability. In other words, we do not have an incentive infrastructure [in a very quiet tone].” In contrast, it seems to be clear that in private universities, those who contribute to some aspects of internationalization, such as by recruiting more international students, are rewarded by financial incentives.

Academicians and administrators share a view that SNU internationalization has developed enormously over the last few years, although at a slower rate than private universities.¹⁴ In summary, SNU’s late internationalization compared with other top private universities in Korea was a result of a lesser need to reform. Fiscal viability and ability were some of the major catalysts for moving universities toward the internationalization. However, as a national university, SNU has received continuous strong support from the government. For SNU, implementing an international dimension was also viewed as an optional matter for the purpose of education. In addition, the lack of institutional knowledge of internationalization followed by a rigid employment structure prevented a fast move toward internationalization. Academicians and administrators predict that internationalization will precipitate now that SNU is incorporated.

¹⁴ SNU administrators at OIA often refer to Yonsei University and KAIST (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) as their competing institutions in terms of internationalization. Yonsei University is a top private university in Korea known for a very aggressive effort at internationalizing its campus by expanding the number of international students and scholars from abroad. Additionally, their international campus was established in the Song-Do International Free Trade Zone. KAIST is also a leading university in terms of internationalization. Their first non-Korean president, Nobel Prize-winning American physicist Robert B. Laughlin, who was a professor at Stanford University, was hired in 2004.

Competition with other foreign universities for international prestige and rankings

Interview data indicate that SNU's faculty in three academic fields in this study monitor the rankings of their departments in comparison with other universities abroad. Rankings are often announced in public in order to promote wider international prestige and attract international students. Leadership positions in each school make an effort to have international ties with prestigious institutions abroad mainly in order to secure outstanding students and research collaboration. Faculty share a view that the value in the rankings at each academic unit, for the most part, started with state research projects, which triggered research funding competition among universities.

According to the administrators with key responsibilities for implementing SNU's strategic plan, "SNU presidents and leadership have no choice but to consider rankings." In order to manage various ranking tables, SNU set up a specific office. Since international ranking tables favor research universities in Anglo-Saxon nations where English language research literature is produced, they do not place much value on Asian universities (Altbach, P. & Umakoshi, 2004; Mok, 2007). In this case, it is easier for native English scholars to publish and join the academic network. Since the rankings favor universities that use English, SNU is also at a disadvantage compared to other academic institutions in Asia, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, as they use English as their teaching and research language, which makes it easier for them to attract students and scholars from abroad. Therefore, it is difficult for a non-English speaking Asian university to do well in the ratings without employing special

strategies. An administrator at OIA who used to be in contact with ranking institutions states that,

In terms of the rankings, we were neglected in some parts. Rankings, in fact, are not something that we can increase without any effort or just by sitting in the office. We actively had meetings with officers in ranking firms or one-to-one meetings to better understand what components of the ranking tables are important and to assure them that our university was making an effort towards those criteria. There are a diverse set of ranking institutions. We did not just wait until they approached to us, but we tried to understand the analysis methods in order to advance our rankings.

Hiring foreign faculty is a common strategy to move up in the ranking tables, however, it is not an easy task for a university *in a country in the periphery of academia*. Generally, international faculty are unwilling to come to SNU because “it is in Asia” or “close to North Korea.” To move up in the rankings, SNU endeavored to boost research performance, since research development was thought of as “something we can change on our own and what we do the best.” SNU engages in numerous actions: merging weak institutions to achieve higher reputation ratings, starting to count Science Citation Index (SCI) publications (research achievement), and providing incentives based on their research performance in order to establish a competitive academic atmosphere. These efforts have brought about significant results and increased average reputation ratings in international ranking tables. A former dean at research affairs who led the rearrangement of research institutes at SNU reflects that,

Our leadership wanted to start the 21st century with double figures in the international rankings, and we made greater efforts on research development. We financed some particular academic fields, such as basic science that had few or no research funds drawn from indirect costs or a development fund. However, over 30 institutes were also merged, especially if they did not show enough performance. The university was boiling over with rage and my faculty colleagues used to tell me to buy a bulletproof vest. But, it is very

clear that our research outcomes rocketed in the few years that came after our efforts. (Emeritus professor with 30 years at SNU and a former dean at OIA)

International student recruitment and expected outcomes

As international students come to SNU, professors are encouraged to provide classes in English. SNU announces itself as an international school, and international students expect English to be the academic language. Faculty share a view that it is problematic that the screening system does not require Korean language ability. A professor in the Korean language department states that, “It is absurd that a Korean university does not require Korean language proficiency. Professors in the US universities do not learn Korean and teach in Korean when Korean students come to their school.” Many professors have argued for the need to enhance the Korean language criteria. One administrator responded about what the university admission office represents for a university, “If we enhance the entrance exam criteria, no one would come to SNU, since even Korea’s top university, SNU, as an Asian university, does not have enough attraction for them to invest their time to learn Korean.”

Although academics share the view that the language of science is English, a language problem also exists in the engineering school. As one engineering professor engaged in research collaboration with Samsung Motors states, “In order to do industry-research collaboration with firms, we are supposed to report on and present our progress to the firms or order some equipment for experiments. However, international students cannot present to firms in Korean and there is not any place to order some equipment in English in Korea. So, they are half-students to me.”

Increasing the number of international students at SNU not only leads to the use of English at various levels of learning, but also affects the curriculum. In the

Departments of Korean language and literature, students used to come frequently without knowledge of the field or enough Korean language ability in this academic field. The objective of the Department of Korean Language is to train teachers to teach the Korean language at a secondary level; however, professors of the Korean language note that most international students have come in order to improve their Korean language proficiency rather than for studies about the Korean language. Few supports from the school were provided, but the faculty persevered through many difficulties to adapt to the new changes in the department. As the motivations for learning between international students and Korean students in the same class differed, professors felt “mentally confused.” One faculty member with 20-year experience in the field of Korean language states, “Some international students in my class wanted to improve their Korean language proficiency and Korean students were supposed to be training to be teachers. In the early 2000s, professors of Korean literature and Korean language experienced an identity crisis.”

Eventually, a new track was established; Korean Language Education at a graduate level (M.A. and Ph.D.), comprising 33% of international students (93 out of total 137). Although this program primarily targets international students, it is also chosen by students of a Korean ethnic background who are from outside the country. There was a new social need for teachers to teach the Korean language and contribute to the Korean language education program. Professors in Korean studies report that “As Korean society is diversifying with an increasing number of immigrants from East-Asia, teachers are needed to teach Korean to the children of immigrants. This is

easy to understand if you think of this program as similar to a TESOL [Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Language] program in the US.”

Professors note that the university encourages them to have more international students in that “it is good thing to internationalize the campus.” In terms of internationalization, faculty raise concern about difficulties in limited time and energy to advise additional international students. This is attributed to the fact that international students are not included in the total number of students and came in through a supernumerary process.¹⁵ Expressing the apprehension about the overseas students advising with very little support from the school, one faculty states that, “When professors advise their students, it was enough to have just Korean students. But what happens when [professors] need to advise international students coming through supernumerary enrollment? An advisor’s work is quite substantial. There are almost no incentives [for additional international students].”

The new composition of students at universities brings along some changes that influence how academic programs are restructured. Some faculty in Korean studies, who are involved in the Korean Language Education program at SNU, observe that, “Some academicians started to publish in terms of a Korean language education program and teach international students.” This contributes to the new curricular and research agendas. A professor from classical literature observes that, “Recently I have begun teaching graduate students by comparing classical literature from various East-Asia countries. And many students write their dissertation in this

¹⁵ Korean public universities have been managed strictly under the control of the MOE including a student quota; therefore, it is not easy to increase student enrollment. However, since international students are allowed to enroll through supernumerary admission, this has become a way of expanding the funding structure. Nowadays, most universities receive international students through supernumerary admission process.

way. This trend is occurring not only at SNU, but also overall in Korean academics. Studies in East-Asian countries are moving this way.”

Most international students come to SNU with a minimal understanding of Korean culture and frequently no Korean language skills, which is viewed by many faculty as a critical issue of internationalization. This is attributed, in part, to the school screening system. The recruitment of international students is not officially limited to students who do not speak Korean. Since the fall of 2013, SNU has required students to submit language test scores in Korean or English depending on a student’s preference, although minimum scores are not indicated. Despite the changes in student requirements, student language proficiency is still problematic at SNU. For the comprehensive exam process, international students at a graduate level are required to have either Korean or English language proficiency while Korean students are required to have English language proficiency. There are many international students (mostly referred to Chinese students by faculty respondents) who have not achieved such English test scores and who also cannot pass the Korean language proficiency test to satisfy the comprehensive exam requirement for their theses at a graduate level. A “Korean Language and Culture” course is provided in order to help international students qualify for these comprehensive requirements. This course is for the “purpose of salvation” for those who could not satisfy the Korean language requirement in the comprehensive requirements.

Exchange student programs require a balance in terms of students sent and received between two universities, according to an administrator who has established partnerships with universities overseas. As more domestic students want to go abroad

to English-speaking countries, more international students from counterpart universities have to come in reciprocation. Since most international students have no Korean language ability which is required to take regular courses, many schools have implemented a strategy to attract these international students. This has been done especially for students from Western countries who do not have a strong interest in staying in Asia for a long period. As an example, the school of business opened a special class. This course is about Korea in general, covering culture, history, economies, and politics and provides brief tours of major Korean firms with international subsidiaries. In comparison, departments of Korean studies, which require a higher level of Korean language proficiency, remain very cautious in their recruitment. Now all graduate students who want to study in Korean literature and Korean language departments are contacted by phone to verify their knowledge in the field and to assess their Korean proficiency.

The internationalization section of the SNU's long-term development plan highlights the importance of increasing the number of international students, with a goal of 10% by 2010, 20% by 2015, and 30% by 2025 (SNU, 2010). As of 2013, the international student ratio is still 5%.¹⁶ Professors agree that Korean students will gain advantages in terms of internationalization ability by interacting with students from different cultures. They also point out that "we do not need to recruit international students by force." However, SNU has maintained a goal of expanding the number of international students without the full assent of academicians. An

¹⁶ The number of international students has gone up 10 times over the past 10 years, from 239 in 1993 to 886 in 2003 and 2,608 in 2012.

answer comes from a senior administrator with lengthy experience in the internationalization of SNU:

Then why are we recruiting international students? It's because of the rankings. What are these damn international rankings for? We consider all the ranking tables. Among the criteria in the Times, exchange students and international students occupy only few points out of total. But, these few points can dramatically change the ratings. We have to receive many exchange students and send many abroad and receive international students to some extent to keep the point. If we cut the number of international students because they do not have similar academic performance to Korean students, our points will for the most part vanish. Then, we would fall down quickly in the rankings.

Lower admission requirements are mostly attributed to the lower academic value of Asian universities. Although academicians and administrators consider SNU an academically developed university worldwide, its degrees are not attractive to international students, and there have been difficulties in recruiting prospective students from abroad. Administrators at OIA observe that "International students file into US universities, but the top Asian universities are all struggling to attract students from abroad." They point out that the lower admission screening system is a strategy to attract more students from abroad. On the other hand, current deans in each study department show different views about international student recruitment arguing that "SNU has to make an effort to bring in a few prospective students from abroad with full scholarships and should teach them well" instead of expanding the number of international students in order to appetite international ranking tables.

At the present time, the economic motivation for international student recruitment is considered to be the dominant rationale. However, academicians and administrators expressed skeptical opinions about the economic benefits from international students in that SNU is a public university with very low tuition. A

director at OIA makes several valid points that SNU is less motivated by an economic rationale than other Western universities:

There is no reason to expand profit making by taking on risk to maintain the university's prestige, especially since all the money goes to the public treasury anyway, so almost nothing is for SNU. If we received much higher tuition from international students, similar to the US universities, that would be profit. If the accounting was actually done this way, we would avidly seek international students. At SNU, this is not the case.

However, both academicians and administrators agree that SNU will increasingly be presented with exposure to profitable activities, since SNU's financial structure has changed with incorporation. The evidence is already observed in various areas. For example, the summer program is viewed as an important "profit-making business," and "recently moved past the break-even point. In fact, the present dean [at OIA] takes care of the program while discussing how to use the earnings from the program."

SNU is actively pursuing international ties with prestigious universities from overseas both at the school and university level, which is mainly expected to secure international students. Since current Korean students want to go to Western countries for their exchange study abroad, SNU makes an effort to make partnerships with Northern countries. There have been international ties with Asian countries; today partnership universities with English-speaking countries have been expanded for the past few years. SNU has increasingly made international ties with the US universities since there is growing interest from Western universities in Asian universities, according to a senior administrator who has been working with a university president to host visitors from overseas institutions. He observes that, "In previous years, it was difficult to solidify an international tie with them as a university from Asia, but these

days university presidents from the US frequently visit our campus.” This changing region of partnership universities is linked to the economic growth of Asian countries, since Western universities now see Asian countries that enable them to pay for their study and maintain this advantage, since higher education is seen today as an export commodity. This changing trend is interpreted by a professor who is actively involved in forming international ties: “Internationalization is a war. Universities do not expect international students to receive a good education. International students perform a role just as they are. A diversification of international students is not the diversification of countries. It is the diversification of funding sources.”

Shifts in faculty roles and academic fields

Traditionally, the role of faculty at universities includes “teaching, research, and service,” according to professors. Increased competition has placed greater weight on research performance, favoring research above all the other values. Faculty share a view that research pressure is increasingly severe and competition among universities worldwide is already intense. While the departments in Korean studies show less interest in international ranking tables, all three academic fields in this study track their research performance. In particular, the schools of business and engineering are well aware of research evaluation of other competitive universities abroad.

Major state-research funded projects, such as Brain Korea 21 (BK21) and World Class University (WCU), encourage publishing in international journals (mostly referred to as SCI journals by professors). This is manifested in the Ministry of Education (MOE) assigning more research funds for SCI journal publications than

domestic journal publications, as explained by engineering professors who have been involved in state-supported projects. This has led faculty to focus only on SCI journals and to devalue Korean journals. A professor in the engineering school, thus states that “I have published 160 research articles, but I have only two in Korean journals. I do not consider publishing articles in Korean journals at all.” Some schools offer financial incentives to publish in internationally circulated top journals in order to improve the school rankings. The business school is absolutely in the “ranking business to aggressively compete with other top universities abroad” and does this by referring to a list of top international research journals and giving cash incentives from 3 million Korean won (US\$2,900) to 60 million Korean won (US\$57,000) to faculty who publish in these journals (SNU, 2009). In general, the Korean language and Korean literature departments show less interest in international journals compared to the schools of business and engineering. However, the perspectives between the senior and the junior faculty in Korean studies are different. Unlike the senior faculty who do “not consider international journals at all,” the junior faculty show greater participation in publication in international journals and participation in international conferences.

Table 2

Research Performance, 2006-2013

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
SCI								
Journal	4,085	4,324	4,296	5,305	6,032	6,353	7,114	7,195
Domestic								
Journal	3,051	2,958	2,504	2,273	2,232	2,062	1,916	1,681

Source. SNU Statistics Annual Report

Korean journals have become devalued compared to Western journals, since SCI journals comprised mostly journals from Anglo-American countries and few Korean journals. Although faculty argue that the research published in SCI journals is not necessarily better than that in Korean journals, publication in English is considered more important, since citation counting is a way of measuring excellence. Data on SNU's research performance (Table 2) confirms a steady decline of domestic journal publications and a concomitant increase in SCI journal publication, which resulted in an SCI publication rate four times that of domestic journal publications.

Korean journals have started to issue English versions so as to present their research better. There is also a trend by some academic units across all three academic fields in this study to issue internationally recognized Korean journals. A professor who worked to begin publication of a Korean international journal in material engineering states that, "We published a Korean international journal written in English. In order to be included in SCI journals, it needs to increase the number of citations. Therefore, we are monitoring the citations and discussing when we will be able to put this journal into SCI journals. This is very prevalent in our academic field these days." It is quite apparent that journal articles not written in English have a hard time being recognized internationally.

With greater importance assigned to research than teaching, SNU is changing its hiring promotion practices. Professors with over 30 years' experience at SNU indicate that "Previously, once one professor was hired as faculty on tenure track, this used to proceed routinely toward tenure." Research performance today is valued over other faculty roles. A present dean explains the changing hiring environment in a

business school that “We want to have faculty who have showed excellent research performance and who will do the same at our school in order to boost up our international rating.” In the business school, research performance is given higher weight in department bylaws for faculty promotion. A professor in the finance department states that,

This year there are already two candidates whom we did not recommend for promotion to the university, mostly because their research performance did not meet the recently established business school promotion criteria. Unlike my generation, today if someone does not produce the required research performance within a specified period, they might have to leave the school. (Faculty for over 20 years at SNU)

There is nothing wrong with rewarding and recognizing good performance in research. However, growing pressure on quantifiable research for quick may negatively affect scholarships, sometimes to the extent that data are falsified. Explaining the overlapping period between the emergence of the internationalization notion and the extreme value of research, an emeritus professor, who was previously a dean of research affairs, recalls the chaotic moment while engaging in a competitive research environment, “It was during the time when a former endowed Professor Hwang’s fabrication of stem cell research took place in a medical school. Every professor is forced to publish quickly, and journals compete to have the best research first, which sometimes leads to missing precise data verification.” Many faculty may be tempted to undertake research that produces fast tangible outputs, rather than to choose research topics led by genuine academic curiosity with greater academic potential. In the view of one senior professor, “I am unsure about the value of published research today. One worthwhile research study might take 10 or more years to complete. Today, in order to publish, it has to be written to satisfy a journal’s

interest. It is often said that a study is written for publication, otherwise it will not be published (Faculty with 30 years at SNU).

The greater importance of research performance has brought along with it continuous changes in faculty research assessments, which faculty are supposed to adopt in order to secure research funds. An engineering professor explains in a slightly furious tone how faculty research assessments have shifted over a short period of time:

Around 1990 when Korea was developed enough, the government started to provide funds for research. To get this government fund, evaluation for research was essential. During the first period of evaluation, the number of publication was the primary element. As time went, this was changed to the source of publication [i.e.] whether the journal is domestic or international. After that, SCI journals are valued, and how many citations is also considered. Nowadays, even h factor is also counted. There has been a fuss all around. Of course the professors feel the pressure. All of a sudden, over the past three or four years, the accountability has been changed and created a tremendous amount of stress. (Faculty for over 20 years at SNU)

This changing environment in which increasing value is placed on research certainly lead the diminished concern about teaching and some faculty want to be totally released from it. A comment from a department chair in the engineering school proves this: “I was shocked at the last dinner party for newly hired faculty members in an engineering school. One asked the director a question about employing an instructor using the research funds he received.” There is ample consensus that valuing research performance causes a competitive atmosphere and tempts to do more research at the expense of teaching. This changing academic environment may create undesirable conflicts among faculty members. “These days, junior faculty do not want to take on advisory services or other social services,” asserts one former dean. He puts it that, “It is very understandable because who wants to take on other

responsibilities” in that “The guy who provides the most publications is king.” Concern has emerged about this shift to neglect teaching while placing greater importance on research. “Universities are education institutions, not research institutions. Universities have to teach students well. Professors have to lecture well, and in order to lecture well, they have to do research. There are no incentives for teaching, and only research performance is counted,” asserted a former dean. Many professors indicate that recently the hardest part has been student advising, and there has been some effort to encourage faculty to be interested. The business school runs an advisor program where approximately 20 undergraduate students are assigned to one faculty person. Students in this program are supposed to have lunch or dinner with their faculty advisor, which is paid for by the school. In addition, one million Korean won (US\$908) and an award are provided to business school faculty who are selected as outstanding instructors by students. Faculty indicate that many schools are trying to encourage teaching and class instruction by providing financial incentives and various awards.

While research has become increasingly valued over teaching, practical knowledge is also gaining importance. In the school of engineering and business, the tendency is to have a greater number of visiting professors who have real world experience, especially those who have worked at large firms. For example, the business school “hired the vice president of Samsung Technology. He teaches in the class about know-how and how to lead Samsung Technology as a leading company in the world.”

Most departments use class evaluations, especially given the pressure from the university to make their schools more efficient. All three academic fields investigated also use class evaluations, whose efficiency is still debated among professors, as recognized by an engineering professor who states that, “Based on our own sentiments, it is very uncomfortable to evaluate our teachers. So, it took almost 15 years to implement this systematically in each academic department because some faculty still disagree with it. Although we currently conduct class evaluations, we do not open the results to students.” The class evaluation system is a way of informing the professors and awarding faculty members with the best results, but there is none in terms of negative repercussions from this evaluation. For MBA classes in the business school, which are strongly affected by students’ needs, class evaluations are openly publicized through a website, although the results do not affect faculty promotion. Along the same lines with expanding the scope of the students’ choices, SNU decreased the number of mandatory coursework requirements across campus in order to give more opportunities for students to pursue double majors or double minors. Several professors indicate that many schools today have been presented the problem of increasingly less concern about a major, arguing that “many students do not seem to master their major within a shorter period.”

To move up in ranks compared to other foreign universities, having an international presence is an important task that is “mainly manifested in academic peer review,” which is given much weight by the major international ranking systems. An administrator with key responsibilities for the implementation of internationalization strategies explains that “the peer review part is mostly asked to

professors, which has a major influence on university ratings.” Thus, the international network of professors is important for this component. Administrators note that publishing in international journals or presenting at international conferences is important to promote the name of SNU worldwide. Therefore, the international activities of professors are fully supported by the university. Apart from faculty academic activities, SNU shows greater engagement in numerous activities at the school level, which is also strongly supported by the university in order to draw international attention: holding international conferences, inviting prestigious scholars overseas or CEOs from large international firms for short-term seminars, or having exchanges of faculty/students through collaborating research.

Hiring foreign faculty

As I already noted above, hiring foreign faculty is a major strategy to have a greater global presence for SNU by making worldwide academic networks. The SNU strategic plan for internationalization highlights the importance of increasing faculty diversity and includes plans to increase the number of faculty from overseas, with targets of up to 700 by 2015. There are 97 tenure-track international faculty at SNU as of 2014.¹⁷ International faculty members are also expected to teach classes in English.

¹⁷ There are 230 international faculty in tenure and non-tenure track positions, of which 56% are from English-speaking countries (Canada, the US, and the UK), mostly from the US (46%). Tenure-track faculty positions are mostly filled by men at 74%. Among women faculty positions, 66% are in non-tenure track positions. SNU has hired more women faculty, which is in line with the MOE policy for gender equality. The rate for women faculty increased every year from 2006 with 10.6% (184 out of 1,733), 2007 with 10.7% (189 out of 1,752), 2008 with 11.0% (193 out of 1,751), 2009 with 11.4% (204 out of 1,786), and 2010 with 12.2% (222 out of 1,825). Faculty interview data indicate a notable growth in international women faculty. Since the SNU Statistics Annual Report does not provide detailed data by gender, the ways in which the international women faculty contribute to the growth of women faculty composition and what positions the women are in should be further investigated.

As a public university, SNU has difficulties in hiring foreign faculty due to its strict hiring structure, which lacks flexibility in the total number and salary of faculty. SNU has changed hiring practices by establishing a policy of having at least one foreign faculty member in each department. In addition, SNU has also sought out funding for faculty internationalization. Prior to being incorporated in 2011, SNU was “under very strict control from the MOE,” and it had to get permission to develop new faculty positions. Thus, SNU was allowed to take 100 foreign faculty positions partly financed by the MOE and spread them amongst each department. However, these newly-made faculty positions do not mean the expanding the number of faculty in each department and these positions are controlled by the university. Therefore, these foreign faculty positions can be withdrawn anytime from the university, according to several senior professors.

There were, however, still difficulties in getting a hold of full-time tenured faculty from overseas, and thus many were positioned as visiting or clinical positions that do not require much responsibility. Each department across SNU has hired faculty from overseas; however, many leave within a very short period of several years, usually after one or two-year contracts. A director general at OIA with the longest experience interacting with foreign faculty points out that one major reason for the difficulty in internationalization at SNU is “the language, English.” Being a non-English speaking country is a barrier to retaining faculty from overseas, since it causes communication problems when interacting with those who are not familiar with English in Korea outside of the campus. He puts it, “Many faculty come with their families, but outside of campus they cannot communicate with people. Their

wives cannot work and their children cannot find a school where they can communicate in English. Many faculty members visit to ask for help from the OIA office, but we do not have many ways to help them.” The language issue also comes up on campus, which is difficult to resolve. The three academic fields investigated report similar language problems when working with foreign faculty members. Although there are a few foreign professors, every single announcement is supposed to be written in both Korean and English, which doubles the workload. In addition, due to the rigid funding structure, it is difficult to find staff that would be able to provide assistance to international faculty, as the higher language proficiency required of support staff is commensurate with higher salaries. Some professors say, “Foreign faculty have to learn Korean as soon as possible if they want to work in Korea, but nobody does and will do this because Korea is not a developed country.” Scholars who seek greater exposure abroad prefer destinations conducive to speaking English in academic settings. Countries that do not use English as the language of higher education are at a disadvantage in internationalization efforts.

A state-funded project called World Class University (WCU) supports inviting international scholars to universities in order to expand worldwide connections. The engineering and business schools are favored with funding to hire “star” faculty, who are expected to bring in research grants, and thus contribute to research development. On the other hand, for the liberal arts departments suffering from having few foreign faculty, it is more a “symbolic” feature of a department’s prestige compared to other universities, and foreign faculty are expected to disseminate research outputs internationally. As one senior professor in the Korean

language department states, “We expect foreign faculty who come here to already have some academic base and publish articles based on our research to expand international connections for Korean studies. Foreign faculty is expected to facilitate academic connections abroad.”

Overseas scholars are not tempted by SNU, where remuneration and working conditions are not better than those in English-speaking academic systems in other developed countries. Professors in SNU are civil servants with permanent lifelong positions, and they usually have obtained full professor status once they are hired, as professors with lengthy experience indicate. Professors at SNU have a high social status in Korea; however, their salaries are not high compared to other elite private universities. Faculty salary is not negotiated for each professor; for example, a first-year assistant professor in the business school, the medical school and the school of education all have the same salaries, according to a former dean for over 30 years in SNU.

To pay on a different scale, SNU makes it possible to negotiate a salary supplement for foreign faculty only to match the remuneration given by previous institutions. The MOE, however, fixed the maximum salary for faculty from overseas at US\$1 million dollars, which is “approximately three times that of the average salary in SNU.”¹⁸ Therefore academic disciplines that are accustomed to paying relatively higher salaries still find it difficult to attract prestigious academicians. A former dean in a business school explains that, “US\$1 million dollars is huge in the liberal arts, but in the business school, it is extremely low. There is no way to hire

¹⁸ The annual average salary is 94 million Korean won (US\$85,400) for full professors, and 78 million Korean won (US\$71,000) for associate professors at SNU.

high-performing faculty from the US who are from so called prestigious universities. We cannot meet the compensation that they receive from other universities” (Faculty with 26 years at SNU). There are three foreign faculty in the business school as of 2013, among which two women faculty are Korean American and the other woman faculty is in a non-tenured contracted position who is Japanese trained in US higher education. Former deans indicate that the business school has been prevented from expanding number of foreign faculty members mostly due to the compensation issue. The evaluation of quantitative and qualitative sectors of foreign faculty members affects the international university ranking tables. Thus, Asian universities that are not attractive to foreign scholars are at a disadvantage in the rankings. A former dean in a business school assures that, “If we were able to hire faculty from overseas without having issues over remuneration, our school ranking would rocket upward enormously.” Despite these difficulties, the business and engineering schools have expanded their foreign faculty.

Professors indicate that many of the foreign faculty choose SNU because they have some personal ties with Korea; for example, they are of Korean origin or their spouses are Korean. The data show a higher percentage of faculty from the US accounting for 46% of all foreign faculty members on tenure track. It is reported that most are actually Korean American with US citizenship, so they are of Korean descent. There are not many professors from overseas who are willing to come to Korea, therefore it is not easy to have competitive faculty from overseas who have similar academic performance with SNU professors, as reported by faculty in the three academic fields.

Despite the negative opinions about hiring star faculty through WCU, SNU's key strategic objective for internationalization is still "hiring star faculty." After SNU was incorporated, as part of its internationalization projects, it initiated a project named "hiring Nobel Prize level scholars." The first one was a 2011 Nobel Prize recipient in economics named Professor Thomas Sargent from New York University. Apart from research collaboration, he was supposed to teach two classes. The registration was very low, at below 30% and 10%. Study respondents reported that this project was a waste of money in that he received 1.5 billion Korean won (US\$1.4 million), but went back home after just one semester. Professors see this as "a very revealing example of how hard it is to internationalize SNU, as it is an Asian university. This is despite being the best university in Korea."

SNU is now aggressively trying to increase its international faculty. The strategic plan for internationalization indicates a desire to diversify the country of origin for faculty from overseas, but in actuality, they are mostly from English-speaking countries, as the data proves that a majority of them are from the US. The majority of recently-hired faculty hold US doctoral degrees, as the professors report. Apparently, US trained faculty are more respected than those from other countries.

Shifts in program offerings

All three academic fields in the study engage in efforts to expand partnerships with foreign universities, which is considered a way of measuring the institutions' reputation among consumers. SNU had 150 partnership universities at the university level, 150 in engineering, and 120 at the business school. SNU has received many invitations for partnerships from institutions abroad, and it has been unwilling to say

no. This “unrealistically huge number of partners” are often inactive arrangements, and SNU is now more carefully seeking reputable universities. On the other hand, the Korean language and Korean literature departments have very few partnerships, mainly because Korean studies do not transmit knowledge in English, the *lingua franca*. SNU has a summer program with Stanford and Yale and a research program with the Harvard-Yenching Institute¹⁹. The SNU business school has successfully secured a dual degree MBA program with Duke University and Yale University in the US and a master’s and doctoral joint degree with Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Economiques et Commerciales (a business school) in France, while its engineering school has crafted master’s and doctoral joint degrees with Ecole des Mines des Saint-Etienne in France, one of the most prestigious engineering schools in that country. These new types of international collaborative programs are very limited and exist only at the graduate level, since all SNU schools cannot enter into an individual contract with a foreign university that has a different school system. Another reason for the limited international collaborative degree programs is that all universities want to collaborate with institutions of equal or greater status. The business school joined a dual degree program with top US business schools, however, investigating the engagement carefully reveals how prestigious universities are reluctant to provide their degrees to partner universities while maintaining the financial benefits in the new higher education market. An MBA program usually awards a “master’s degree in business administration;” however, Duke awards a “master’s in management studies (MMS),” and Yale awards a “master’s in advanced management (MAM),” both of which are different from the original degree provided in these institutions. Since the

¹⁹ <http://www.harvard-yenching.org/>

prestige of the university decides the extent of the engagement with counterpart universities, it does not seem to be easy to interact between dissimilar academic systems that have different levels of recognition. A dean in the school of business indicates that, “We also might refuse to create a dual degree even with Ivy League universities. We are also very confident about our degree and we cannot make a humiliating contract.”

Administrators indicate that over the past five years, there has been a sizable growth in the number of international programs in SNU as a whole in order to provide students with international competency. There is a short-term internship program named the “Future Star Project” that sends students to well-known international institutions, companies, or organizations to gain international experience and cultivate an international perspective. There is also a short-term student exchange program for the summer and an English program at Stanford or Yale universities, which provide opportunities to take a course at the partner universities. These programs receive greater attention from students with hopes of gaining English proficiency and enhancing their career prospects in a competitive employment marketplace. Although some financial support is provided, much of the costs are borne by students. This means that these programs are only for students who can afford them. In addition, these programs are run on a short-term basis and include a brief visit to the corporations. It is doubtful that much is gained by the students academically. An emeritus professor in the education department argues that, “It is uncertain whether these programs really enhance the students’ international ability,

and whether it is really needed to work at a workplace. We often say that big companies might want to hire those who have the ability to pay for such programs.”

These international programs require substantial funds, which bring in increasing industrial ties in SNU as a whole. Samsung Electricity provides scholarship for 10 international students per year in the Electrical and Computer Engineering department from China, Russia, and India, while Renault Motors supports a joint degree program in the business school. Administrators see this as a very good opportunity and expect to expand upon it. On the other hand, not surprisingly, most academic disciplines in the liberal arts are limited in this advantage, as these academic fields are, for the most part, not directly linked to the industrial fields. Observation has not shown that industrial partnership supports the Korean language and Korean literature departments, while the engineering and business schools have successfully expanded the internationalization strategies with external partners.

Universities are traditionally considered non-profit institutions; however, they are always engaged in profit-making business, which is manifested in the MBA program in the business school. The business school is described by a former dean involved in MBA programs as “a school standing on our own feet.” This is explained by a current dean interpreting the types and roles of the MBA program: “Funds earned from a non-degree course in MBA program enhances the reputation of our business school and makes SNU famous. Earn the money on this side [non-degree program] and utilize it on the other side [degree program].” To enhance global competitiveness, universities in Asia benchmark with international standard (Mok,

2007). SNU established an MBA program in 2006, partly because it is a crucial component in global league tables. It seems that SNU, as an Asian university, is moving toward the entrepreneurial culture, following the Western universities. Explaining the financial benefits from an MBA program, a dean in a business school puts it like this, “You cannot imagine how great the education investment gap is per student in the business school compared to other schools.” The MBA program in SNU started mostly by benchmarking the US program in order to compete with top schools abroad; therefore, it does not fit into the education demands of Korean society. Business professors have evaluated the development of the MBA program so far: “Korea does not have an MBA market like the US has, and it does not do well in the Korean market.” In addition, professors from three academic fields observe that there have been increasing efforts to seek out private donations and endowments, partly because these are also important factors in international rankings. This, however, has been challenging for SNU because, “Korea does not have a culture of donation.” They further provide a critique of the university’s reform based on the international accreditation. The business school has been awarded accreditation by the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) with an expectation to enhance international recognition. However, the business school refused the request to join as a member of another international accreditation in 2013, because the international accreditation system does not guarantee the quality of the schools and does not reflect the values of Asian universities.

As a new population of consumers emerges, SNU has begun involvement in trust management of the Global Education Center for Engineering founded by the

Ministry of Education, which is aimed at providing distance education domestically and internationally. The departments of Korean language and literature in SNU also see a new pool of students as a “gold mine” and provide non-degree certificates in online and offline programs for Korean language education in SNU Korean Language Center. The student enrollment in the non-degree Korean language program in the SNU language center has steadily increased from 1,586 in 2004 to 2,485 in 2008 and 2,629 in 2010. As a public university, officially, SNU is not allowed to be involved in profit-making businesses. Most professors are quite sure, however, that “Now that SNU is incorporated, it will be more autonomous in various respects.” The implication here is that SNU is likely to pursue profits and the accumulation of capital.

English as an academic language

English is increasingly seen as the *lingua franca* for education and the transfer of knowledge. This manifests itself as an English proficiency requirement, whether students are admitted or graduated from SNU. Undergraduate students are required to take at least two mandatory English language classes. For graduation, a minimum English proficiency test score is required in TEPS [The Test of English Proficiency], which was developed by the SNU language center. Proof of English proficiency is also required for admission to any SNU graduate program. English proficiency is not seen as just development of a foreign language skill, but is valued because of its importance as the language of academics. Professors in the engineering school assure that, “English is the language of science and scientists are encouraged to publish in English in order to communicate with scholars around the world.” The business school also emphasizes the importance of English as an academic language and the

finance department now provides all classes in English at the graduate level in order to “raise students to be scholars who are competitive with other top school students.” A chair in the finance department states that, “English proficiency is one of the important qualifications for graduate school admissions because we train our students by reading top journal articles, all of which are written in English, and encourage them to publish in those journals.” On the other hand, the Korean language and Korean literature departments provide very limited courses in English. Professors in Korean studies explain that it is hard to find pertinent English terminology to translate Korean scholarship.

SNU has language course requirements in order to enhance the international competency of students. A contradiction emerges in that SNU stresses achieving fluency in a “foreign language” so as to develop internationalization, yet only English language courses are mandatory and the number of courses available in English is higher than other language courses in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. In addition, the second language proficiency requirement (besides English) for graduate students’ comprehensive test has been removed, as professors in humanities report.

The increased presence of international students is also making English language proficiency a requirement for the faculty. It is still in debate as to whether classes should be taught in English across SNU. Professors indicate that recently hired faculty in most schools are supposed to agree in their contracts to give English-taught classes. In the business school, once professors are hired, they have to teach classes only in English for the first five years, recently reduced from the original requirement of 10 years. Most of the faculty in the business school note that, “Half of

our faculty members have taught at top US universities, such as Harvard, UCLA, or the Wharton school [University of Pennsylvania].” Since English proficiency is a recent faculty requirement, a degree from overseas seems a definite advantage. Unlike in the business and engineering schools, in the liberal arts, there is less interest in requiring that classes be taught in English.

As international students come to SNU, a new policy has been established in terms of having English-taught classes. Korean students are required to take a minimum number of credits in English-taught classes in some schools, as international students comprise less than 5% of the total student body and thus do not fill all the seats in the English-taught classes. A conflict has arisen between students and the university in that Korean students are not willing to take those courses. Therefore, there is a minimum number of required credits for English-taught classes and, in some cases, additional benefits are provided to students who take classes taught in English. For example, English-taught classes are graded on absolute evaluations. Thus, all students who show pertinent performance are able to get a good grade. In addition, students are allowed to submit their papers either in Korean or English depending on their preferences. Tensions between the university and students have risen when some mandatory language courses in general education give advantages to international students who are familiar with English compared to Korean students who have less fluency in English. Some mandatory Korean language courses are open only to international students due to their lack of Korean language proficiency, whereas both Korean and international students attend the same mandatory English courses together. In this case, international students from English-

speaking countries are at an advantage and can earn higher grades than Korean students can. According to an administrator responsible for mandatory English courses, some Korean students complain that the courses are “unfair.” This conflict also emerges when students who have not really met the necessary university qualification are admitted into competitive schools. The *2013 Parliamentary Inspection Report* indicated that international students of Korean origin (referring to those from notoriously expensive private international schools abroad) have come to medical school at SNU by using an easy admission process, and most were being admitted just based on their English language proficiency.

Faculty interview data indicate that professors in SNU are being forced to teach classes in English by the university. However, English is considered an inefficient medium for teaching by the faculty, and professors use both Korean and English depending on the needs of students. Particularly, the engineering school is supposed to provide classes in English if there is more than one international student in a class. It seems clear that professors feel uncomfortable about changing the language medium of education to English. An engineering professor comments, “can you imagine how awkward it is to say ‘hi [in English]’ in front of 50 Korean students and only one foreign student?” It is also observed from faculty interviews that many international students, especially from Asian countries, expect to have classes taught in Korean, since they want to improve their Korean language proficiency. Given that students from Asian countries comprise 75% out of the total international students, English-taught classes are really just for a few students. Academicians indicate that they used to argue about the necessity of expanding English-taught classes only for a

few recipients. A comment by an administrator represents the university's reply: "That is why we have to have more classes taught in English. The more classes we have in English, the more international students will come."

With increased competition for international students, SNU pays attention to increasing the number of English-taught classes. Today SNU advertises its institution as an "international school," which suggests to students abroad that it provides education in an international language, namely, English. However, most departments do not have a plan to open core courses in English because most faculty members are against it mainly to maintain the Korean academia. While raising doubt about English-taught classes, a professor in the international studies express a concern about international students' academic development arguing that, "How we can raise them as good scholars if we do not provide core qualitative and quantitative methodology courses in English?" Although English is considered to be the language for transmitting knowledge, it serves as a barrier to conveying knowledge in Asian universities. The faculty share the view that teaching English creates limitations in terms of communication. They further argue that teaching in English is "doing silly things," as it certainly lowers the quality of the education by "hindering what we can do and what we know." Teaching in English deters the faculty from using their full ability in class, as argued by one professor, "We often say that we put our soul into our classes. But we cannot fully convey our ability when teaching in English." Some professors note a change in society's expectation for the university that is somewhat reflected in the English-taught classes. The introduction of English as a teaching medium threatens the identity of faculty and the traditional values and functions of

universities. One engineering professor provides scathing critique to recent change in university environment:

I strongly oppose teaching in English. I argued at the whole faculty meeting that we are not an English institute. What is a university? Universities are not places to teach English. Universities are intended to transmit knowledge, and for that it is very important to convey difficult concepts to students. We say that when we instruct in English, we transmit 70% of what we used to fully teach in Korean. A student understands only 70% of what we teach in English. Then, 70 times 70 equals 50% of what I wanted to convey. Then, students understand only 50% of what I originally want to convey. If students do not understand the basic concepts, that means they are foolish. (Faculty with 27 years at SNU)

Although most schools today use English as the language of instruction, Korean studies have faced challenges in obtaining the cooperation of instructors when seeking to provide their courses in English. This is in contrast to departments like engineering and business. Thus, after one professor who used to lead an English-taught class retired and another foreign faculty member left the school, the Korean language department does not offer English-taught classes as of 2013.

Since many academicians do not agree with teaching in English, SNU provides incentives in several ways. One class taught in English counts as 1.5 classes and financial incentives are given to faculty who provide classes in English. It is uncertain, however, how much these incentives are actually encouraging faculty willing to teach classes in English. According to an associate professor who is leading all classes in English, "Providing financial incentives for professors to teach in English leaves some very unpleasant feelings among the faculty." All chairs in the three academic fields state that, "I am trying to negotiate the perspectives of the professors and university regarding classes in English and reduce the burden by giving faculty as much autonomy as possible in their classes."

Americanized internationalization

Professors in this study agree with the importance of internationalization, but are concerned with an Americanized internationalization. The faculty see internationalization as a “destiny” that SNU is now encountering and SNU does not need to be only for Korean students. However, they are suspicious when only English is mandatory for the internationalization of universities. One senior professor in the Korean literature department who opposes recent institution reform regarding internationalization argues that:

There are many disciplines with imported theories. In that case, it might be good to teach in English rather than teaching after translating it into Korean in a sloppy way. As another example, for the American or French literature departments, it would be better to teach students in its own language. This would be in contrast to Korean literature and language, where there is no reason to use English in a class. (Professor with 23 years at SNU)

There has been a sizable growth of students going abroad to English-speaking countries, and most students prefer going abroad to the US, as respondents report. Therefore, while students now have greater exposure abroad, such experience seems limited to Anglo-Saxon countries. All professors state that they encourage students to join the internationalization programs as a good opportunity to expand their perspective. However, there is a concern about the extreme preference for the US which places much weight on US culture and values. Being dissatisfied with the recent trend, an engineering professor comments:

Now we are living under the American culture, which makes us forget about the others. Thirty percent of the total language group is French. Is France a country only for the arts? They are ranked number one in nuclear energy and bio-industry. What about Italy? They also have Fiat and Lamborghini [automobiles]. We now just look at the US, so people think there is nothing in the other cultures. There is another part of the world. Nuclear energy is best in

France and Italy exports electricity. But nobody knows this. Everything is about the US. (Professor with 32 years at SNU)

There was also concern about creating a culture of “academic dependency,” as international journals are given greater weight by Korean academia. SCI journal publications in SNU have increased by 50% over the past five years, suggesting that professors and graduate students should turn to international journals or books written in English, which a Korean language professor described as “recolonization.” He further argues that, “Korean academics tried hard to get rid of the colonial vestige from China and Japan and removed all Chinese characters. Now, English is taking its place.” There is ample consensus among professors that SNU should not be afraid of globalizing academic activity; however, it is not necessary to accept English as the language of learning, as it brings about academic dependency. The professors emphasized the importance of “studying in Korean.” One Korean language professor offers a sharper judgment: “Teaching in English is losing our sovereignty over study. If we do not study in Korean, then studying in Korean is dead. It is an undesirable thing. That means our study is subordinated to the US. It will lead to a lack of independence in our scholarship” (Faculty with 28 years at SNU).

Shifts in curriculum: Practical knowledge and research-focused environment

According to the top administrators at the University-Industry Collaboration Institute, there has been rapid growth in the degree of collaboration with industry. In describing the connection with industry, business professors consider that they have a say in sending their students to big firms because they want to hire outstanding SNU students and thus professors have an important voice in them. The links are not free of charge. It is noted that industry is involved in the curriculum. In the case of the

international program joined by over 10 major firms in the business school, students are supposed to visit international subsidiaries of those firms and find solutions to the problems assigned by the firms. Engineering professors report that there is a class in essence working for industrial firms. Students involved in collaborative research with companies are required to attend a seminar led by a firm and report regularly on their progress.

Table 3

Research Projects by Sponsor (in thousands of dollars), 1992-2014

Year	1992	2000	2005	2010	2014
Public	17,025	116,171	229,993	419,464	419,464
Private	16,357	20,092	29,750	45,570	65,948

Source. SNU Statistics Annual Report

Longitudinal data on SNU's funded research (Table 3) confirms enormous growth: 24-fold for public funds and 40-fold for private funds. In addition, several interdisciplinary programs, which are mostly linked to biotech collaboration and thus strongly preferred by the industry, were established. These programs include Interdisciplinary Programs of Bioengineering, Technology Management Economic and Policy, Offshore Plant Engineering, and Urban Design, as well as the WCU Chemical Convergence for Energy and Environment major, WCU Multi-scale Mechanics Design major, and the WCU Hybrid Materials major in the engineering school.

A state-funded project called World Class University (WCU) supports inviting international scholars to universities in order to expand worldwide academic connections. As the interdisciplinary fields that are linked to industry receive much attention, WCU only supports interdisciplinary research in collaboration with

overseas researchers, and the engineering field is a major recipient. The engineering school, which normally requires an enormous payment for prestigious scholars, invites them through WCU. An engineering professor in WCU states that, “Since these types of big research projects lead the institutions’ future research development, every department has to join WCU. Once WCU was initiated, we looked for something to apply for it. That makes us put forth an irrational number.” That “irrational number” often means seeking what respondents call “star faculty” from abroad. Professors joining WCU in the engineering school share a view that “top-down research collaboration by bringing star faculty with a huge amount of money is not productive.” One professor at WCU assures that the project is a failure:

Research collaboration is based on having a mutual interest. Although I am here and you are there, maybe in a different research field, there should be something of mutual interest between researchers. If someone is much better than me and I am supposed to learn from them, it is not really collaboration. This is unilateral research. The type of research collaboration being imposed from a top-down approach, such as that by WCU, which provides a large financial incentive to a partnering researcher, cannot be productive at all.
(Faculty for over 25 years at SNU and five years as a WCU program director)

In order to apply to WCU, it is mandatory to include foreign faculty, and these academics are expected to pursue both research and work with Korean students. However, it has been reported that this approach at WCU has been a “waste of money,” since many of the faculty from overseas were not even qualified to pursue research to the standards of WCU. In addition, international faculty have barely stayed for the minimum required period, and most do not invest much time to interact with faculty and students. A chair at the international office of the engineering department notes, “One international professor who was hired on a tenure-track

suddenly returned home after just one month in the middle of the semester without providing any official notice.”

Facing criticism of WCU, some professors express ambivalent view toward the effectiveness of it. Favoring WCU initiatives, an engineering professor who has participated in every state-funded project argues that, “There is no reason not to increase the research performance when we put in the money. The outcomes might not be seen quickly, but research would be accumulated and our international prestige would slowly increase. Those who hurl insults are strange people.” He ends by stating that, “However, if we are asked if it is efficient in terms of how we invest the funds, it is unclear.” Corroborating this view, a director in the University-Industry Foundation makes the analogy:

Sometimes when there is a World Cup and we send out a team to compete with the Brazilian team, although we pay for that game, can we say that our team’s ability will be improved with just one game with the Brazilian team? Maybe they will learn not to be scared and will get used to the games. If it is expected also from the WCU project like seeing how scholars from overseas work, it is okay. But is the research performance ability improved? That is something to laugh at. (Faculty with 19 years at SNU)

There has been an ongoing debate regarding equity in terms of state-funded projects, since only a few universities meet the requirements to receive funds from the government. Small universities do not benefit from these large state-supported research funds. In contrast, SNU has always been a major beneficiary of big state-funded projects. An engineering school professor who is a president of the Korean Council for WCU universities comments on this equity issue: “Fifteen years ago, when the BK started, there were huge insults thrown about because among many

universities, only a few universities were selected. WCU is severe. The name itself is world class. So it indicates others as domestic class. They must feel bad.”

The effort to establish research-focused universities also polarizes the funding support in that science and engineering have attached greater weight, while humanities and social science are not supported. The current research budget assigns to science and technology 90% for the first phase of BK21, 84% for the second phase of BK21, and 93% for the WCU project (www.nrf.org). As the resources were allocated to more productive disciplines such as science and engineering, these will become more powerful disciplines, while the humanities and social sciences will be weakened. The engineering school has established new departments mostly linked to bioengineering fields supported by state-funded projects, and the business school expanded the internationalization programs by making industrial ties. On the other hand, only few students in Korean studies engage in the internationalization programs supported by the university.

There is general agreement that WCU implies inequity and does not provide benefits to all at the individual and institutional level. However, some consider this the best option to develop the institution. These different perspectives reflect that the direction of an institution depends on the preferred values of a society, which chooses between fast development and equitable growth:

It is an issue like whether communism is right or capitalism is right. It is the same game. Something for sure is that if we go for a performance competition, the development is fast, but for sure there might be some side effects. But, I think it is positive. This project stimulates and lets them compete with each other with money. If we hadn't, we wouldn't have developed this much. (Faculty with 27 years at SNU)

It is also noteworthy that government-initiated projects are also creating a competitive atmosphere at the student level. Students are required to perform at a higher level and the atmosphere is increasingly competitive. A department chair in the engineering school noted: “In our department, 43 is a fixed number. For BK, a 36-37 number that comprises 75-80% entered BK and among them, only 19 good guys were selected to work for WCU. Better performers are continuously being picked up. Let’s say, that out of a total 10, seven or eight are selected, and the rest are stigmatized as trash, so this causes a big commotion” (Faculty with 30 years and six years as a department chair).

The pressing need to create international ties has encouraged faculty toward greater participation in international conferences. Professors’ interview data indicate that participation of faculty and graduate students in international conference has grown, which is also strongly supported by the school.

Motivations of International Students in SNU

The traditional pattern of international students is mobility from the South to the North. English-speaking countries in the global North have received talented international students, many of whom wish to stay in their destination countries after completing their study. However, the composition of international students in SNU shows the opposite pattern in student mobility. Many international students in SNU come from the US, which is the most favored destination of international students, and they are the second largest group after Chinese students. There are also an increasing number of students from other developed English-speaking countries, such as Australia, Canada, and the UK.

Little is known about what drives international students to a non-traditional destination. This section looks at the characteristics and motivations of international students who show non-traditional mobility in Korea by categorizing them as students of Korean origin and international students from diverse countries.

As of 2014, the majority of international students at SNU come from Asian countries at 75%, Southern Asian countries in particular (China, Japan, Mongolia, and Vietnam) at 45%. Students from the Northern English-speaking countries comprise 16% of the total international students. Interview data indicate that most international students from the North are of Korean origin. Interestingly, 75% of students from Canada and the US are enrolled at a lower level of study (undergraduate and master's level). In contrast, approximately 90% of students from China and Japan are studying at a graduate level. Vietnam and Mongolia also have a high proportion of students enrolled at the graduate level, at 97% and 66%, respectively. In terms of gender, international student enrollment shows a slightly higher proportion of women students at 52%. In terms of degree level, a slightly higher percentage of women students study at the B.A. (53%) and M.A. (52%) levels. In contrast, a slightly higher percentage of men are enrolled at the Ph.D. level (52%). According to the internal data for spring 2013, most women students choose non-competitive academic fields in the liberal arts while men tend to choose competitive fields such as engineering. In particular, more women are enrolled in medical school, and their proportion increases at higher levels, with 70% at the undergraduate level and 77% at a graduate level.

Table 4

Background of International Students in SNU

	Gender	Country	Degree	Major	TOPIK	Interview Language	Source of Support
1	Female	Poland	B.A.	Psychology	Bilingual	Korean	Korea government scholarship
2	Female	US	B.A.	Social Science	Bilingual	Korean	Self-finance
3	Female	China	M.A.	Korean Language	Level 5	Korean	Korean government scholarship
4	Female	China	Ph.D.	Law	Level 5	Korean	Korean government scholarship
5	Male	Zambia	B.A.	Agriculture	Level 5	Korean	SNU full scholarship
6	Male	Japan	B.A.	Agriculture	Level 5	Korean	one year SNU scholarship
7	Male	US	B.A.	Physics	Bilingual	Korean	Self-finance
8	Male	United Arab Emirates	Ph.D.	Engineering	None	English	Korean government scholarship
9	Male	Iran	Ph.D.	Engineering	None	English	Korean government scholarship
10	Male	China	Ph.D.	Korean Language	Level 5	Korean	Korean government scholarship
11	Male	Ethiopia	Ph.D.	Law	None	English	SNU full scholarship
12	Male	Russia	B.A.	Physical Education	Bilingual	Korean	Self-finance
13	Male	Canada	B.A.	Politics	None	English	Self-finance
			Exchange student				
14	Male	France	M.A.	International Relations	None	English	Self-finance
			Exchange student				
15	Female	Germany	M.A.	Business	None	English	Self-finance
			Exchange student				

Note. Bilingual in this table refers to those who are fluent both in Korean and English.

Students of Korean origin

Interview data from administrators interacting actively with international students at OIA indicate that most international students from the US are Korean American. In order to confirm this, an internal 2013 statistical document of international students was reviewed. A researcher identified degree-pursuing students from the US and considered those of Korean origins based on students having a typical Korean first, or last name, and having a Korean name as for a middle name. Approximately 90% of international students from the US appear to be Korean

American, and it appears that many of the international students from other developed countries, such as Canada, France, and Germany, also are of Korean origin.

My student respondents of Korean origin indicate that they do not have prior experience of living in Korea and that they are more fluent in their language of residence. Students express difficulty in receiving higher education in Korea, although they are bilingual because they have never used Korean as an academic language before. A psychology freshman who wants to minor in sociology expresses difficulties in following the lectures: “Much of the sociology terminology is in Chinese characters, which I have never studied. I do not understand the terminology that the professor uses and that is used in the books I am supposed to read.” Students respond that they have never considered Korean universities and they had never heard of Seoul National University before being denied admission to their first-choice university. They indicate that subsequently, their parents recommended that they study in Korea. Students of Korean origin show strong aspiration in terms of competitive credentials. Thus, SNU is not their first choice, but is their optimal choice under the circumstances.

“Only the rich can be smart”: Moderate costs for education.

International students from developed countries frequently mention the moderate costs for higher education at SNU compared to more expensive costs in their country of origin. Most students have been admitted to universities in other countries that mostly require similar or higher expenses for higher education compared to those in Korea. Students did not see their admitted university as a worthwhile investment and then considered SNU. Comments from one undergraduate

student from Russia prove, as he states, “I was admitted to one university in the UK, but it was not a well-known university. So it was not a cost-efficient investment because the tuition for UK universities is extremely expensive” (Russian male, Korean origin, Physical Education major).

The ease of mobility seems to make higher education available to more people. However, greater access to higher education does not mean that it is possible for everybody to have equal access. Although students have greater opportunities abroad, some students in this study seek less expensive universities, even when they are qualified for more competitive universities. It seems that the expansion of higher education creates a new tension between societies and universities. While universities are supposed to promote equity, today it seems that greater consideration is given to efficiency. It is manifested in the fact that there are a few scholarships available for international students in SNU; however, tuition remission is often provided to them only for the first year. The scholarship for international students is provided to underprivileged groups in developing countries, which is mainly considered a responsibility of a public university. However, at the same time, limited funds mean that they are divided to support as many students as possible. This is also done to attract more international students, according to an administrator at OIA. Beside the tuition of universities, enrollment still entails students' private costs for completing the education, such as living expenses and study materials that also comprise a significant portion of expenses for higher education when studying abroad. In addition, as higher education is massified worldwide and the student demands for higher levels of education increases, students are also considering the cost

effectiveness of their investment. Many students stated that the much lower tuition at SNU appealed to them, as they have to apply limited resources to cover the costs of their higher education. One first-year student from the US was offered admission to several US universities with full scholarships; however, she chose SNU even though she did not receive a scholarship. She states that the overall costs would still be lower at SNU, and she has to save her limited resources for higher level of education. Comparing the cost for higher education between Korea and the US, she says that going to a private US university is incredibly expensive, and it is more beneficial for her to attend SNU than to invest in lower-ranked universities in the US. She states the following:

The reason I chose SNU was money. I got a PSAT. This is a national scholarship program in the US. I wanted to go to Northwestern University, however, my family is not wealthy, just middle class. The middle class does not receive a good amount of financial aid. I would have to pay approximately \$30,000 per semester. \$30,000 is only the tuition. Living costs, such as for the dormitory, food, and textbooks, would not be included in the \$30,000. This university is good, but graduate school is more important, and graduate school is worth the investment. So, I gave up and began searching for cheaper options. In the US, the cheaper options were schools where I had gotten full scholarships, which were all state colleges, the University of Oklahoma, University of Nebraska, and University of Minnesota. Those are all good schools, but I just did not want to go to those colleges because even Americans might not know of those universities. (US female, Korean origin, Social Science major)

Better education and more recognized degrees are often more expensive. Therefore, it is a privilege for the limited group to take the best opportunity. This is manifested in that students often give up their first choice university for financial reasons. Some student respondents indicate that they came to SNU because of the lack of financial support from their families for higher education in their home countries. It seems that the wealth of students and their parents determines the level

of education quality. Wealthier students have more options and advantages in obtaining better higher education. There are still many financial barriers for some students, despite being academically qualified. Even greater barriers are encountered by students with fewer financial resources, especially for the notoriously expensive education for professional schools such as law, medicine, or business. Student loans are considered to be a positive influence for pursuing higher education; however, students from poorer backgrounds cannot use this service because of their fear of debt. A physics student who was from a second-generation Korean immigrant family in the US came to SNU from the University of Maryland in order to go to a medical school. He could not choose better universities for economic reasons, explaining that “Our parents are poor. But I have been a good student. When I realized that I could not go to a good private university, I did not study hard, because I did not need to do. So, I just studied enough to go to public universities near my town.” He went to a public university in the US and planned to attend a medical school, but he was compelled to drop out of his previous school for financial reasons:

Several professors complimented me about my science curiosity, and I wanted to go to a medical school. I prepared for pre-med classes. Suddenly, my family moved to Baltimore because my parents’ business did not go well. Our family started to sell wigs on the road in Baltimore, but my parents do not speak English, so I had to take a leave of absence from school to help them with their business. Helping them, I knew that it seemed almost impossible to pay for me to go medical school. I already had a debt, because of my college tuition. I did not want to go back to school, but I came to Korea to study. I think only the rich can be smart. (US male, Korean Origin, Physics major)

Students from developed countries often mention finances as a strong reason not to pursue more competitive universities in their home country and instead, they came to SNU in Asia. Although students now have a greater choice of destination

countries for their higher education, not all groups of classes enjoy the advantages of individual mobility. The diversity of opportunities does not seem to overcome the social and economic inequities regarding the choice of the quality of higher education.

Lack of academic capability.

Korean parents of students who grew up in Korea before they emigrated still recognize the hierarchy of Korean universities and place a strong weight on the importance of university prestige. Most students respond that their parents advised them to go to SNU when they were not admitted to other universities and when their parents were not satisfied with the universities where they had been accepted. Those universities were not as prestigious as SNU for their parents. A student from Russia who studied at a French international school described himself as a low-performing student and he was rejected twice at SNU. He wanted to go to a university either in France or in the UK but he was not admitted because he did not meet the requirement of English language proficiency for the UK and college entrance test scores for France. In the end, he was barely admitted to a non-competitive school in SNU after his third attempt. He states that he would have chosen another university if his academic performance was good. He chose SNU following his parents' strong advice:

I did not consider Russian universities. It would be more accurate that I could not consider the Russian top university. Engineering school in Russia is famous worldwide, and there is a good Russian university internationally recognized. But, one should be a genius to be admitted. Very strong mathematics abilities are required there, but my grades were not good. My parents wanted me to go only to SNU, and they did not let me apply to any other Korean universities. (Russian male, Korean origin, Physical Education major)

All students of Korean origin who are not from developed countries have experience studying in international schools and considering universities abroad.

Studying at international schools increases the chance of studying abroad, as students are more likely to consider diverse universities, depending on their situation. When they do not qualify for prestigious universities or when they consider their current country's education to be non-competitive, they consider other countries for their higher education. Students of Korean origin consider SNU as a second option, when they are not admitted to their first-choice universities. An undergraduate student from Poland states that, "After I was rejected from a good Polish university, I wanted to go to the UK, but I wasn't admitted to any. Then, I started to search for universities in Korea and applied for SNU" (Polish female, Korean origin, Psychology major).

The observations shown in this section are supported by an interview with the president of a Korean Diaspora Student Alliance: "As I see it, most ethnically Korean students from abroad come to SNU either because they could not afford other universities or because they were not qualified for higher-ranked universities."

Becoming a real Korean: Advice from parents.

As noted above, students of Korean origin are typically motivated to come to SNU either because they have fewer financial resources or due to their lower academic performance. Once they fail to gain admission to their first-choice university, they turn to Korean universities, mostly as a result of urging from their parents. It seems easier for parents to consider Korean universities because they still have emotional ties and relatives in Korea. Studying in Korea also has some positive aspects in that it provides opportunities to live in their parents' country and to learn the Korean language and culture. Most students of Korean origin respond that their major reason for choosing to come to SNU is that they "wanted to experience Korean

culture and learn Korean” and that they “did not come just for the sake of studying.” However, only women with Korean origins mention that they ultimately want to improve their Korean language proficiency, providing as a reason that “I wanted to be perfectly bilingual, which is the real goal of my decision to come to SNU. If I can communicate with my children in Korean and talk in Korean with my children like my mom did, then I would be really happy.” In addition, only women students expressed that part of their motivation in choosing a Korean university was having relatives in Korea. As one student from Poland says, “My grandmother lives in Korea, and it would be nice for me to have a chance to stay with her for a while.”

Students also expect to find their Korean identity in Korea. An undergraduate student who had spent her life in the US states, “Everybody told me that I was Korean, but I don’t know what that means. I have never lived in Korea, although I am Korean. But I wanted to become more Korean.” Besides their desire to “become a real Korean,” their parents advised them to retain their Korean identity. As an undergraduate student from Russia who plans to continue graduate school in the US says, “My parents forced me to go to a Korean university because they were concerned that I had only ever lived in a foreign country, and they did not want me to live as a foreigner.”

Other international students from diverse countries

This section addresses the particular motivations of other international students from diverse countries for choosing SNU in Korea. Student respondents indicate that they had never thought to study abroad in Korea before their first choice of country did not work out. Therefore, students applied to SNU when their Korean

language proficiency was incipient. As I selected the interviewees very carefully from those who had participated in the intensive Korean language program (with the exception of the doctoral-level engineering students), they did not mention great difficulty in following their classes in Korean. Students, however, particularly those in the social sciences who expected to study in English, expressed that they are having a difficult time at SNU, since not all courses are offered in English. Therefore, their range of course options is narrow. In addition, the data analysis indicates that SNU does not actually require any particular language proficiency in the admission process, and in fact some students have a hard time studying in either Korean or English. Moreover, some international students might have difficulty getting used to the new higher education system in Korea, as it is different from that of their home countries. In particular, some undergraduate students indicate that they had to invest significant amounts of time to keep up in the math and science classes at SNU because Korean students are ranked at the top for math and science in the Program for International Students Assessment (PISA) conducted by OECD and they attend the university after mastering very high levels in these areas.²⁰ One undergraduate student from Zambia taking a statistical class states that, “I was very good at math in Zambia. But it is not easy to follow the math class here, because professors take for granted that all students know the formulas, even though I have never learned that. The professor often says in the class ‘oh, you already learned this in high school, so I will proceed from the next level.’” International students show a strong ambition to study further and most have a plan to study in the US for their next level of education.

²⁰ Korea is among the top-performing countries in terms of the PISA score for math and science with average scores of 546 and 538, respectively, as of 2013, which is much higher than average OECD score of 496 for math and 501 for science (<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/>).

For them, SNU is not their best choice, and they consider Korea to be a temporary stop before going on to more recognized institutions.

Financial reasons.

International students have many financial reasons for choosing Korean higher education, such as the availability of scholarships, lower tuition, lower living expenses, or other numerous less-expensive processing fees than those of other universities, which are mostly in developed countries. Among international student respondents, doctoral students are from top universities in their home countries, and their first preference is to study at a US graduate school. This is in line with the general trend and preference in academia today. However, those students were frustrated with their conditions, and SNU's lower tuition compared to that of Western countries, coupled with its high prestige in Asia, led them to come to SNU in Korea. A doctoral student from China at the law school is not financially supported by her parents, but she has received a Korean government full scholarship. She wanted to go either to a US or to a German university for her doctoral study, but came to SNU for financial reasons:

There is almost no financial support for law school students in the US because if one graduates from a law school, one earns a lot of money. Therefore, schools do not give financial aid to their students. My parents financed all of my master's tuition and living expenses, so I did not want to burden my parents again. So, it was almost impossible to study abroad without a scholarship. I got a scholarship from the Korean government. Therefore, I decided to come to SNU. (Chinese female, Law major)

Students who struggle to pay education costs are strongly motivated to enroll in SNU in Korea due to scholarships. This is observed by comments from doctoral students from Iran and the United Arab Emirates. An engineering student from Iran

states that, “If I didn’t get a scholarship, I wouldn’t have come to SNU.” And another engineering student from the United Arab Emirates also reveals that only students who could pay for better credentials benefit from study abroad: “When I applied to SNU, I also applied to universities in the UK and Australia, but the scholarship came first from SNU. I wanted to go to other universities [in other countries] over SNU because they are better known in my field. However, I couldn’t go there because I could not receive a full scholarship from any of them.”

Paying for a less expensive tuition by attending a public school intrigues some students who choose SNU over Korean private universities. An undergraduate agriculture student from Zambia states the following: “I always wanted to study outside of Zambia. I had never heard of Korea, but my uncle had a friend who was a Korean missionary. He recommended that I come to Korea and he gave me some scholarship information. I chose SNU because the tuition is less expensive than other universities in Seoul, since it is a public school” (Zambian male, Agriculture major).

Tuition is not all that matters in terms of financial costs. Even though students may have a scholarship for tuition, if they cannot afford the other costs, such as living expenses or visa processing fees, they will not be able to choose better universities. The “visa processing fee” was raised by many students as a major financial burden, specifically referring to the deposit to verify their financial ability to support their study. As some students note:

I originally got a scholarship from California State University, but I have to take care of my family, and my family does not work right now. I did not have enough money deposited for the visa processing. (United Arab Emirates male, Engineering major)

It is more difficult for Chinese students to get a US visa than a Korean visa, because it takes three or four times more money to verify funding in order to go to the US than to Korea. (Chinese female, Law major)

It is important to notice that there is another pattern that appears between men and women regarding the choice of a higher level of education overseas. Both men and women see SNU as a second option and in this sense, they choose this university for similar reasons. As globalization expands access to higher education to traditionally underprivileged groups, women students are gaining increased opportunities for a higher level of education. Women students also see contemporary times as having more opportunities for them than did their mother's generation, as one doctoral woman student stated, "Now parents also try to educate their daughters as much as they do their sons." Both men and women student respondents receive emotional and financial support from their families to move upward with their education. In particular, graduate students express strong confidence about their successful academic achievements. Prior to choosing SNU in Korea, they wanted to go to more well-known universities abroad (mostly referring to US universities) in order to further their career.

Men and women students do have differences in their choices. Women students more easily choose a less competitive education than men. Men choose SNU only when they do not see any other way to go to a better university abroad, and only after failing to gain entrance to other Western universities after at least three attempts (over two to three years). In comparison, women students choose SNU in their first round of applications and did not re-apply to their preferred universities when they were rejected, although they also prefer studying at Western universities. This

difference in choice seems to be partly the result of pressures to uphold feminine values and societal norms. As women students stated, they “have to get married before it is too late.” On the contrary, doctoral men students expressed a strong desire to study further or work in Western countries with the expectation of “better publication performance, which brings a higher salary” that is necessary mostly in order to “support their families.” While men students consider family responsibility as an obligation, women students had traditional views on gender roles and still considered housekeeping and childbearing as their primary responsibilities. As one woman doctoral student studying on a competitive Korean government scholarship who graduated from Tsinghua University (a top Chinese university) and had already passed the bar exam in China says:

My goal is not huge. I just want to be a professor because I like studying. Although the social status of professors is quite high, it is not a popular job for men in China because faculty job does not make much money. Smart men want to go to work at big firms rather than universities. The stress and workload of a faculty job is not that high. If I become a professor, I would also have some time to take care of my children and family. (Chinese female, Law major)

Second option: Lower requirements.

International students can easily access Korean higher education because of its lower admission requirements. Most international students often consider SNU when they are not admitted to their preferred universities. The easy entrance is intriguing especially for undergraduate students. Generally, SNU is a very competitive institution, and Korean undergraduate students prepare for the College Scholastic Ability Test (Korean SAT) over the course of many years in order to be admitted. Interview data with international students indicated that they prepared to

apply to SNU for only a few weeks at most, as normally they consider applying to SNU only after they failed to gain admission to their first-choice universities. As a senior undergraduate student from Japan states, “When I came here, the English or Korean test scores were optional. I did not submit Korean or English language proficiency test scores or any other test scores at all. I submitted only my SOP [Statement of Purpose], high school diplomas, and my study plan” (Japanese male, Agriculture major).

Graduate students sometimes choose Korean higher education when they do not meet the requirements of more competitive universities in other countries and thus are not admitted to their first-choice universities. An Iranian doctoral student in an engineering school could not get an admission from a Canadian university because he could not raise his English test scores within the given period and another doctoral engineering student from the United Arab Emirates could not go to a German university because he could not meet its specific requirements.

Political circumstance also affects the mobility of international students. Students from countries that still have domestic conflicts and weaker political ties with Western countries express difficulties in the visa processing requirements when going to developed countries. A doctoral student from Ethiopia states that “It is very difficult to get a visa from the US. But Korea is politically very close to Ethiopia. So I chose to come here.” Another doctoral student from Iran had his visa application rejected from Germany, the UK, and the US for a similar reason, and thus turned to Korean universities. He states following:

Iran and the US do not have a good relationship, therefore, it is difficult to get a visa. In the US, there is not even an Iranian embassy. I got an admission

from a university in the US, in 2010, then a very big election corruption issue with the president occurred in Iran. My visa processing with the US was problematic again and my visa was rejected after eight months. My advisor in Iran knows good professors in SNU and recommended this university because it is easier to get a visa to Korea.” (Iranian male, Engineering major)

“Welcoming atmosphere” for international students.

The SNU’s strategic planning discourse has continuously highlighted the importance of increasing the number of international students to promote internationalization on campus. While diversification has been a constant theme in the SNU Vision & Change 2006-2010 document, there is also mention of the university’s goal to bring in outstanding Asian students in order to promote a strategy of becoming the “knowledge hub of Asia” (SNU, 2011).

SNU employs numerous methods to make the campus attractive to international students. As a result, they have expanded the student quota for international students. The application process for international students has also expanded to both fall and spring semesters, while previously it was only available in spring, in order to coincide with the academic calendar of universities in other countries (with respondents mostly referring to the US). SNU has now established two “international offices” in Beijing in China in 2008 and Los Angeles in the US in 2009. The important objective of these offices is to organize recruitment fairs and facilitate an easier application process. A wide variety of scholarship programs have been established to target specific groups. Notable ones are those favoring students from Asian countries. One major SNU scholarship, which began in 2005, is the Graduate Scholarship for Excellent Foreign Students (GSFS), which benefits Asian graduate students in developing countries. In 2008, the Silk Road Scholarship was

established to provide financial support to first-year graduate students from developing Asian countries. Interview data with senior administrators at OIA indicate that recipients of SNU's major scholarship programs are students in developing Asian countries. The scholarship programs, however, do not guarantee financial support for the full length of their studies. Thus, in the end, students have to find other financial resources to cover the remaining costs. Presumably, self-financing is always importantly considered. Thus, students who can afford these expenses can readily choose to study abroad.

Some Chinese students observe that the number of Chinese students has grown enormously at Korean universities, and they point out that the Chinese economy is prospering and making it affordable to pursue an education overseas. A Chinese doctoral student in law school makes a critical point:

There are many Chinese students who are wealthy, and every university and every country welcomes Chinese students who can afford an expensive tuition. They provide some benefits to Chinese students in recruitment. Korea also welcomes Chinese international students because they think that Chinese contribute to the Korean government and Korean economy. (Chinese female, Law major)

This view is corroborated by a Chinese professor who is a doctoral student in the Korean language department. He explains the friendly attitude blooming toward Chinese students:

The seminars or meetings for Chinese students in SNU are growing. Last year, the SNU president showed that interest in and care of Chinese students is growing, so SNU often invites Chinese celebrities when they visit Korea. Recently, the SNU president considers the Chinese market to be very important. President Yeon-Cheon, Oh started to consider Chinese students in a very positive manner since about 2011. In order to celebrate the 20th anniversary of diplomatic ties between China and Korea, the Chinese ambassador was invited to hold a round-table talk. I was very excited about it. (Chinese male, Korean Language major)

A Japanese undergraduate student who entered SNU in 2009 assumes that the reason for his acceptance to the school without much eligibility is the “welcoming atmosphere for international students.” This favoritism toward international students is sometimes reflected in easy admissions. A doctoral student working as a president of a Chinese Student Alliance in SNU shows concern about the lower entrance admission standards: “Many Korean universities, especially private universities receive many Chinese students whether students’ grades are good or not because money is important to them. I don’t like this trend. Prestigious universities should accept students based on pertinent admission criteria.”

Many student respondents are satisfied with their education at SNU and the prestige of the institution, at least in Korea. However, they do not fully trust the competitiveness of Korean credentials. They are unsure if their SNU degree will be competitive in the job market. A Japanese undergraduate student in his last semester expresses worries about his Korean degree, as he states, “A Korean degree makes me quite nervous. I think a Korean degree will not help me gain a position at a firm because no company in Japan would require Korean language proficiency.” How international students think about a Korean degree is much reflected in their future plans. Most undergraduate and graduate students plan to study in the US for their next level of education, as they consider that it is important to pursue education in an academically developed country for their career. In particular, graduate students consider training in the US higher education system as the most valuable in terms of being competitive in academia. The US academia has been seen as more advanced than Asian academia by students, which is reflected by a Chinese professor’s

comment that “Many Asian students want to study in the US because there is worship of Western degrees.”

“Staying abroad” for students from Western countries.

Much of the literature has identified the “Korean Wave (*Han-Ryu*) (Korean pop-culture)” as a strong motivation for students to study abroad in Korea. However, no degree-pursuing students in my study mentioned this as their motivations to study in Korea. Only students from Western countries who spent a short-term abroad indicate that the “Korean Wave” intrigues them to be interested in experiencing Asian culture. As the technology develops, people have greater exposure to different cultures through the media. Students noted that they learned about Korea mostly through the internet. By watching Korean dramas or Korean music videos, students developed positive images of Korea as a modernized country, while their previous ideas were limited to “North Korea” or “somewhere in Asia.” This is reflected in statements by students from Western countries: prior to accessing Korean pop-culture through media, one student from Canada studying politics did not recognize the difference between North Korea and South Korea; a French master’s student studying international relations did not know that Korea, China, and Japan were separate countries; a business graduate student from Germany thought Korean people still wore traditional clothes, rode horses, and lived in traditional houses with pointed roofs. Students from developed countries do not consider Korean higher education to be better than that of their countries. In addition, none of the students knew about SNU before choosing the Korea as their short-term study abroad country. Although short-term study abroad student respondents came to study in SNU for one semester

as exchange students, they “are not interested at all about some specific academic fields related to Korea.” Students from the North do not expect to enhance their knowledge of their academic fields in SNU; rather, they search for a new experience in an Asian culture. Korea is a good place for them to stay in that “It seems safer than China” and “It is cheaper than Japan.” Although people have greater opportunities to access wider information online, it remains unclear if students get the necessary information when choosing Korean universities. Students often stated that, “I watched Korean dramas on YouTube and I always wanted to go to Asia and Korea seems to be good. This is why I came to SNU” or “I like Korean pop-music and I wanted to see Korean pop-stars.” In my opinion, having greater exposure to Korean culture assists in the recognition of Korea as a modernized country, perhaps enough to stay safely for a while rather than directly influencing student to become interested in Korean higher education. It is interesting to learn that students consider Korea to be a developed country by enjoying Korean-pop culture, not by accessing the news that Korea joined the OECD in 1996.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored and discussed the internationalization dynamics of a research university at SNU. The internationalization of SNU is mainly part of an effort to establish and strengthen a research-focused university that is globally recognized. Observation has shown a strong effort to nourish a competitive academic atmosphere, while the institution is slowly moving toward an entrepreneurial culture.

What we can see from the SNU examination, is that (1) there is a growing interest in having students and faculty from abroad to enhance the visibility of the institution; (2) there is a major effort to have “star” faculty from abroad in the pursuit of research development to enhance international rankings; (3) there is enormous development in research devaluing teaching, while there has been an increasing number of professors in non-tenure, part-time, and clinical positions being reported; (4) As research performance is increasingly valued, academic fields directly linked to industry benefit more than liberal arts while the expansion of an international student market has led to the growth of links between industry and academic fields; (5) English as a *lingua franca* is severely encroaching upon the academic fields; and (6) the composition of the international student reflects nontraditional student mobility between Asian countries, which is reverse mobility from the North to the South. In all, the internationalization of SNU took place quite late compared to that of the top private universities in Korea. In particular, although fiscal ability is one of the major catalysts pushing universities into moving toward the internationalization, financial motivation was actually weaker at SNU because it was a national university with strong support from the government. In addition, implementing an international dimension across diverse education sectors was not a priority for educational purposes, and it was viewed as an optional matter.

SNU has now developed many strategies to benefit from a globalized higher education environment and to attract nonresident students. Implementing the internationalization contributes to new curricular and research agendas. As market ideas such as efficiency, competitiveness, and profitability come to dominate the

university, these notions have transformed an academic environment that previously protected long-sustained disciplines and traditional concepts of higher education.

As the international rankings receive top priority, academic disciplines such as business and engineering, have become linked to revenue growth; thus, such disciplines that enhance institutional competitiveness are given greater support by SNU, which has led to a hierarchy with the various academic fields. Competition for excellence compromises other traditional values such as collegiality, and it has created undesired equity issues. Academics now compete for funds; however, it has become more difficult to obtain funding for those doing basic research because they are less likely to be supported by industry. Competition fueled by globalization is pushing the institution to reform itself by emulating Anglo-Saxon universities and, along the standards set by global rankings, all of which is leading toward an atmosphere of profit-making and professionally oriented programs

Observations have also shown the different dynamics at work in the three different academic fields examined. The business and engineering schools have been quite successful in the recruitment of international students, partly because their academic fields are easily translated into English. On the other hand, Korean language and Korean literature departments have a hard time attracting international students, mostly because of a difficulty of transmitting the knowledge of Korean studies into English. As emphasis is on rapid research output, academic fields linked to industries are at an advantage in developing their academic fields. Business and engineering schools are the major beneficiaries of external funds, while the Korean language and Korean literature departments are disadvantageous to

internationalization. Thus, students in business and engineering fields benefit more from the internationalization programs than those in the Korean language and Korean literature fields.

Since internationalization has become one of the strategic pillars of SNU, many tensions have arisen in the process that remain unresolved. There is a concern about the identity of the national university among faculty members. As education now needs to be conveyed in English, the ideas and practices of Anglo-Saxon orthodoxy and power are becoming dominant in the academic environment. In particular, observations have shown a strong critique of Americanized internationalization where English has intruded as the language of education and students who skewed favoritism to US academic fields. In addition, the strong emphasis on research over teaching is also an ongoing conflict.

In summary, by answering the research questions, SNU sees internationalization as necessary for promoting knowledge exchanges and interactions of faculty/students in the era of globalization. In addition, internationalization is perceived to strengthen the competitiveness of the institution, which is required to compete with other prestigious universities worldwide. In terms of international student mobility, the observations highlight the unique motivations of students to choose SNU in Asia in that most students are motivated by a moderate higher education cost and easy accessibility as well as by cultural roots acquired through their parents.

Chapter 5: Analysis on Internationalization Dynamics of RU

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the internationalization dynamics of one teaching university referred to herein as, “Reforming University (RU).” Since the implementation of deregulation policies, RU has taken on this new changing environment as a challenge and is undergoing institutional reforms through numerous strategies. The diverse actions for internationalization are part of a response to challenges in order to adapt to a newly established competitive higher education environment. The data analysis has observed a major shift in academic fields, program offerings, university/industry ties, and faculty roles. This chapter analyzes academic strategies for internationalization and reveals what changes are occurring, and in particular, how changes are affecting the aspect of teaching. Along with examining internationalization dynamics, the shift in faculty roles is explored, followed by the changes in academic fields. With a meager infrastructure and little practical knowledge about internationalization, RU has put its energy toward student recruitment from China, which is a market-driven strategy. This chapter further addresses the tension that has emerged between academicians and administrators in terms of moving toward entrepreneurial culture in the institution. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the internationalization carried out by RU, while the second part investigates the characteristics of Chinese students favoring this business-like recruitment and their particular motivations to choose a small university in Korea. At the end of this chapter in the conclusion, based on the

results of the analysis on internationalization dynamics in RU, I present how RU perceives the internationalization by answering the research questions.

Institutional Responses

RU has evolved its institution to survive in a competitive higher education. However, due to its limited ability to implement internationalization initiatives, RU has found itself in unexpected situations, which require the engagement in non-educational or commercialized higher education. This section examines the ways in which RU is responding to globalization challenges by applying specific strategies while struggling with the difficulties of internationalization as a small university. Furthermore, this section presents the external market-driven forces that have motivated the institution to pursue for-profit activities as well as the current dynamics of international student recruitment at RU.

International student recruitment and expected outcomes: Preparation for an “uncertain future”

Recruitment of international students based on a financial rationale has been a sensitive issue in Korean higher education, as critics have pointed out that many universities accept unqualified students, especially from China. When interacting with many administrators involved in international student recruitment at various types of universities in diverse regions during my fieldwork, I generally observed that they are reluctant to mention an economic rationale for international student recruitment, since it implies that the universities are now seeking out students as funding sources. Although universities have become more autonomous after deregulation policies, they are still under control of the MOE, particularly regarding

the size of the enrollment. Therefore, most Korean universities receive international students outside of the established quotas. In this case, the tuition and expenditures for additional students over the original quotas comes with little additional investment from the institution.²¹ Much of the research on internationalization has been conducted primarily by academicians at their own institutions or when supported by governmental research institutes, and both point out the economic rationale. The studies, however, do not shed light on the external factors and dynamics that are forcing universities to pursue an economic rationale for internationalization. As with many higher education institutions worldwide, international student recruitment provides RU with financial benefits. However, finance is not the only driver of international student recruitment. The expansion of Korean higher education also accounts for international student recruitment in that universities today compete for students of a declining college-age population. Study respondents share a view on the state of affairs of higher education, in which universities are increasingly facing the demographic changes caused by a reduction of the college-age population and the funding deficit resulting from deregulation by the MOE. As a private university, the funding structure of RU depends mostly on student tuition, at over 70%. Although RU has been a stable institution with a secure funding structure and it has ranked high in student-selectivity indices, it has been wandering through Chinese universities to recruit students over the last ten years because of what respondents refer to as an “uncertain future” in the shifting higher education environment.

²¹ It should be noted that science and engineering related majors, which require higher payments for labs or equipment, might need more initial investments in order to receive additional students from abroad. Therefore, financial benefits for international students need to be more carefully investigated, instead of simply concluding that more international students directly bring in additional funding resources.

To become more competitive due to demographic changes in Korean higher education.

The recent decline in the size of the college-going age population resulting from demographic changes is a major issue in the expansion of Korean higher education. The number of high school graduates has started to decline, and the enrollment rate in higher education is already very high. The college-age population is expected to decline significantly from 689,345 in 2012 to 419,716 in 2025, which is a decline of 40%. This will certainly create financial pressure on some universities, as many private Korean universities rely heavily on tuition revenue. Universities that are currently unable to meet student quotas are limited in their ability to receive government funding support and apply for government projects. In particular, it is difficult for private universities to maintain funding, since most private universities rely almost exclusively on student tuition, with more than 80% lacking the substantial support from private donations and accumulated endowment. Universities need to compensate for the decreasing number of domestic students population. Thus, the competition for students and funds has been severe among higher education institutions. MOE has repeatedly reported that it is necessary to expand the number of international students in higher education in preparation for the decline in the college-going age population in Korea.

Demographic change is considered to be responsible for creating the forces pushing international student recruitment in many universities. International students play a role not only in bringing a new revenue source for the budget, but also in filling the student quota of institutions. International students are received in a

supernumerary process in Korean universities. However, some universities also count them along with the total number reported to the MOE in order to avoid restructuring of the university, according to a senior researcher in the MOE who is in charge of International Education Quality Assurance System (IEQAS).

Unlike many regional universities that are actively recruiting Chinese students due to demographic reasons, RU is currently not suffering from a shortage of domestic students. Since the majority of RU students come from the Seoul metropolitan area which has a large college-age population, the national reduction in this population has not directly affected RU. In addition, the admission ratio for RU is at 1 to 11 for first-year applicants and 1 to 7 for transfer applicants. Senior administrators with lengthy experience share a view that RU does not expect any severe problems associated with the demographic change. However, they also present a similar view that the recruitment of Chinese students is a part of the preparation for an “uncertain future,” since “nobody knows what will really happen when the college-age population will decline dramatically in ten years.” Administrators indicate that “RU is doing everything that other universities are doing” in order to survive in a competitive environment.

Facing a limited pool of applicants, universities compete with each other to attract students and develop good images of institutions’ competitiveness by engaging in diverse strategies. This effort involves labeling a university as “international,” so as to make it appear more developed. Internationalization is seen as an imperative for the development of higher education institutions. There is ample consensus that doing internationalization is needed in order to proceed to the higher level for an institution.

In addition, it is somewhat forced by the government, which has introduced internationalization as one of the performance metrics. The MOE indicates that internationalization is a requirement for enhancing the quality of education and is needed to develop Korean higher education. Hence, diverse MOE accountabilities evaluate a degree of internationalization whose results affect the subsequent allocation of state funding.

The demographic change does, however, affect RU in other significant ways, and thus has unleashed their search for international student markets. Various state funding projects, such as BK 21 and WCU for research-focused universities, have expanded graduate student enrollment in a few selected universities, which generates an unexpected consequence. The increased student quota for graduate schools at top-tier universities has in turn led to a scarcity of graduate students for small universities. This trend is highlighted by the department chair of engineering at SNU:

In the name of developing a research-focused university, we have cut the quota of undergraduate while increasing that of graduate students. Now, even if all undergraduate alumni enter our graduate school, the student quota at graduate school is not filled with them. Thus, we need to receive graduate students from other universities, and other universities need to bring students in from somewhere. I have observed that in many private universities, this gap is being filled by having international students in order to conduct their projects at graduate school.

Finally, related comments by an engineering professor, but focusing on regional universities, note that, “Many graduate schools outside of Seoul are having a difficult time attracting students because students are now moving up to better graduate schools in Seoul, like dominos falling” (Faculty with 15 years in engineering and five years at RU). Many regional universities are being challenged by the lack of Korean graduate students, since students are going to better graduate schools after

completing their undergraduate schooling. This trend is particularly notable in the science and engineering departments, which have been expanded the most through state research projects. Therefore, science and engineering graduate schools in small universities in regional areas are filling their departments with international students, particularly Chinese students, according to one RU engineering professor who also has plans to recruit graduate-level foreign students through partnerships with Chinese universities. Along the same lines, RU is also encountering a dearth of graduate students, and some of the graduate departments will soon shut down due to low enrollment. To counter this, RU has made an effort to retain students at the graduate level, particularly from China. One academic program in an administration department at the graduate level, which comprises a high proportion of Chinese students, has recently changed the title of their program in order to make it more compatible with degrees on mainland China. Faculty in the Chinese department report that the majority of Chinese students enroll in business and administration departments, because these academic fields have high comparability with credentials issued by the Korean and Chinese higher education systems.

Diversity of university finances.

RU was once selected as a “university with state funding limitations” by MOE, mainly due to its high dependency on a single funding source of student tuition. Student tuition at RU originally comprised approximately 75% of the total operating revenue, while today, it is at 70%. Tuition has reduced dramatically and scholarships

for Korean students have increased four times over the past two years.²² An administrator with the most experience in the finance division assures that, “It was hard to see that we were in trouble financially when we were assigned as a university with state funding limitations because we did not have many projects funded by the government. We run our institution almost on our own.” RU has not been singled out by the MOE due to “a shortage of funding, debt issues, or financial corruption,” according to an administrator who has prepared reports for the University Accreditation System for over 10 years. He verifies that “the MOE has kept pointing out to the need to diversify funding sources.”

As higher education institutions are given more autonomy, concomitantly they are required to increase fiscal capability. In this case, institutions are increasingly engaged in for-profit activities. RU has introduced numerous strategies to expand funding sources. An Industry-University Collaboration Institute has been developed by hiring more staff members and several professors are hired particularly for this research collaboration. Moreover, fundraising from alumni has been established by encouraging donations and endowment. Profit-making business, which traditionally was not dominant at this university, is pursued in diverse ways. For example, several restaurants on the campus are now run by RU, with all the profits going toward university funding. As is already well known, international student recruitment is also used to diversify the funding structure at RU.

Administrators with lengthy experience have a consensus view that RU has not actually seen severe funding deficit in spite of the deregulation policy because

²² Specific documentary data regarding the funding structure have not been publicly opened to external actors. An administrator in the finance division provided an overview of the funding structure by reviewing the data. However, these data were now allowed to be included in this study.

“financial support for private universities already used to be very little” and “RU has been a financially stable university.” In addition, they also indicate that the portion of government subsidies recently has increased out of the total funding, since “RU has followed along very well with the government guidance,” and has placed RU in a good position in terms of the performance-based funding system. However, most administrators in the finance sectors indicate that diversification of the funding structure is a major headache facing RU today. In a bid for fiscal austerity, the wages of all faculty and staff members were frozen over the last three years.

Several governmental trends were identified as contributing to the current situation. The diversification of the university finance structure has been forced upon universities mainly by government-led accountability that is now necessary for state funds. Government funds previously distributed were mostly based on the number of students, but are now allocated based on the results of evaluations. Along with the deregulation policy, the government has started to evaluate universities in order to give different levels of subsidies based on performance. In addition, the new policy of a “Half-Price Tuition” is a strong drive pushing RU to impose fiscal austerity in every sector of the institution.²³ Today, the MOE encourages every university to cut tuition rates. Thus, universities need to secure other sources to compensate for the reduction in tuition.

²³ According to the data released by the MOE (2010), the average tuition for a private school amounts to 7.7 million Korean won (US\$7,038), while that of public school is 4.4 million Korean won (US\$4,021), which reflects an increase of 28% from 2006 to 2010. As the funding structure of universities is increasingly relying on tuition, the government initiated a policy called, “Half-Price Tuition.” Today, the MOE encourages universities to continuously reduce student tuition, and simultaneously increase student scholarships. Universities that are successfully reducing student tuition and increasing diversification in their funding structure gain increased benefits from government support.

The University Accreditation System is a major evaluation system managed by the government. This is based on every Korean state measurement and used for all state-supported projects. Newly introduced performance-based funding determines the distribution of subsidies mostly based on the results of this accreditation system, which is a relative evaluation, and not based on absolute performance. Thus, this has resulted in severe competition among universities for a better position and more funding. Finally, RU has set up a specific division and managed diverse accountabilities. RU is well aware of what other universities are doing to enhance their own performance compared to other universities. The external measurement standards often result in a lack of attention toward improving education quality. As an example, RU “attempts to increase all of the metrics with a limited amount of money, which surely results in some disadvantage to students.” This performance-based funding has pushed RU to alter the emphasis from quality to quantity of education. Thus, there has been apathy about providing the necessary facilities and equipment. For example, RU has cut the number of books and periodical subscriptions that they purchase for their students.

Administrators feel that expanding autonomy in fact means a strong competition for state funds. One administrator who favors the recent trend in higher education believes that this challenge positively influences the direction of the university, since the competition will lead to further development of the institution. In contrast, others assert that, “MOE is pressing all universities with money, and every university is pawing the air to get out of from under the water of regulation in the name of expanding autonomy.” A director at the office of planning and management

assures that, “If we enforce uniform standards on all universities regardless of each institution’s mission, universities cannot achieve the long-term goals of the institution.”

Small universities have fewer opportunities for large funding projects. They have to be increasingly responsible for generating a larger portion of their own revenue. In that aspect, universities are supposed to seek out market-based strategies. Receiving more students is often the most readily available option to increase revenue. In Korean higher education; however, there are very strict limits imposed through student quota that apply to all universities.²⁴ Even after deregulation in the 5.31 reform of 1995, private universities in the Seoul metropolitan area have not been allowed to increase the number of domestic students. For RU, which is in the Seoul metropolitan area, the readiest approach is to receive international students as a supernumerary process. More students from abroad are needed if universities want to achieve funding flexibility and competitiveness.

The requirement of evolution for a new funding structure has unleashed an interest in the international student market and led to the perception of Chinese students as a valuable funding source. Thus, RU provides financial incentives to appeal to Chinese students, as students from abroad do not willingly come to RU due to “the lower reputation of a Korean diploma, and less attraction to RU because it is a small university.” Thus, RU set about improving the availability of scholarships for international students and provided a “half-scholarship” policy for all international

²⁴ In Korea, the Seoul metropolitan area has historically been a place of privilege and opportunity. The Seoul Metropolitan Area Readjustment Planning Act was enacted in order to reduce overcrowding facilities in the area, such as schools, factories, public office buildings, commercial buildings, etc. Subsequently, new universities were not allowed to establish in this area and universities in the Seoul metropolitan area were not allowed to increase their student quota.

students for the first several years to promote international student recruitment. Therefore, all students used to be given a half-scholarship until they graduate once they are admitted to RU. For Chinese students who are desperate to achieve a higher education degree in Korea at any cost, the scholarship waiver now varies from 10% to 50%, and currently scholarships are provided to students every semester based on their previous semester's academic performance. This scholarship is highlighted when RU's study abroad fairs take place in Chinese universities. RU's scholarship for international students has been justified on multiple counts, some of which are in contradiction with each other. The higher tuition in the Korean university acts as a disincentive for students in underdeveloped countries to choose RU. Since a majority of international students at RU are from China, it is necessary to bring down tuition to make it similar to that in China. Thus, by providing a half-scholarship, RU reduces the tuition by half for Chinese students and makes it comparable to the university tuition in China. Some scholarships are recently given in the name of a "scholarship for students with the best performance." However, international undergraduate students have an average grade point of 2.0 out of 4.0; thus, this scholarship does not seem to depend much on a student's academic performance.

International students are admitted through supernumerary enrollment; therefore, the real logic of the scholarship policy for international students is to offer tuition at a discount rate. As a result, additional profit is produced for the institution. Receiving international students generates some additional expenditure in terms of more classrooms, instructors, and other facilities such as computer labs. However, it seems clear that international students, for the most part, bring considerable revenue

to the institution. In the view of an associate director at the Office of International Affairs (OIA), “We are saying that we are providing a half-scholarship to Chinese students, but actually we are receiving half-tuition from them. They are supernumerary enrolled students, so that tuition from them is all net profit. It is like we are earning unexpected money, since if we do not receive them, this money wouldn’t come up.” Explaining the motivations for intense Chinese student recruitment in RU, a Chinese graduate assistant at OIA with 5 years shares his observations of a recent significant change on campus: “Chinese student recruitment at RU today is becoming very aggressive every year, and the scholarship programs for Korean students have simultaneously been enormously expanded. You can see the fliers about the scholarship programs for Korean students everywhere on campus.” Corroborating this view, a dean at the finance division who supports receiving more Chinese students asserts, “I cannot say that the tuition from Chinese students is all being used for Korean students’ scholarships. Receiving international students also requires investments in hiring more professors or acquiring additional facilities. But what I can say is that since the half-tuition policy was initiated, our primary aim has been to expand scholarships for Korean students.” He finds that, “Recruiting international students is done to secure additional funding.” Despite being a non-profit institution, it does not seem that RU is attempting to directly return capital to student investors, but rather the institution shows interest in accumulating additional capital for various other purposes.

As with other for-profit institutions in other countries, universities engage in market-led strategies. This is manifested in the recruitment of international students.

For the past 10 years, RU has formed partnerships with universities in cities such as Qing-dao, Wei-hai, and Yan-tai in San-dong province in the east China region, and most students at RU are from these regions. The targeting regions today have moved to Xi'an (a city in Shan-xi province) in the northwest China region, since RU sees previous regions as already being saturated with partnerships with Korean universities. According to a professor specializing in Chinese economics who is involved in Chinese student recruitment, "A map of students in China coming to Korea matches the economic growth of China, which is today moving from east to west on the China mainland." Finally, RU has a plan of having recruitment fairs in universities on the west side of China, where there are wealthier consumers who can afford study abroad for their children. RU has expanded partnerships with universities and the scope of Chinese students. As of 2014, RU made a partnership with one university in the west region of China with an agreement to receive 300 Chinese students per year.²⁵

The increased presence of international students is resulting in the expansion of Korean language programs at universities, since this is a lucrative program. Korean language programs at the RU language institute have expanded by hiring full-time and part-time instructors. Universities compete for this new market, because as non-profit institutions, they need to strengthen their funding structure in a rapidly changing market-led economy. Since Korean language programs are a profit-making business, universities seem extremely interested in maintaining this advantage. One former director of international affairs who used to attend seminars for the National

²⁵ Institutions that rely to a large extent on only one particular country might have trouble sustaining their international students if some situation changes in that country.

Institute for International Education (NIIED) notes that no universities want to lose out on the financial benefits derived from international students. He says that,

For some time, NIIED bluffed universities into not accepting low-performing students from China and let them go to better universities. Some time later at the meeting, universities at a similar level to ours requested universities in Seoul to give up language programs, and if they did so, we would reduce the number of international students. All the universities [in Seoul], however, argued that they would never do this.

Dynamics of Chinese international student recruitment.

Study respondents indicated that in many cases, Korean universities are challenged to recruit international students from a diverse set of countries. This practice is manifested in the composition of international students in Korean higher education; among international students studying in universities, over 70% come from China, and 80% of them enroll in universities outside of Seoul. RU comprises about 5% of international students (out of a total 4,000) all of whom come from China. For the last 10 years, Chinese students attending Korean universities have grown in number, and the competition for Chinese students among Korean universities is now increasingly intense. With the growing competition among universities for international students, universities fortify their infrastructure as a way of receiving a stable number of students from abroad. RU recently built three dormitory buildings, one of which is for Chinese students, and several Chinese-speaking graduate students have been hired as interpreters. These types of investments are expected to increase the number of Chinese students.

As a globally unknown university, RU cannot recruit students from diverse countries. In addition, a less-developed infrastructure (mostly referred to as English-taught classes by respondents) is also a major challenge that has not facilitated any

expansion in the diversity of students' home countries. On the other hand, RU has one specific department related with China where there are several professors who are familiar with the Chinese language and culture. Thus, RU targets China for their recruitment of international students. Thus, this section examines the major strategies that RU has for the mostly Chinese international students and identifies the quality assurance issue that has arisen in Korean higher education.

The role of brokers.

Lacking student recruitment experience from overseas is a significant limitation to implementing change in student groups. In this case, small universities without much potential infrastructure may pursue new strategies by seeking out external cooperation. For RU, recruitment of student from abroad started by receiving 50 Chinese students for the first time through one private educational agency (referred to as brokers by study respondents) in China. The offers are easily accepted by unsuspecting universities with little knowledge of international student recruitment. A professor who participated in the first study abroad fair in China reflects that, "We visited several universities to recruit students, but this approach did not work out. At one university, some Chinese people approached us and said that they could send students to us. At that time, we couldn't even imagine that they would send us those who were not actually students."

Universities in Korea with little visibility overseas typically employ such external services. These agents are run by salespeople who are not educators, thus they require financial compensation, either from universities or students. Many agencies require a commission from universities for sending students, and they may

also receive some commission from students.²⁶ Presumably, the commission received from one student is very high, as brokers still often contact RU saying that, “They can send Chinese students to them free of charge.”

Working with a for-profit institution based on a financial rationale runs into unintended consequences. Universities cannot be involved in the selection of students and private educational agencies work with individuals who can afford expenses regardless of whether or not they are qualified to pursue higher education. A professor who worked at Beijing University for many years, and is normally nuanced in his judgement comments that some Chinese students do not understand basic Chinese terminology that ordinary high school graduates should know. Application requirement includes a high school graduation, but it might be that some students do not have it. Administrators suspect that the brokers are involved in forging documents. It is still not an easy task for institutions to check the accuracy of transcripts in other countries. Therefore, the “age of students” is often considered when providing admission. Students who are far past typical college-going age are not easily admitted since they are considered individuals who might have other intentions besides study. Those “students with another intention” are often referred to as individuals having a potential of being illegal workers. Most Chinese students coming through a private educational agency actually are observed as having motives to find higher-paying work in Korea than that of China, rather than having any interest in studying in Korea. These Chinese enroll in universities where they can easily get accepted with the help

²⁶ According to a Chinese graduate student at OIA who has interacted with students who came through a Chinese private education agency, students pay for commissions of approximately one million Korean won (US\$908) to three million (US\$2,724) Korean won depending on services students received.

of brokers, and some regional firms are willing to hire labor that is less expensive, even if it is illegal. A former director general with six years at OIA who interacted with Chinese students coming through a broker reflects that,

Except for a few, most of the students [out of 50] who came to our university through brokers disappeared in few weeks, and I was told they were working at some regional factories. It was strange that they already knew some people in our town and somebody was helping them, although they did not speak Korean at all. I think they had already contacted factories before they came to Korea. I believe this did not happen just suddenly. They intended to come to work in Korea, not to study.

Study respondents from the MOE indicate that Chinese students becoming illegal workers “often happens in Seoul and it is more prevalent in regional areas and is a problematic issue in Korean higher education.” Brokers seem to look for contacts with small universities that appear to be having challenges recruiting overseas students. This is a business for them, and their scope may have now expanded into Korean higher education. The administrator in charge of international student admission is often contacted by brokers, although RU no longer wants to work with them, as he states that, “I don’t know where they got my cell phone number, but brokers continuously call my personal phone and even visit our office and say that they can send Chinese students to our university.” Since higher education is seen as an export commodity, many for-profit sectors show a strong interest in international higher education. A Chinese graduate student who has been deeply involved in Chinese student recruitment assures that, “Even travel agencies are involved in Korean study abroad. You can easily contact them through a website by just typing Chinese international students and study abroad in Korea.” It seems that for-profit

institutions and external providers tend to provide unqualified students to Korean universities.

A particular political change has increased the number of Chinese trying to come to Korea by using a student visa. Professors in the Chinese department report that changing standards for immigration have led to an increase in illegal immigrants from Southeast Asian countries, particularly China. It has become more difficult to obtain a work visa; therefore, many Chinese are abusing the student visa to come to Korea by enrolling in universities where they can be admitted easily.

Since RU does not want to pursue a goal of being a commercial educational institution and wants to retain a reputation as an educational institution, RU decided to no longer work with private educational recruitment agencies. However, it is still difficult to escape being involved in this commercialized international higher education. Private agencies also contact students in person, and some Chinese students apply to RU with the help of these agencies. There have been some instances where Chinese students came through a personal application left at the school just after they arrived. Those students are reported to the Ministry of Justice and are considered as staying in Korea as illegal workers. The number of such cases affects subsequent student recruitment of institutions, and RU now screens Chinese students more carefully. A Chinese graduate student was hired as a staff member at OIA, and his major tasks were to do interviews and background checks of Chinese applicants. This careful selection of Chinese students depends primarily on a few staff members who are familiar with Chinese language and society. An interview for admission is now a major part of the application process; however, the student selection process

does not seem to be systemized yet. In October 2013, seven students contacted the OIA, and they were all rejected after several e-mail discussions. According to a Chinese graduate assistant who contacted the applicants, “I just felt suspicious of their intention to study abroad and rejected them.” In the end, very few students (approximately one to three per year) are admitted to RU through personal application, and RU now receives students only from partnership universities or when a student has a “trusted Korean sponsor.”

Study abroad fairs.

The internet permits easy access to information concerning higher education institutions across various regions in the world. However, pertinent information can only be obtained by individuals who have the necessary language proficiency, as much of the information is provided in English or national languages. Since RU targets Chinese students who are not fluent in either Korean or English, information about the institution is provided in Chinese through a website. In addition, several brochures are being made in Chinese.

Due to the low visibility of RU in international higher education, a study-abroad fair is a major strategy for international student recruitment. A dean with the longest experience at OIA who is fluent in Chinese often visits partnering universities in China to maintain a good relationship with them. He also searches for other universities in China to make new partnerships. In addition, a Chinese graduate student at OIA seeks opportunities for partnerships with second-tier international high schools in China that produce highly mobile students. Study-abroad fairs take place regularly in several Chinese universities with several professors in the Chinese

department. Currently, they are discussing how to establish a more professional “task force team” that would actively recruit Chinese students.

Seeking out other channels to recruit students from diverse countries, RU is interested in attending the international conferences. Due to financial constraints, RU has not participated in international conferences; however, there is a plan to join the conference of NAFSA, the Association of International Educators, which is a non-profit organization based in the US for educators across borders. RU hopes to increase the number of their partnership universities through this organization.

Although RU views these international organizations with an expectation of making legitimate connections, the risk of undesirable affiliations still remains, especially since these international organizations accept educators working at non-profit higher education institutions as well as profit-driven operators. A senior member of the Korean International Education Association who has attended NAFSA every year for more than the last decade offers a sharp judgment: “Many private institutions with strong commercial motivations are also joining these organizations. In essence, they want to sell their students, and it is hard to recognize their true intentions. Small universities have to be more careful when entering into these collaborations.”

Provision of a tailored program for Chinese students seeking advanced degrees.

In many cases, universities seek counterparts that are better than themselves, and small universities are often excluded from developing international partnership with institutions abroad. RU had not been able to secure partnerships with any foreign

universities for several years, so they finally decided to receive a stable group of students from China rather than seek better academically-qualified students. Thus, RU made partnerships with several three-year colleges in China. China's particular higher education structure makes it easier to make an agreement for student exchanges with three-year private colleges, whose tuition is usually higher compared to tuition at four-year private colleges in China. As various types of institutions have interacted, new partnership models are emerging. RU established a tailored educational program called the "3+2 program" with three-year colleges in China. For example, students in three-year Chinese partner colleges come to finish two more years at RU, and then they obtain a four-year college degree. RU needs to find a niche in the international student market, and they target Chinese students who were not admitted to four-year colleges in China, but have a desire to easily obtain an advanced four-year degree within a short period of time.

Several external factors in Chinese higher education have also affected this newly emerged partnership model. Professors in the Chinese department report that the Chinese economy has recently boomed enormously and students now willingly spend large sums of money in order to increase their chances of achieving a better educational background. In addition, competition for students among universities in China is getting severe and Chinese universities also need some special attractions in the market. Thus, this 3+2 program is very much welcomed by three-year Chinese colleges, most of which are having difficulty recruiting domestic students due to the expansion of Chinese higher education institutions. This tailored program serves as a distinctive benefit for Chinese universities in their appeals to domestic students, as

they advertise, “Once you enter this college, you can simultaneously achieve a four-year degree.”

Conflict between academicians and administrators.

Both academicians and administrators share a view that the presence of international students can cultivate an environment with increased cultural diversity on campus, and enhance a global mindset for Korean students, while producing financial advantages to the institution. However, tension between academicians and administrators comes up when “unprepared” students arrive from China.

Professors have a consensual view that there is no appropriate admission process for international students to determine whether they are ready to study at Korean universities. Consequently, RU is admitting unprepared students. In doing so, RU is showing the characteristics similar to “degree mills” that provide a degree with easy admission and minimal graduation requirements.²⁷ Only financial ability is sufficient for admission, rather than the identification of competent students. Despite the opposition from some faculty members, RU has made greater efforts to increase the number of Chinese students. Presenting a critical view on the aggressive recruitment of Chinese students, some show a concern that “RU might become like a Chinese university.” And others argue that, “If we proceed in this way, we might have a problem with the institution’s identity.”

²⁷ Until recently, RU had quite a high dropout rate among Chinese students because students who were not on track to meet the requirements for graduation used to drop out of the university. Since the MOE has now begun to give universities with high dropout rates a lower evaluation score through the International Education Quality Assurance System (IEQAS), RU has started to take steps to address the dropout rate by encouraging Chinese students to study for graduation. According to internal RU data, dropout rates declined in recent years. However, faculty interview data indicate that many Chinese students continue to demonstrate substandard academic performance in their studies. Therefore, it is unclear whether the degrees being offered today reflect the achievement of these students.

International student recruitment seems to move toward an entrepreneurial culture rather than implementing efforts to enhance the quality of education for international students. Most professors indicate that the problem of international student recruitment started, since a “bunch of students were brought from Chinese partnership universities” without any process to confirm their academic capability. A business professor interprets this as “doing business with students.” Comparing previous and current Chinese students, one professor asserts that,

Previously, when an individual student came to study from abroad, [he] had a very strong Korean language proficiency and tried to study with me, because he had something in mind to learn. On the other hand, recent Chinese student groups from partnership universities are, I do not like to say like this but, [pause] very under-performing students to receive university education. (Faculty with 16 years at RU and a former director of study abroad program)

Explaining the current diverse groups of students moving toward massification of higher education and away from the elite higher education model, a professor in the international relations argues that,

It is not a problem for lower performing students to study abroad. Studying abroad is already not only for the elite. Although they cannot go to prestigious universities abroad, if they receive good education from proper universities and improve their abilities, and can live a better life than before, then it would be good for them. The problem is that some students go to universities without having something in mind to learn. If students want to study abroad, they have to prepare themselves to do it with an educational purpose in mind. (Faculty with 21 years at RU)

The increased presence of unprepared Chinese students in RU has made professors reconsider the level of classes, which often leads to the lowering of education quality. For example, graduate schools for business now provide multiple-choice tests, which are not normally practiced at a graduate level for the final exam, mainly because “Chinese graduate students cannot write a Korean essay at all.” In

addition, students who transferred to a junior class in a particular academic department from Chinese partnership universities do not have the knowledge or academic background to proceed to a higher level of that field in their department. Chinese students transfer as juniors in any program at RU without proof of pertinent knowledge, which is explained as “nothing but obtaining a degree” for students.

Chinese students are seeking an easy path to a degree, but they are also genuine victims of a misleading degree through international higher education. Although Chinese students invest considerable time and money, they are not receiving pertinent higher education, as they do not understand the class and cannot be involved in the academic activities. There are some faculty members who strongly oppose the expanded presence of Chinese students on campus, particularly senior professors who have interacted with many Chinese students from partnership universities. In their view, “Admitting unprepared students deprives them of other opportunities to receive a proper higher education. We have to let them go to pursue a proper higher education.” In addition, the harm caused by commercialized international higher education is also socially significant in that other actors experience disadvantages. As observed above, the quality of education in universities is declining; thus, the overall credibility of Korean higher education could also be jeopardized. A senior professor with over 20-year experience at RU asserts that “Society is harmed when an individual obtains improper credentials. Korean higher education would be a major victim of low-quality higher education, which is becoming a reality.”

The tension between academicians and administrators regarding internationalization is unlikely to be resolved soon. Rather, it is expected to intensify, since top-down internationalization does not reflect the diverse voices of professors. Faculty often mention that they “do not know at all about the objectives, processes, and future goals of international student recruitment.” Pointing out the important role of leadership in a competitive environment, a professor with 25 years at RU who has worked as a dean in various departments observes that, “As a small university, the leadership has more power than academic governance, and this has recently intensified. Very few administrators in leadership now lead our university.” He further states that, “The leadership roles of the president and a few administrators are becoming more important than ever before because when competition for limited resources intensifies, strong leadership is more valued over faculty in order to develop the institution within small opportunities.”

Accreditation on quality assurance.

It has been repeatedly reported that a murky admission process nourishes the growth of unqualified international students in Korean universities. Thus, the issues regarding the qualifications of students and quality of education are problematic in Korean international higher education. Some universities admit students in numbers way beyond the institution’s capacity to accommodate and manage, and many educators and government administrators are concerned about the effect of such admission on the quality of contemporary university education. Credentials are offered based on little study and engagement in higher education activity. Many private universities are easy to establish, and these universities do not make an effort

to improve student academic performance and personal growth. As a dean at OIA puts it, “We had something in mind about just giving a four-year college degree to Chinese students” when RU established 3+2 program.

The abuses through easy admission of students seem to have brought out mistrust of the Korean diploma. Several administrators at OIA indicate that they are sometimes contacted by other administrators at graduate schools of several universities or companies in China to confirm whether or not a student really received an RU degree. A former director at OIA says that, “One Chinese graduate school asked about how a student was able to stay in China during the semester, but graduate. I think they had already checked with immigration about this candidate.” Presumably, some students have graduated even without minimum attendance or meeting the graduation requirements. If a degree is proven to be fraudulent, it cannot be used for entry to graduate school or for obtaining employment. Thus, RU wants to distinguish itself as a legitimate university from other institutions that make their credentials available for purchase. In the end, RU obtained authorization from MOEs both in China and Korea for their “3+2 program” and is expanding this type of partnership. Approval for the 3+2 program expired in fall 2013, but the Chinese MOE did not renew approval for this program with three-year Chinese partnership colleges. Instead, RU was informed to renew the program with four-year colleges. It is observed that the Chinese MOE has also started to select qualified higher education institutions to send students abroad, as reported by an associate professor who has worked with the Chinese MOE.

Finally, the MOE initiated an International Education Quality Assurance System (IEQAS) in 2011 in order to accredit eligible universities to recruit international students. A former minister at MOE who initiated IEQAS states that, “The government noticed the negative impression of Korean higher education spreading worldwide, with the impression that anybody can go to a Korean university, and thus Korean credentials are worthless.” He adds that a consensual view of educators made it successful to start the IEQAS. This accreditation system is aimed at eliminating “degree mills” by initiating a regulatory framework, hoping to maintain perceptions about the high quality of Korean higher education in an international setting. It is also emphasized that this system seeks to eradicate some insincere universities that subsist on the tuition of international students.

The IEQAS committee conducts an evaluation, through which highly-qualified universities for managing international students are accredited, and this system also prevents underperforming universities from acquiring more students by limiting the provision of visas. It accredits institutions as eligible universities to receive students and also designates limits on student visas for some institutions. The dropout rate and language proficiency scores are important criteria for IEQAS, since students who do not complete the program are often considered to be students with the potential to become illegal workers. In addition, in order to encourage universities to receive qualified students from abroad, a certain level of Korean language proficiency is required by the MOE. RU sees the required higher Korean language proficiency as an “unrealistic requirement,” and has established basic Korean language classes in the general education curriculum tailored for Chinese students. In

the end, MOE notified universities that Korean language courses should not be offered for credit commencing in the summer of 2013. Thus, RU no longer provides these courses since the fall of 2013. Instead, Chinese students are encouraged to join unofficial classes in order to obtain some level of Korean language proficiency before they graduate. All Chinese students are now encouraged to study for the Korean language test during vacation, until they have required the TOPIK scores.

Respondents from the MOE indicate that in spite of the IEQAS's existence, unqualified Chinese students are still filling up many universities, partly because universities are taking advantage of weak points in the evaluation. For example, RU makes an effort to meet a requirement that 30% of the Chinese students are fluent in Korean, which is the minimum proportion for visa regulations for universities participating in the IEQAS evaluation.²⁸ In addition, it seems that there are some universities that are providing dubious self-reports for international students to the MOE. A committee group for the on-site IEQAS evaluation confirms that "Every single document matches with each student, particularly Korean language proficiency test scores or a high school graduation diploma" in selected suspicious universities, according to a senior researcher at IEQAS who has joined the on-site evaluation.

Despite all these developments, the "problem" of recruitment of unqualified international students still exists. Some administrators who have interacted with other university officers in international student recruitment sectors indicate that many Korean universities, despite their levels and types of institutions across regions, are

²⁸ The MOE recommends that universities receive students from abroad who demonstrate adequate Korean language proficiency to study in Korean higher education; thus, a TOPIK 3 level is a minimum recommended requirement. Universities who have below 30% of international students with over TOPIK 3 level are restricted in the number of visas provided for their students, thus limiting international student recruitment.

tempted to work with external private institutions to expand the number of overseas students. A former associate director who had an experience working with one recruitment agency proves:

A broker approached us, but was turned away by RU. Later he worked with a well-known private university in Seoul. I was told that the university received many students from China, most of whom quickly ran out upon arrival. That university was soon restricted in their recruitment of international students by the MOE.

It is apparent that tuition and diversifying expenditures through international students are viewed as a good financial source for all types of universities. Professors who have actively interacted with other institutions' administrators in charge of international student recruitment indicate that Korean universities try to expand the number of international students by working with brokers and that "the university might need some additional funding." However, it appears that the MOE does not understand exactly why universities sometimes stretch far beyond their capacity and how extensively private educational agencies are involved in international Korean higher education. This is manifested in comments by a former director general leading the initiation of IEQAS at MOE, as he states that, "I really do not understand why that good university received students from China by working with a broker. Students would willingly come to that level of university, and they did not need to do that." Administrators at OIA are unanimous in expressing the view that, "Most Korean universities are having a difficult time expanding the number of overseas students in a normal way, so they have turned to bringing in Chinese students with the help of external actors." RU accepted only three Chinese students via personal application in fall 2013, after the 3+2 program with Chinese universities expired.

Shifts in faculty roles and academic fields

The role of faculty includes “teaching, research, and service,” according to Korean professors. With an increasing importance being placed on research to access the quality of an institution in higher education, RU has started to count SCI journal publications of the faculty. This is developed in the annual faculty research assessments, and finally announced publicly. However, RU traditionally gives similar weight to both research and teaching unlike other research universities, which put a greater emphasis on research. Academicians and administrators observe that the role of service has grown increasingly important over the past five years.

Interview data indicate that there is a pressing need in education to produce prepared individuals who are able to serve the needs of various industrial fields. This is manifested in the marked tendency driven by MOE where RU respondents refer to an “employment rate.” Among administrators with key responsibilities for implementation of RU’s strategic plan, there is consensus that state funding does not exist, and universities are now supposed to constantly evolve to meet the evaluation criteria for financial support from the government. RU continues to restructure its departments mainly based on the competition rate and employment rate. Every department is supposed to report the evaluation results of each academic unit to the university.

Since faculty evaluation is included in the evaluation of a given department, professors try to satisfy these expectations. “An evaluation impacts faculty job security, and nobody ignores it,” asserted a former department chair. Faculty report that departments today will disappear if they are not chosen by students as being

helpful for getting jobs. In many cases, the stability of a particular department is shaped by its ability to place students in a job immediately after graduation. A professor, whose program was recently absorbed into another more competitive program, states that, "Providing a useful education for students means ensuring that students are effectively employed." In other cases, it is not uncommon for professors of some departments, such as business administration or public administration that are linked to industry, to maintain contacts with industries to find employment for their students. This is fully understood and supported by the university. In addition, faculty efforts to enhance employment are now counted in their own evaluations under the service criterion. Senior professors at RU indicate that employment for students has always been a concern for the faculty; however, they were never pressured before to find a placement for students. A business professor offers a sharper judgment:

In order to develop the national economy, employment certainly should function well. However, it is something that the state should do. One of the state's tasks is to develop the economy and create jobs. Instead, they are shifting this responsibility to universities and universities pass on this burden to professors. (Faculty with 16 years at RU)

Another history professor argues that evaluating the employment rate should be deleted from the University Accreditation System and expresses an unhappy feeling about the recent changing expectations of the faculty: "There is nothing sadder than my students not being able to get jobs. However, how do professors in the humanities find jobs for their students. The best employment activity that professors can do is to educate students well" (Faculty with 20 years at RU).

As the internationalization of the campus becomes a key component of the strategic plan of RU, the efforts of faculty contributing to enhance this are also

required in numerous ways. Faculty members are now, apart from teaching and research, also involved in international student recruitment. For internationalization, if faculty bring in international students, it is counted in part of the service evaluation. As I noted above, professors in the Chinese department are deeply involved in Chinese student recruitment. This is manifested in regular study-abroad fairs in China led by faculty in order to provide more credibility for the institution. In addition, senior students in the Chinese department are sent to Chinese partnership universities to teach Korean to students who will come to RU, and newly-hired junior faculty in Chinese and Korean language departments sometimes are sent to Chinese partnership universities regardless of their academic specialty. They are sent to teach Korean language or find other opportunities to recruit more students in China. This type of work is evaluated highly in the service section of faculty assessment, and it comes with financial incentives.

With increasing weight placed on new services and responsibilities apart from teaching and research, universities are changing their hiring practices. This is reflected in an increase in the number of adjunct and clinical professors who have real-world experience. In addition, growing recognition of research also affects recent hiring for faculty positions, which brings along a significant amount of funding. Obtaining more outside research funding has become a primary consideration when hiring faculty. This shift in emphasis has changed what is demanded of faculty. While previously, academic performance and teaching ability were highly valued, this is no longer necessarily the case. Currently, the engineering department is looking to add two non-tenure track faculty positions and the international relations department is

recruiting one tenure track foreign faculty; however, having a doctoral degree in their academic field is not a requirement. A present director at the Industry-University office describes recent hiring process: “We do not recruit faculty members in the same way as we used to. We do not expect them to teach like we do. We will evaluate them in terms of their ability to bring in research funds.” He adds that, “It would be better if one is able to bridge with firms in order to setup internship opportunities for our students or to get students employed.”

There is an increasing proportion of non-tenured track faculty, as universities perceive a need to minimize costs and adapt to an uncertain environment through flexible staffing. For a curriculum in terms of internationalization, all faculty are non-tenured or part-time positions. Explaining the recent hiring strategy, a dean in State Affairs states that, “It would be better to hire ten contract faculty than hiring one tenure track faculty for our university.” He ends stating that, “RU does not have a plan to hire more tenure track faculty.” In contrast, it was interesting to learn that the university has a particular interest in hiring tenure track Chinese faculty to increase the number of students it can recruit from the China mainland.

Hiring foreign faculty

The growing presence of international students is also leading to the hiring of professors from abroad. The majority of the academicians noted, however, that most of these international faculty candidates are not qualified for tenure track in RU because “prospective foreign scholars are not attracted to a small university in an Asian country.” The faculty respondents express the difficulties they have in recruiting international faculty for each academic department, since qualified faculty

typically do not willingly come to RU. The majority of foreign faculty at RU is on a non-tenure track and most are from Latin American and Eastern European countries. They are in charge of general education, and some teach courses regardless of their professional expertise and without pertinent doctoral degrees. In addition, RU seeks foreign instructors for English language courses. Since additional funding is necessary in order to hire extra foreign faculty, RU, with meager finances, recruits them in different ways by using industry ties. For example, some spouses of US military personnel are hired as part-time faculty for English conversation courses. An administrator who is in charge of the general education curriculum indicates that most instructors of English language courses are wives of high-positioned US military officers. In addition, a few spouses of employees in subsidiaries of international firms are also hired as part-time faculty for English conversation courses, mostly as a reward for furthering industrial ties with RU. Some external changes in the environment have also affected the internationalization of RU's faculty. As the composition of Korea's population has diversified with an increasing number of immigrants, some from English-speaking underdeveloped countries, such as the Philippines, have applied for English instructor position in RU. However, they have not necessarily been hired in full-time positions since American English-speakers are still preferred in the Korean society.

English teaching and learning

As the curriculum changes in the context of globalization, RU has attached greater importance to English teaching and learning. The growing importance of English in education has created new dynamics and contradictions. There have been

efforts to provide classes in English, such as utilizing English textbooks in subject areas and hiring foreign instructors. Adopting English as the medium of instruction is expected to improve the quality of education; however, students' linguistic competency is a challenge for class quality. Although Korean students have greater exposure abroad and receive an increasingly higher level of English education at secondary schools, domestic students overall still have difficulty following along in classes conducted in English. A particular challenge is that classes cannot be tailored to different ability levels. Hence, English-taught classes are actually, at times, an obstacle to transmitting knowledge and to interactions between professors and students. In some courses, it was very common to provide extra instruction in Korean about what was taught in English by instructors or graduate teaching assistants. A professor who led an English-taught class in the international relations states that, "Most students did not follow the class, and I couldn't let the student advance to the next grade. I summarized the lectures in Korean at the end of each class. Further, graduate students offered review sessions in Korean to undergraduate students on the weekends to prepare them for the mid-term and final tests" (Faculty with 18 years at RU).

Professors view the use of English as being "uneducational," since not all students enjoy the benefits of class in English. Indeed, only a very few have achieved the necessary English ability that was inculcated outside of school, since "English is not just a capability, but is a cultural capital that only a very limited group of people can obtain." In a similar view, another business professor who was in charge of English classes assures that, "Teaching in English is to ignore the majority of students

and stigmatize those who are not eligible to receive such education, making them invisible in classes.” Some arguments presented by many academicians include,

I do not disagree with English-taught classes in general over all universities. For elite universities, such as Seoul National University or KAIST [Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology], teaching in English might be necessary to raise them as worldwide elite scientists. However, not all universities need to follow this trend.

At present, RU no longer has English-taught classes. However, the university still has an interest in expanding English-taught classes in order to develop internationalization on campus. Such classes would enhance the opportunity to expand partnerships with universities and recruit more students from a wide range of countries, because most universities from abroad first ask for the data on the number of English-taught classes when establishing partnerships, according to administrators responsible for international partnerships. In addition, the majority of administrators see having an English-taught class as a prerequisite to being a developed higher education institution. It seems that English is considered a core element of the institution’s internationalization and universities offering English-taught classes have better chances of establishing partnerships.

Among many foreign languages, the most importance is given to English. English is not only just a part of the curriculum, but also a competency reflecting the ability to achieve a higher education. English is an important subject to be examined in the college entrance examination or to graduate from most universities in Korea. In addition, like many other universities in Korea, RU has a special admission process to receive students with only an English proficiency test score. More credits are also

provided to those who have achieved satisfactory scores on standardized English tests, such as TOEFL or IELTS.

RU provides numerous English language classes to students. Providing English courses does not simply mean that RU provides the necessary courses for students, but it also implies that students are supposed to prove a certain level at it. English ability has also become a part of the graduation requirement. It seems that English ability is now a goal to be achieved for higher education. RU has recently established a new English program, and it provides several tracks for various levels of English. The ultimate goal is to improve English test scores. This test-focused education has elicited opposition from many faculty, as one English professor with 30 years of teaching experience argues that, “I am very unsure about what the university is supposed to do to improve students. Test preparation courses are supposed to be taught at private English language institutes, which are now everywhere across the streets.”

Shifts in program offerings

At the institutional level, RU engages in efforts to create university networks by establishing partnerships with universities from diverse countries. RU has 51 partnership universities as of 2014 with 16 in China, 7 in the US and Australia, 5 in Japan, and a few in some countries across Asia and Latin America. Since RU does not have sufficient recognition to be chosen by institutions abroad, partnerships with foreign universities are established when RU approaches partner universities or with the help of faculty members who have personal connections with other institutions. Higher education institutions use the name value of partnership institutions and the

number of partnerships to prove the reputation of the institution. RU is no longer actively working with most partnership institutions abroad. However, information about the partnership institutions continues to be advertised on the university website. It is also easy to see the brochures on campus highlighting how RU has successfully signed partnerships with institutions from abroad.

With a greater interest on a short-term exchange program from students, RU has tried to establish partnerships with universities from a diverse set of countries. Students' increasing preference for internationalization programs in English-speaking countries has led RU to make an effort to expand partnerships with North American institutions, particularly US universities. This, however, is not an easy task for a small university that lacks desirable attributes to the Western students who would not otherwise be willing to come to Korea. There have been no students at RU from Western countries for over ten years, and only a very few students at RU (less than 3 students per year across the whole campus) go to universities in Latin America or other Asian countries beside China.

As higher education is seen as an expensive export commodity, and the Asian market has been expanded, Western universities do not seem to want to lose their financial advantages. As Korean students are losing their appetite for simple English training programs, the University of Victoria (UVIC) in Canada proposed a new English training program that if 10 students from RU enroll in the English-training program at UVIC, in reciprocation they will receive one Korean exchange student. This implies that "10 students in the English-training program pay for the tuition of one Korean student studying at UVIC." Many Korean students willingly pay for their

exchange study in Western countries if their college cannot afford it. However, not many students at RU are willing to pay for their study-abroad program, since they do not like attending partner universities without sufficient prestige to justify the significant outlay of money.

With greater exposure abroad, students become familiar with other contexts and broaden their perspectives. However, this opportunity suffers when financial support is reduced, since internationalization programs require substantial funding. Currently, RU is seeing a decline in its internationalization program; thus, only a very few students at RU take advantage of participation in internationalization programs, while the portion borne by students has increased. In the case of small universities compared to large universities, students are not likely to enjoy a full range of benefits of international higher education. For example, there is almost a four-fold gap in education investment per student between RU and SNU.

Largely interacting with predominantly Chinese universities, RU has various internationalization programs with partnership Chinese universities. A number of students from RU go to China through short-term study abroad programs, and students usually stay for a short period. Also, only students in the Chinese department choose these programs, since students expect to enhance their language proficiency or experience the foreign culture in order to develop their career rather than gain knowledge in a specific academic field. Western countries are perceived as academically developed over less developed countries. A professor in the Chinese department asserts that,

Students do not choose less developed countries for their study abroad. They consider underdeveloped countries as academically undeveloped. Today, even

in the fields of study such as Asian or Chinese philosophy or Chinese history, students from Asia wish to study primarily at US universities. (Faculty with 11 years at RU and 10 years as a vice dean at OIA)

Shifts in curriculum: Skill-focused education

Interview data indicate that the MOE today strongly drives universities toward “employment.” This trend is certainly pushing universities to move toward practical and job relevant education. This marked tendency leads to the creation of courses that promote skills that can be immediately used in industry. For example, computer courses have been expanded to higher levels about three times during the last three years.

The increasing number of skill-based courses has replaced traditional academic courses, which reflects a decreasing concern for a comprehensive education to nurture students intellectually instead of cultivating a capable workforce equipped with competent skills. This shift is manifested in the fact that faculty positions are no longer being filled in philosophy and Korean history when existing professors retire. Those classes were part of the general education requirement, and they have now been substituted by other courses. In addition, the faculty observe that today, many professionals in their fields from outside industrial sectors are invited to offer seminars to share their real world experiences that would help students develop employment strategies. Professors are concerned about this marked tendency toward a skill-based education. One professor strongly condemns recent reforms toward a task-focused curriculum and exclaims that,

If we educate individuals only for employment, where would they learn the basic values that human beings are supposed to obtain? This could not be achieved by taking one or two general courses. And where on earth would we acquire scholars trained to teach that general education? (Faculty with 18 years at RU and a current department dean for six years)

Corroborating this view, one senior professor states in an emphatic tone that,

If we continue to proceed to educate students only to fit into an employment market, only academic disciplines pursuing practical knowledge will survive at universities. The basic disciplines will disappear, and thus the roots of higher education will disappear. In the end, Korean higher education will become deformed. (Faculty with 20 years at RU)

On the other hand, administrators point to the need for “pragmatism” as necessary in education: universities today are required to provide practical education while also ensuring that students succeed after they graduate. An administrator who is in charge of internationalization strategic plans states that, “We cannot support professors who teach only theoretical or philosophical abstractions while ignoring realistic tangibles.” Despite the ongoing tension between academicians and administrators about the direction of university education, there has been a large-scale curriculum reorganization. In order to allow students greater choices in courses and future careers, RU provides an interdisciplinary program track that is supposed to be taken by all students. This new track program enables all students to graduate with double majors. Given that the number of required total credits has decreased considerably, students can achieve double majors by taking only a very few courses for each major. The goal is to help students advance in the job market, according to a director who has planned the overall curriculum reform at RU. The expectation of students about developing their careers is justified, because industry today wants to hire prepared individuals in a competitive economic market. For students, this translates into enhancing their practical experience instead of learning knowledge at a university. Currently, some students leave the school to work before they graduate.

Moreover, students want the university to consider their graduation despite a long period of absence.

This change is described as courses that teach practical application in English combined with subject areas. Examples include, “Computer English” or “TOEIC English” at the international relations department or “Practical Economy English” at the business department. It seems that today’s English is not an ability to obtain new knowledge in a different language. Rather, it is a language skill in itself that has to be demonstrated by test scores. In addition, many departments offer a course titled “work experience” in the academic curriculum.

While RU positions itself as an academic institution, there is now a greater tendency toward giving more space for students to gain job preparation. RU has constructed an “e-class system” that provides courses preferred by students who want to take credits without long attendance. As more students demand fresh courses, the e-learning classes provide an advantage for institutions in that they can open sizable classes with less financial investment. In addition, some “certificate-based programs” have been established in order to enhance professional preparation. For example, Multicultural Family Welfare, Rehabilitation Studies, and Nursing Science are well received in the labor market and are thus the university’s most supported programs.

Motivations of Chinese Students in RU

While people have greater exposure abroad, students show strong preference to study abroad in Western universities, which is manifested in the sustained mobility from the South to the North. On the contrary, international student composition in RU shows a new trend different from the traditional pattern in that many Chinese students

are coming to Korean universities in Asia. The composition of international students in RU is mostly Chinese, which has been precipitated by the social and cultural particularities of China as well as the changing policies in Korean higher education. This section examines the particular motivations of Chinese students in RU to choose a small university in Korea. It also investigates how social and political events affect the new pattern of student mobility in international higher education.

A majority of Chinese students enroll in business and administration departments both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Two-thirds of them are at an undergraduate level, comprising, for the most part, of an even number of men and women. The remaining one third are graduate students, comprising approximately 60% women and 40% men, according to the internal RU data.²⁹

Table 5

Background of Chinese Students in RU

	Gender	Degree	Major	TOPIK	Interview Language	Scholarship (%)	Application Process	Regions
1	Female	B.A.	International Studies	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Partnership university	Wei-hai in Sandong
2	Male	B.A.	Social Work	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Partnership university	Wei-hai in Sandong
3	Female	B.A.	Business	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Partnership university	Wei-hai in Sandong
4	Male	B.A.	Public Administration	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (30%)	Private education agency	Qing-dao in Sandong
5	Male	B.A.	Public Administration	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Partnership university	Qing-dao in Sandong
6	Male	M.A.	Business	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Partnership university	Wei-hai in Sandong
7	Male	B.A.	Business	Level 5	Korean	RU scholarship (50%)	Personal application One professor in RU supports his status	Yan-tai in Sandong

²⁹The latest statistical data were retrieved from *Higher Education in Korea (Dae-Hak-Al-Lee-Mee)* (<http://www.academyinfo.go.kr/>). However, this report does not show the data by gender, and therefore internal data, as of spring 2013, were also crosschecked for explicit investigation.

Seeking foreign degrees rather than a lower status Chinese degree

The student narratives indicate that a majority of students do not expect a high quality education from Korean universities. It is clear from student statements that they only looked to Korean universities as a second option after they were not admitted to preferred Chinese universities. This implies that their study abroad is driven by an expectation to compensate for failure in achieving higher academic credentials in their home country. Students share that their major motivation in choosing RU is, “If I had gotten admission from Beijing or Tsinghua Universities in China, I wouldn’t come here.” This is closely related to the Chinese socio-cultural environment where universities are hierarchically ranked with academic performance, which leads to severe competition for prestigious universities.

The RU degree is considered to be a degree from overseas and is thus more valued in Chinese society, because most people have little knowledge about higher education institutions overseas. In the view of a business student on the RU degree, “RU is an unknown university in China. I think ordinary Chinese people do not know anything about Korean universities. When I apply for a job, it would be more important that I have a foreign degree than that I have a RU degree” (male, Public Administration major). The strong aspiration for better credentials encourages students to distinguish themselves so as to be competitive by supplementing their credentials with foreign degrees. Most Chinese students observe that international credentials have more value than does a Chinese diploma. In addition, the particularity of the Chinese culture, which is “Quanxi (personal relationship network),” makes it somewhat easier for students to choose RU, although an RU degree is not

competitive in the Chinese job market. RU tracks the placement of its Chinese alumni after they graduate, and most are successfully employed in China thanks to their “parents’ personal network,” according to one faculty who records the information on Chinese students.

Students also come to RU in Korea in order to seek a higher level of credentials than what they could achieve in China. A freshman in international studies says, “I wanted to go to a four-year university; however, I was rejected by all the universities that I applied to. I did not want to go to a three-year college, so I chose RU which provides a four-year college degree” (male, Public Administration major). Another senior student coming from a partnership three-year college in China says, “My previous college was a three-year college, and it is really hard to enter four-year universities again in China because it is very competitive. I was not confident in being admitted to four-year universities in China with my test scores” (male, Business major).

The long continuing phenomenon of unprepared Chinese students entering some Korean universities without pertinent qualifications used to be interpreted as “educational career laundering.” This terminology reflects very well how educators provide unsympathetic critique to these students. Chinese student respondents at RU also recognize this perspective about them. Although students recognize that they are not really adequately prepared for studying at a Korean university, students feel extreme pressure to obtain higher-level credentials under any conditions in order to bolster their educational background in a highly competitive environment. Students consider the state of affairs of contemporary society, where the lack of a higher

education qualification is a serious impediment to finding work. Society favors those with higher education credentials. Most students indicate that they want to obtain a four-year degree and that a four-year degree is necessary to be accepted in contemporary Chinese society. One student coming through an education agency puts it this way, “All Chinese students study really hard and competition for good universities is really severe, so I cannot dare to apply domestically. Everybody now has a bachelor’s degree and I must also have this. It would be embarrassing, if I remain as someone who does not have a four-year degree” (female, Business major).

In addition, parents who are steeped in China’s Confucian cultural value on academics push their children to obtain better credentials. Most students indicate that their parents took the lead in the decision for them to study abroad in Korea. A business student who could not go to a Chinese university that satisfied his parents mentions, “My father was really insistent that I had to improve my educational background. When my parents realized that I would not be admitted to good Chinese universities, my mother contacted an agent to get help me to apply for Korean universities. I did nothing.” In addition, the one-child policy seems to intensify parental investment in and aspirations for each child. As an example, an undergraduate student who has a part-time job to cover her study abroad costs says, “My family is not wealthy enough to afford my study abroad, but my parents really wanted me to have a four-year college degree. They might need to take on some debt or my mother might work more. I am an only child, and my parents wanted me to come, although they needed to spend some more money” (male, Social Work major).

Affordable study abroad expense

Interview data indicate that modest expense for higher education in Korea is also an impetus for Chinese students turning to Korean universities for their higher education. This is especially the case when they acknowledge shortages in their qualifications for recognized universities in China. Although the tuition originally for RU is almost two times more expensive than that of Chinese universities, as I mentioned above; however, the scholarship is given to all international students, which is a strong attraction to come to RU. Students indicate that it is quite affordable to study in RU, since it is only slightly more expensive than Chinese universities with the scholarship.

Several external factors have also affected the increasing number of students from China at RU. According to an administrator who manages the scholarship for international students, the scholarship budget has been drastically cut back for international students in universities in Seoul. In addition, the enormous expansion of Chinese students in Seoul has led to stricter admission standards for these students; consequently, an increasing number of Chinese students seek to enroll in universities outside of Seoul. This is manifested by a Chinese professor working as a president of a Chinese Students Association at SNU graduate school, who states that:

Many Chinese students are pouring into Korean private universities in Seoul and competition between Chinese students is increasingly severe. It is much easier for students from other countries to come to Korean universities, since it seems that some universities are concerned that they are becoming a Chinese university. Therefore, students in turn are now looking to regional universities that are less competitive.

Presumably, some universities need to use the screening system to limit the number of students coming from just one particular country. In addition to the

scholarships, the fact that the living expenses in Korea is lower, compared to those of other developed countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan, is also attractive to students coming to study in Korea, even though those countries are also close to China and are actually preferred by students. A business graduate student who has received a scholarship from one preferred Japanese university share his reason for coming to RU:

I wanted to study in Japan, but I thought I could not handle the food or housing costs. I heard from my friend that the price of one baked sweet potato is over US\$10 in Japan. If I was rich, I would go to study in Japan, because I wanted to study international relations focusing on Japanese economics. RU has similar programs and provides scholarship, so I thought I could also learn about international relations at RU. (male, Business major)

Lower living expenses outside of Seoul compared to those in the city also attracts students to RU. One man student from Yan-tai in San-dong province came to Korea when he was not admitted to Chinese universities with his parent's full financial support. Since he started the Korean language program at a language institute in a private regional university, he was aware of the hierarchy in Korean universities. Although he was offered admission to other universities, he ended up coming to RU over other more recognized Korean universities because he wanted save money for graduate school. He states that, "my Korean language proficiency is quite sufficient to be admitted to better universities than RU. However, I came to RU instead, since the monthly rent is much more expensive in Seoul than in this region. RU is very close to Seoul, so I can go as often as I want."

State policies that have lowered the standard for a student visa are also a significant factor encouraging students to choose Korean higher education. Visa processing fees of Korea are lower than those of other countries, and funding

verification is getting easier, as reported by Chinese students. A sophomore who is satisfied with the lower expenses of studying abroad in Korea says,

It is very expensive to verify my funding status in other countries; however in Korea, it is not as strict in comparison to other countries. My friend had her US visa rejected because of her unstable financial status. She did not have a father to prove her status. In Korea, there is much more flexibility. The required money is also difficult for me, but two other friends and I always pool our money together and each of us puts it in a bank account and creates the necessary document, respectively. This verification sometimes is rejected in other countries because the money needs to be frozen over a minimum period. But, I always do this with my friends every year to extend the student visa. (female, Business major)

Real meaning of “geographical proximity”

There is a prevalent recognition that the Chinese are motivated to study abroad in Korea because of geographical proximity. Chinese student respondents at RU indicate that they would actually prefer to study in more developed English-speaking countries in Asia, such as Singapore or Hong Kong, where there are internationally recognized universities. However, they have turned to Korean universities due to their limited academic or financial resources. Hence, for them Korean higher education is “worth trying” because of the lower investment in time and cost, rather than for any particular affinity. Much previous literature has highlighted “geographical proximity” as a strong motivation for Chinese students to study abroad in Korean higher education. However, it should be investigated further because students also consider other nearby Asian countries before choosing Korea for their higher education. In addition, it has not yet been highlighted that the majority of students come from specific regions in China. All Chinese respondents, both at RU and SNU, report that a majority of Chinese students across Korean universities are from particular regions in China, such as Qing-dao, Wei-hai, and Yan-tai in San-dong

province, and all Chinese students at RU are from these regions. As previously noted, RU targets this province for student recruitment as these regions are sufficiently developed economically to afford higher education in Korea. Students indicate that there are many wealthy people who want to send their children to study abroad in this region, while those in big cities such as Beijing that can afford high-cost universities in Western countries go to the US. It is also the case that people in these regions have greater exposure to Korean culture, since Korean immigrants have lived in these regions for some time. These three cities are also seaports, where there are some international subsidiaries of Korean corporations that actively trade, and many Korean peddlers have actively done business in these regions. Therefore, people in these regions have experience interacting with Korean people, and have had some exposure to Korean culture. Much of the literature has indicated that “Han-Ryu (Korean pop-culture)” is a strong motivation encouraging Chinese students to study abroad in Korea. Yet, it does not seem to direct students’ choices of Korean universities. In my view, the greater exposure to Korean culture assists students in the recognition of Korea as a developed country where they can enjoy a cosmopolitan identity. Some students often state that, “Watching Korean dramas, I saw how people lived in Korea. Korean people looked nice and well-dressed. It seemed to be pretty interesting to stay.” Other students say, “I like Korean pop-music and singers. I always wanted to see the Tong Vfang Xien Qi (Korean pop group).”

Geographical proximity affects men and women students in different ways. Many men students mention that they want to work for a while to gain work experience in Korea after they graduate. On the contrary, none of the women students

mention any desire for an international career in Korea. Instead, they note that the geographical proximity is in deference to pressure from their parents. One student stated that her parents wanted her to stay near them. Another woman noted that her parents wanted her to study with her siblings for safety. This woman student in international studies was not reluctant to inform me the name of her previous Chinese college, as she was confident in her academic capabilities. She originally wanted to study in the US, but decided to continue her university education in Asia until her parents considered her to be grown-up enough to stay far away from her family. Her parents often visit their daughters during the weekend by taking a five-hour ferry ride over. She says that,

My father thought that I was too young. So he wanted me to stay near him for a while. When my younger sister went to university and we wanted to transfer to a US university, our father was against it, since it was too far away from him. I was a better student than my younger sister, so I could have gone to a better university. But, my father allowed us to go out only when we went to the same place together for safety. Thus, my sister and I came to RU together. (female, International Relations major)

Working opportunities to compensate for extra expenses while studying abroad

Since study abroad in higher education usually requires higher expenses than studying in one's home countries, study abroad is still limited to a certain group of people who can afford it. However, Chinese students can have easier access to Korean higher education, since the expenses are similar to those of Chinese universities. This is partly because they are allowed to work while on a student visa in Korea. A Chinese sophomore student, who works at a Korean restaurant for fifteen hours per week at 3,500 Korean won (US\$3.18) per hour states that, "My family is not that wealthy, but they can afford my college education in China. So I calculated the tuition for RU plus the scholarship I would receive and how much extra money I

needed if I choose a Korean instead of a Chinese university, then I thought I could afford the extra costs if I work.”

Korea’s higher wages compared to those of China attract students to RU. A social work student from China who receives a half scholarship from RU and half tuition support from his parents states that, “My father got fired recently and only my mother works. I am the only child. I had to work in China for my own pocket money while going to college. I can earn more money in Korea, although I might work the same number of hours in China. So I decided to come to RU.”

An overseas education is expected to open up some opportunities within a global labor market. Working opportunities while studying in Korea are highlighted by RU in advertisements when recruiting Chinese students. The opportunities seem quite tempting for students who want to have an international work career, as competition in the labor market is increasingly severe in China. Some students express hope to achieve Korean language competency and experience in Korea and eventually want to work in Korean-related fields or Korean companies in their hometown. A senior public administration student from China has worked as a translator at several small trading companies near the campus and is searching for an internship at larger Korean companies; in particular, those that have international subsidiaries in China. He states that,

I knew it would be difficult to find a job after I graduated even though I studied hard. I was quite a good student in my previous university, but I was one of many graduates who couldn’t find a job, even with good grades in college. When professors at RU visited for the study abroad fair at my college and mentioned work opportunities, I was impressed and decided to come to RU. I hope to become a more competitive candidate with the Korean language ability and the work experience gained here. (male, Public Administration major)

A geographical feature of rural areas outside of Seoul is a scarcity of labor workers, and this shortage leads students from China to look for universities outside of Seoul. A business student from China started to study abroad at a language institute of one regional university and had received several offers of admission from Korean universities, but decided on RU for the following reasons:

My Korean language test score is 5, which is high enough to apply for better universities than RU. I was also offered admission from Han-Yang University [in Seoul] with a scholarship that is similar to the amount from RU, but I decided to come to RU instead, because I have to earn the money to pay for my studies. Finding a part-time job in Seoul is more difficult than finding one outside of Seoul. I am planning to go to graduate school in Korea, so I have to save some money for graduate school. I want to go to the Seoul National University graduate school the most. (male, Business major)

The regional character of RU allows Chinese students to be easily absorbed in the Korean labor market. There is an industrial complex with manufacturing factories and farming areas, both of which often require non-professional skilled workers for part-time work at lower wages to fill in positions which are now shunned by contemporary Korean workers. A Chinese graduate assistant who has interacted with all Chinese students one-on-one for many years observes that, “Many Chinese students work at factories or farms especially during summer or winter vacation, which generates enough money to support the upcoming year’s tuition.”

Although international students are eligible to work with student visa once they make a simple report to the Department of Justice with an academic advisor’s letter, Chinese students have very little Korean language ability and this often leads students to work illegally. A Chinese student working at Korean restaurant near the campus without legal permission states that, “there is some necessary paperwork to

report to the Korean government and filling out those documents takes some time. It is hard to understand Korean terminologies, so I just work without doing that. My Korean reading and writing skills are even worse than my speaking ability.” Since work permission is not limited only to study-related fields, professors are willing to provide a letter for work permission. However, a majority of students do not build relationships with their academic advisors because they lack the ability to speak Korean, and do not ask for such assistance, according to faculty members. Thus, one associate professor in the Chinese department is responsible for all Chinese students. For example, during fieldwork in November 2013, one Chinese student broke his leg while working in a factory without insurance and a work permit. An associate professor in the Chinese department brought him to the emergency room. He interpreted at the hospital for the student and negotiated with the factory to pay for the student’s hospital fees. It seems to be revealing that professors today are required some other tasks in addition to teaching and research.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored and discussed the internationalization dynamics of a teaching university at RU. It has moved toward an economic environment caused by neoliberal economic policies. Observation has clearly shown the interrelation between many internationalization efforts and institutional reforms.

What we can see from the RU examination, is that (1) there is a vigorous action to have Chinese students. In addition, there is an ongoing effort to expand the scope of partnership universities and international students; (2) there is a sustained growth of foreign faculty with increasing numbers of professors in non-tenure, part-

time, and clinical positions being reported. On the other hand, there is a growing interest in having a Chinese faculty in order to expand the Chinese student market. This has led to unexpected change in faculty roles in that faculty today are increasingly pressured to engage in various services compromising teaching and research; (3) seeing students as consumers has led to changes in academic disciplines, with a lowering of overall education quality, while curriculum changes include involvement of globalization in various subject areas; (4) the importance of English has severely intensified as a necessary ability. At the same time, there is enormous growth in courses for practical skills that can be used immediately in industry; (5) unlike the long sustained traditional pattern of international student mobility from the South to the North, this study shows an increased change in mobility patterns for international students between Asian countries and from the North to the South. In addition, those students are attracted by degrees that are easy to come by rather than a high quality of education; and (6) as education is now seen as an export commodity, external for-profit entities show strong interest in international higher education.

The notion of internationalization has been implemented in institutional reforms, which has created distinctive contradictions. Internationalization programs in RU are aimed at instilling international competency in students, and this type of competency is closely linked to job relevance and addresses topics such as test preparation for computers or languages. It seems that today's global citizens are being interpreted as individuals who can successfully adapt to a competitive society with strong practical and language skills. Internship programs or exchange programs direct students toward intensive training in real job fields abroad or at language institutions.

Through these programs, students expect to develop an international career and enhance their foreign language ability. Contradiction emerges, because the training regions circumscribe involvement to solely English-speaking countries.

As the university education has been forced to move toward a more skill-based education, the notions of knowledge have been reshaped, and curriculums are placing greater weight on providing practical experiences to students, which has also led to a hierarchy within academic fields. RU has restructured its academic departments based on performance mostly linked to profitability or institutional competitiveness.

Administrators choose market-driven strategies to reform the institution in order to be better positioned in a competitive environment by redefining the priorities of the university. This has lessened the interest in providing a high-quality general education. Now that knowledge has become a product, and education an export commodity, the market logic has also crept into universities. Consumer-oriented programs that are garnering substantial profits have emerged, and if student consumers are not satisfied with the education or a particular discipline, those fields disappear from the university.

The current challenges facing higher education place RU at a disadvantage, in particular because it is a small university vulnerable to rapid changes. On the other hand, observations have not shown the university as having any particular support for teaching and research. Competition for quantifiable growth has made the university compromise the quality of education, which is a detriment to students. As there has been pressure to develop the scope of internationalization, the process of

internationalization is replete with tensions. Since internationalization is now one of the strategic pillars at RU, professors feel pressure to incorporate globalization into their work. Faculty are mobilized to advertise the institution abroad, since their status at recruitment fairs can enhance university credibility to prospective students. Professors are also unexpectedly involved in “doing business with students” in that they cannot refuse to teach students coming through improper processes. There is a concern commonly held by professors that the entrepreneurial culture is slowly, but certainly growing on campus, and it is threatening the identity of the university as it moves toward a “foreign degree mill.” The profit-driven education provision has expanded the number of inadequately prepared individuals pursuing a higher education, and this further invites unsympathetic critique for unsuspecting students. Down the road, this might cause more problems in pursuing further studies or disadvantageous for getting a job.

In summary, by answering the research questions, considering internationalization as a crucial component to develop its institution, RU is motivated to work toward internationalization in order to satisfy stakeholders (students, parents, government, or more broadly speaking, society). External forces have also affected the internationalization process. A disguised form of government control, which was accomplished by shrinking funds, has provided autonomy for RU to jump into the international higher education market. The competitive environment for limited sources now motivates RU to adopt internationalization practices in the form of accumulating capital in various ways.

The RU case study identified the economic rationale behind international student recruitment and further observed the fact that market-driven international student recruitment is tightly linked to neoliberal economic policies. Ever since the enactment of deregulation policies, RU has been under intense pressure to diversify its funding structure. These policies have brought along the notion of competition to RU and it has started to compare itself with other universities. This has led to increased accountability. In doing so, RU seeks out external sources and international student recruitment is employed as a useful strategy to strengthen the funding structure. Under these circumstances, students from abroad are very much welcomed as they provide profits to RU.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study has explored internationalization dynamics at two different types of universities in Korea, namely one that emphasizes teaching and another that centers on research. Through a case study approach, I interviewed academicians and administrators in selected universities and gathered information from study respondents' observations to analyze the kind of changes that have occurred in universities. I was curious to discover the impact that neoliberal ideology may have had on the higher education system and how the universities pursued internationalization in response to globalization. I also wanted to know how and whether these changes altered the education environment at universities and the impact that various reforms have had on academics. Therefore, I presented the views of academicians and administrators on the internationalization activities at their institutions. As students are major stakeholders in higher education, I also explored their engagement in international higher education.

The findings indicate academicians and administrators see globalization as a form of neoliberal competition and managerialism, which has introduced a new competitive atmosphere in higher education requiring a powerful management body that often overrides academic values at universities. As external accountability has increasingly affected universities, restructuring has pursued effectiveness and efficiency, which has increased links to the industry. Academicians often criticize this type of globalization by citing concerns about the nature of universities and traditional academic goals. However, some respondents argue that competition is necessary to develop an institution.

The two universities under study differed in terms of size, mission, goals, and also in their capabilities and interests. Perhaps not surprisingly, a large difference was found in how the institutions have responded to current challenges in an era of globalization. While the internationalization dynamics of the two universities take place in different contexts, they also reflect similar trends.

Most of the previous literature on university responses to globalization has only paid attention to the internationalization of research-focused universities as well as from the perspective of an advanced industrial country. In contrast, this study provides a useful comparison of how universities located in Asia are changing and how they are experiencing the process and dynamics of globalization. This study is significant to the field of comparative education and international education in that it probes the internationalization of different types of universities *in the periphery of academia*.

Main University Trends

SNU

A research-focused university such as SNU appears to be maintaining many of its traditional values while in the midst of some major structural and governance changes. A major shift occurred in recent years as SNU became a corporation in hopes that this structure would be better at adapting to global changes, and thus be more competitive. Concomitantly, SNU has reformed its finance system and reorganized its structure. These changes have brought about the importance of accountability, and thus, a shift in the role of the professoriate and academic environment. Academicians are not happy about the performance-focused evaluation

system being implemented. The impact of global trends can be clearly seen in this SNU case study. In some areas there were signs that SNU is moving closer to the kind of practices used at Western universities and, in doing so, SNU is also moving toward a more entrepreneurial culture. This is seen especially in the efforts to provide profitable educational programs and the extreme pressure on research performance that appears to have compromised the quality of teaching. There seems to be no desire to move toward a truly Anglo-Saxon approach to higher education. However, SNU appears to be moving away from a long-sustained academic environment where there was much importance given to teaching and collegiality. International accountability mechanisms, such as overemphasis on competition and research, are pushing this university to emulate the practices of Western universities.

Due to its status as a top national university, SNU wants to maintain public value as an institution of higher education, and is proud of its liberal arts and humanistic education. The desire expressed by most academicians was that professors are to be critics of their university and to be the conscience of the nation. SNU also wants to encourage its students to pursue social justice. Recent shifts driven by globalization forces make it difficult for SNU academics to maintain their preferred cooperative environment. SNU academics would prefer to stay away from the worldwide syndrome, “publish or perish.”

RU

As a teaching university outside of Seoul, RU is not a well-known university in Korea. Despite this, the university has done well and has gained good evaluations from the MOE; thus, other universities at a similar level sometimes visit this

university to learn about the management of the institution. The university's morale is quite positive because it has been highly successful in maintaining a stable and moral funding structure. In addition, it has developed in a positive way, as academicians show a strong interest in teaching students, and research performance is also quite high compared to the lower research funding support. As the sole four-year university in the region, the university perceives itself as a contributor to the region surrounding the institution. Despite the apparent sustainability, RU is also facing challenges ushered in by this global era. There are ongoing challenges, involving austerity in the budget, curricular changes, and increasing accountability. The impact of global trends can be clearly seen at RU. In some investigated areas, there were signs that RU is moving close to the kinds of practices that are privileged by contemporary society. In the area of the governance, only a very few faculty in leadership positions are now engaged in actual decision making, although faculty voices still remain. Diverse types of government accountability seem to have encouraged RU to emulate practices of other universities. This is seen especially in the changes to its curriculum and expectations about professors. RU has maintained good professors in the liberal arts and humanities; however, its support is shifting to some academic fields related to industry. There seems to be no desire to move towards having a pragmatic perspective where practical knowledge overrides a general education for students. However, RU appears to be moving away from maintaining its value as a teaching university in a regional area toward providing a more skill-focused education, which makes transition to the job market easier.

Main Findings

Uniqueness of international student mobility

Much of the literature has explored the flow of international students, which is mainly from South to North, particularly from Asian countries as major sending countries to English-speaking countries, such as Australia, Canada, the US, and the UK. This study observed another flow from the North to the South and international student mobility among Asian countries. Attracting students to study overseas is a daunting task for Asian universities. Therefore, they have needed to implement specific appealing components or have sought help from external actors.

This study did not intend to find a causal effect between the massification of higher education and international student recruitment. However, as higher education has entered a massified stage, international students are becoming an important issue. Following the path of massification, traditionally elite universities today are not exclusively educational providers, and higher education is not limited to only elite groups of people. The massification of higher education has led to severe competition for students as well as external funding sources, thus increasing the marketization of universities. Now universities are encouraged to cater the needs and interests of new students.

Korean government reports indicate its view that the country cannot afford simultaneously mass access and high quality. In addition, the number of college-age young people has been declining significantly, with fewer enrolling in STEM fields, as many prospective students go to study abroad. This situation contributes to a national brain drain. As one solution, the Korean government encourages overseas

students while they are making efforts to liberalize visa regulations or open employment opportunities in order to attract talents. However, there are not only smart students out there. This study shows a sign that there are two kinds of flow in global student mobility. Students who are smarter and wealthier choose more expensive and thus better higher education. In contrast, lower performing students from a poorer background choose less competitive or lower quality higher education. In this way, the global academic hierarchy of higher education is being intensified.

English as a barrier to internationalization

The internationalization game has become noticeably stronger, and the English language is at the heart of internationalization. This study indicated that English affected the extent to which institutions are able to internationalize. Institutional potential for having foreign faculty and a student's ability to do English are main determinants of successful internationalization. The missions of the two universities were very different, but both pursued using English as a teaching medium. As a top university in Korea, SNU has prospective students who also have a very high level of English proficiency. SNU is not willing to accept English as a teaching medium; however, they do not deny the importance of English as an academic language. On the other hand, there are very few students who are fluent in English at RU. Therefore, using English as a teaching medium in RU was not possible and even seemed to be unnecessary to its mission as a teaching university. In this respect, RU was not successful in achieving various internationalization measures, such as the proportion of English-taught classes, the ratio of inbound and outbound students, the diversity in international students, and the number of international faculty.

Importantly, all of these factors require the institution to be comfortable with providing services in English.

Given that knowledge today is mainly transmitted in English, in order for institutions to have prestige and competitiveness, they have to adopt English as an important prerequisite in their academic environment. Student respondents indicate that international universities refer to institutions where they can study in English. This perspective also represents a broader trend because many school systems across countries only provide English as a second language, disregarding the learning of other languages, as reported by students. It is an important issue that requires careful consideration as a dependence on English might continue to be an academic feature of Korean higher education's deep engagement with Anglo-Saxon academia.

Shifts in academic fields

It is indisputable that research universities stand at the center of the global knowledge economy, and that science and engineering bolster national development. Much government subsidies have been assigned to government-supported projects, in particular for research in science and engineering. In practice, this means that the only recipients are competitive research universities. Thus, stakeholders in academic fields firmly linked to industry have benefited over those in other academic fields. As an example, SNU engineering school has developed by expanding the bio-engineering related academic programs.

In other words, teaching universities that normally do not have strong scientific academic disciplines do not easily benefit from government subsidy support, and they also cannot earn income from research. RU is a very revealing example.

They do not even consider applying for large government subsidized projects. People might initially agree that small and lower-ranked universities do not deserve to receive this support. However, the issue is not that simple, because the emphasis on research excludes teaching universities. Following this trend alters the basic character of a teaching university. Traditionally, RU has remained strong in the humanities; however, they are now moving toward establishing an engineering program and are also implementing skill-focused or certificate-based programs in the curriculum. It still remains unclear how this change will ultimately alter the character of RU's traditionally teaching-focused academic program.

Accountability

There are strong signs of increasing accountability at the national and institutional level. Universities are reforming their institutions based on the changing accountability. Concurrently, academicians and administrators exhibit some skepticism and a hint of resistance to the accountability reform of their institutions. Performance indicators and quality assurance mechanisms are different in SNU and RU. However, both universities have implemented new accountability mechanisms; SNU by international standards and RU through domestic standard with the University Accreditation System for performance based-funding. The knowledge-based society does not always only provide advantages, but could present risks to the research-focused university. The Korean government drives top universities to focus on efficiency and quality, which contribute to future economic growth. Accountability in SNU relate to international university rankings whose components are built mostly from the Anglo-Saxon higher education perspective. Showing

concerns about teaching duties, SNU is under pressure to show excellent research performance, particularly in competitive academic fields in a knowledge-based industry, and academic performance is now evaluated based on measurable and quantifiable outcomes. Accountability mechanisms in SNU and RU are not yet used to punish, but are expressed in the form of small salary increments by means of an incentive system. Changing national accountability has mirrored the government's expectations regarding universities, and RU feels that government today is restructuring the higher education with the accountability system. Since accountability is based on relative, not absolute performance, RU is required to show continuous development in comparison with other institutions, which often conflict with sustained values of the university. RU faculty implicitly hold a negative view on recent reforms of their institution, but they find it hard to oppose the institution's decision. On the other hand, the SNU faculty sometimes explicitly resist the changes. Resistance is possible in SNU since faculty job security has been stable, decision making of faculty has been quite strong, and respect for them has been very high in Korean society. While both universities pay more attention to accountability than before, it still remains unclear how much the respondents are seriously bothered by this accountability. This study focused on institutional response, so faculty resistance was touched upon at an individual level but was not explored in terms of collective resistance. Since the professoriate's response to recent forces would be a broader study subject, further research is needed to examine faculty governance.

The impact of neoliberal economic policies on universities: Changing nature of universities

As the world enters into a competitive knowledge-based society, the government expects universities to serve state development in the global marketplace, emphasizing practical and technical knowledge. The impact of globalization on universities is manifested as deregulated reform, which leads to a privatizing of university finances. A deregulated higher-education system allows universities to market themselves, which is exemplified in the move toward promoting and increasing overseas student recruitment. The expansion of Korean higher education has depended much on the private sector, and fee-paying offerings have intensified through the expansion of lucrative international-student education programs.

Korean higher education has experienced massification over the past few decades, which has created the ground for institutional reform. Although the Korean government provides considerable autonomy to higher education institutions, concurrently it still regulates and controls elements of the higher education system. Market mechanisms are becoming visible in university activities, although it is still very blurry.³⁰ Increases in students paying for education programs and changes to government funding eligibility means that students have to take on some

³⁰ Slaughter and Leslie (1997) observed the academic capitalism in northern countries, in which the emergence of policy initiatives focused on marketization is evident and institutions are places in a competitive resource environment. They used the term academic capitalism to represent “institutional and professorial market or market-like efforts to secure external money” (p. 8). Institutional market-like behaviors are to compete for funds from external resource providers, such as “grants and contracts, endowment funds, university-industry partnerships, institutional investment in professors’ spinoff companies, or student tuition and fees” (p. 11). Their study provides useful background knowledge to help with understanding recent shifts that have occurred in universities; however, its theory should be applied carefully when examining the marketization of higher education in other countries. Many market-like institutional strategies observed by Slaughter and Leslie were not those experienced in Korean higher education institutions because for-profit activities have officially been restricted in Korean universities. This study observed a sign of marketization in Korean universities, but its extent is much less than that of the northern countries.

responsibility for their education costs, and universities now have to bring in funds from the private sector in order to survive. Due to changes in the funding structure for higher education, the amount of funds assigned to an institution is increasingly determined by performance-based funding measures such as research output or employment rates, instead of student enrollment numbers. The introduction of these mechanisms implies that Korean higher education is reforming according to a neoliberal perspective. Institutional reform with an economic rationale is coupled with an institution's cultural and academic rationale. Thus, the impact of globalization would vary for different types of institutions.

This dissertation observed that globalization offers similar challenges to SNU and RU, but their responses varied in terms of their own capabilities and interests. The analysis and interpretation of interviews and university documents suggest changing conditions at both SNU and RU. The changes identified at SNU included: (1) an emphasis on science and technology, rather than liberal science and the humanities; (2) promotion of interdisciplinary research; (3) strong collaboration with industry; and (4) an increasing sense of entrepreneurial identification. The significant features in the profile of RU were four-fold: (1) a greater emphasis on practical and vocational-oriented education and profit-making and consumer-oriented education; (2) emphasis on employability of graduates; (3) attention to the changing market niche; and (4) although very small in scale, entrepreneurial activities at both the institutional level and at the faculty level.

This study showed that internationalization is very much aligned with neoliberal economic policies and this is a potential threat to the nature of the

university, as noted by concerns about the rise of entrepreneurial activities. Universities are borrowing market-driven strategies and are being forced to adopt various forms of accountability. This has led to a decline in education quality and grave concerns about the nature of what it is to be a university.

While much of the literature talks about internationalization practices, it assumes that internationalization is only for research universities. The two universities under study are different in terms of size, mission, goals, and interests. More importantly, the differences in capabilities and reputation do not lead SNU and RU to compare or compete with each other. This study observed, however, that education policies and social expectations are driving both universities to provide similar activities despite an institution's capacity. Internationalization is considered by each university as a prerequisite for coping with a changing environment. Further, a large portion of government subsidies for internationalization only supports efforts to make research universities more competitive, in hopes they will then contribute to state development in a knowledge-based society.

Along the same lines, a performance-based funding structure assigns a much higher proportion of funding to research-focused projects, while teaching universities subsist on a meager infrastructure and have few avenues to apply for funding. The influences of globalization and neoliberal economic policies are felt in all types of universities. This study showed that RU, as a teaching university, does not interpret internationalization as becoming a research-focused institution, but it is also adapting to internationalization. This study does not argue that research universities are doing better than teaching universities in terms of internationalization. Rather, this

comparative study indicates that higher education is becoming bifurcated. I believe this bifurcation of universities puts teaching-oriented universities at risk, especially in terms of keeping up their quality of education. Meanwhile, long-sustained research-oriented universities are given additional advantages and are flourishing. RU, as a teaching-focused university, is moving towards a more vocational-oriented education in order to enhance the employability of university graduates. Since Korean higher education has already entered into a stage of massification, presumably each university has to prepare itself to provide its own specialized education. However, it should not be the case that students at lower-level universities receive a lower quality of education. The look at RU shows that it is reforming across diverse areas of the institution, including the role of faculty, finance structure, and management of the institution. However, none of these are actually geared at improving the quality of education provided to students. RU has put more money toward advertising and has expanded education subjects to better fit with industry needs, and has placed fewer resources into general topics such as education, literature, philosophy, and the social sciences. RU is struggling with specializing in some particular fields in a massified form of Korean higher education in order to compete with other universities. In doing so, RU seems to be moving toward some other mission apart from teaching and research. RU considers internationalization abilities mostly as those skills required in industry, and thus, internationalization programs are very much linked to providing a skill-focused education. In this way, RU is increasing practical skills in the curriculum, which could very well deprive students of the opportunity for a well-rounded education. In comparison, SNU has been under extreme pressure to increase

research performance and is compromising other important traditional university values. SNU has been able to maintain their high status for a long period of time, therefore, it will likely get through these challenges and certainly will survive and flourish in the end. Overall, globalization would be a chance to develop institutions, and many universities may enjoy the benefits of globalization. However, whether globalization benefits all types of universities is something worth further consideration.

Internationalization: process, conflicts, and challenges

This dissertation observed that two teaching and research universities are engaged in internationalization efforts and are now continually seeking further opportunities to expand the width and depth of the internationalization. Universities have taken internationalization very seriously and internationalization is now one of the major strategic pillars at both universities. Interestingly, while universities have placed internationalization on their university reform agenda, internationalization at both universities is taking place through a top-down approach, but is not fully supported, nor led by faculty members. This study revealed that each type of university interprets internationalization in a different way. SNU, as a long-privileged top university in Korea, is pursuing internationalization of its institution as a way of becoming a world-class university. In comparison, RU, as a small teaching-focused university in Korea, does not have an interest in achieving an international reputation. Rather, RU sees the internationalization as a prerequisite and a necessary element mostly forced upon the university by social pressures and government accountability. Internationalization sounds like a very idealistic terminology; however, it is

increasingly driven by economic rationale to small and less-privileged university, as well as wealthy university, though not always with the same visibility, intensity, or timing.

Competition is a revealing driving rationale for internationalization at both universities. SNU is under pressure to compete internationally, and is thus now concerned about its ranking in global league tables. In comparison, RU is not concerned about international rankings, but it cares about internationalization as an important factor in attracting students and in terms of resource allocation vis-à-vis competition with other Korean universities. Although these universities have different understandings of internationalization, they are both pursuing initiatives at their campuses that include changes in student and professor mobility, international research collaboration, and provisions of international-related programs in hopes of improving the academic environment, enhancing the quality of education, and improving the global mindset of students. It was not observed, however, that these internationalization efforts are concurrently cultivating student academics or broadening their perspectives. Also, it is unclear how the internationalization efforts will impact the cultural environment of the universities on a long-term basis.

With the growth in students pursuing higher education, higher education institutions are considering new and different student needs and interests. International students today play an important role in higher education systems. Newly emerged mobility and immigration patterns in Asia also contribute to new curricular and research agendas. Students are increasingly looking for higher and more competitive credentials across borders, while institutions are responding by

providing cross-border education programs or professionally oriented programs to increase revenue and prestige. This is a mutually-beneficial trend between students and universities; however, questions exist about how best to evaluate the standard of the education quality being provided in unfamiliar institutions abroad.

This study found that international higher education today serves a more diverse group of students; however, traditionally underprivileged groups still face serious challenges. Students of lower socio-economic status are still supposed to pursue a less competitive choice and women students prefer having higher education in more comfortable environments, rather than seeking out better and more competitive higher education credentials. Socially-privileged students continue to take more advantage of the new opportunities in the new globalized environment.

There is continuing conflict within the Korean higher education in that powerful universities receive most of the government research funds and dominate most aspects of Korean higher education. The remaining institutions providing Korean higher education are *in the periphery of academia* and research, and include both comprehensive universities and community colleges that are mostly in regional areas. These universities are not considered to be leaders in the Korean academic system, but they also play important roles in both the academic system and in society. However, universities without substantial financial resources find it virtually impossible to join in the internationalization activities.

The essence of internationalization of higher education should promote cross-cultural understanding; however, this contains an essential contradiction, since internationalization in its current form does not actually respect a diverse set of

cultures and values. There is a social recognition that internationalization is necessary to develop an institution; however, there is also some resistance to the form of internationalization being imposed, which many consider to be an American-dominated hegemony. Active internationalization efforts through joint programs and study abroad link different school systems across countries; however, the programs are primarily provided only in English. In addition, questions continue to be raised about the comparability of different school systems and various credentials across borders.

Tensions have arisen between domestic circumstances and international pressure in that English today dominates as the language of research and scholarship. It appears that only countries that use English are able to obtain more of the opportunities and benefits of internationalization. Engaging in the current competition among world-class universities is predominantly defined by an Anglo-Saxon paradigm and Korean universities are emulating practices in this paradigm in terms of academic governance and university management. Universities are adopting the curriculum of the US and most internationally recognized journals are Western-based and published in English. US academia and scholars trained in the US garner more respect and have greater opportunities in the academic job market. This study shows the preference of academic credentials from the North, which offers more attractive opportunities, better salaries, and working conditions. In this way, the globalization of higher education will continue to develop unequally and Asian universities are being pushed *to the periphery in international higher education*. In my opinion, the internationalization of higher education cannot be competitive with Western

universities because Asia is not equally appealing to prospective students and because the use of English as an academic language is a disadvantage for universities in this region. Whatever the consequences of internationalization, it is an unavoidable trend for universities worldwide. The path to overcoming the challenges facing Asian universities is difficult in an academic world fraught with inequalities.

Future Research

Korean universities have radically shifted over a very short period. In 2009, when I left SNU, it was a very rare experience to see foreign students or foreign professors who had different skin colors on campus. Although there were some signs of gearing up for English-taught classes or international conferences, these changes did not have much of an impact on my academic life. Since that time, however, SNU has entered into another phase of internationalization in that it has plans to establish an SNU international campus in Korea. While the university's efforts are undoubtedly supposed to be for the students, it is unclear whether students are really happy with the recent changes at their university. In fall 2013 during this fieldwork, there were two student demonstrations on the SNU campus opposing the establishment of the new international campus. It was easy to see posters on campus made by students sharing their opinions against the neoliberalism and globalization initiatives being implemented at the university. In particular, students were concerned about tuition increases. As a top university, SNU is firmly linked to society and decisions are based on a pursuit of excellence. Students there are also expected to show a high level of performance. It would seem crucial to examine the tensions between students and recent reforms at the university.

I believe it was perfect timing to probe into internationalization at SNU. It has been just a few years since SNU incorporated; therefore, there have not been many changes in the academic environment, and academicians and administrators were able to talk about their struggles in maintaining the traditional public value of the university and adapting to the new circumstances. As a group, they have an unquestionable feeling that SNU will shift dramatically in ways that will affect the nature of this national institution. Most of those interviewed very much believe that the university will be absorbed into an entrepreneurial culture. Further research should explore how an incorporated SNU will shift in positive and negative ways while coping with the changing environment in the globalization era.

As a teaching university, RU does not interpret internationalization as becoming a research-focused institution. Instead, it considers internationalization as prerequisite for developing its institution. However, it is unclear that recent reforms will benefit students as well as who will actually benefit from these changes. This study observed that faculty at RU are now being required to pursue other missions over teaching, which is a move away from the traditional values of the institution. The changing role of the faculty is also causing a transition in the academic environment. Future research should look at what exactly would be required of teaching universities in this new global order.

This study showed that RU has been forced to move toward a more vocational emphasis in the curriculum and there are now elements of it becoming a degree mill. However, it is unclear if students in teaching universities expect only an education that provides practical skills, as they are unqualified to attend better research

universities. Students at teaching universities also invest their time and finances into higher education; however, globalization might be rapidly devaluing the education they are receiving at these teaching universities. A future line of inquiry can examine what education means to recent students at teaching universities and if they are satisfied with being provided a skill-focused education. In more general terms, it is necessary to examine carefully how small universities respond to globalization.

Analysis in this study regarding the motivations of international students indicated that expanding access to higher education across borders does not mean more equitable opportunity in cross-border higher education. While the research literature has observed a growing number of international students or countries engaging in international student mobility, as of yet it has hardly paid attention to the relationship between social class and education opportunities within international higher education. Higher education is a key to social mobility. Therefore, future research needs to examine international student mobility in terms of students' socio-economic backgrounds and explore further where and why they go for their higher education.

Appendices

Appendix A.

Interview Protocol for Administrators at the Ministry of Education

Background:

How long have you been in your current position?

What was your previous position and what are your current responsibilities?

Internationalization:

What do you think are the major issues facing the MOE in terms of internationalization?

What are the MOE's major strategies for building a world-class university?

What are the MOE's major strategies for the internationalization of teaching universities?

International Students:

What are the major issues in terms of expanding international students?

How does the MOE perceive the expansion of Chinese students?

What are the challenges stemming from the expansion of Chinese students?

Appendix B.

Interview Protocol for Administrators at Seoul National University

Background:

What is your current position and major responsibilities?

How long have you been in this position?

Institutional Setting:

What are the key challenges that SNU is currently facing?

What are the new tasks that the internationalization of SNU has recently emphasized?

Internationalization:

What are the key strategies for internationalization?

What are the intended outcomes of internationalization?

What are the obstacles and challenges to institutional internationalization?

Why do you think SNU is pursuing internationalization as a key institutional strategy?

If the internationalization strategy was successfully achieved, how would the institution be different than it is today?

International Students:

What are the strategies for recruiting international students?

What are the intended outcomes for international student recruitment?

Appendix C.

Interview Protocol for Administrators at RU

Background:

What is your current position and major responsibilities?

How long have you been in this position?

Institutional Setting:

What are the key challenges that RU is currently facing?

What are the new tasks that the internationalization of RU has recently emphasized?

Internationalization:

What are the key strategies for internationalization?

What are the intended outcomes of internationalization?

What are the obstacles and challenges to institutional internationalization?

Why do you think RU is pursuing internationalization as a key institutional strategy?

If the internationalization strategy was successfully achieved, how would the institution be different than it is today?

International Students:

What are the strategies for recruiting international students?

What are the intended outcomes for international student recruitment?

Appendix D.

Interview Protocol for Faculty at Both Universities

Background:

What is your current position, program and how long have you been working in this position?

Internationalization:

Why do you think the internationalization is being pursued by your university?

What has been changed the most in your work in the process of internationalization?

International Students:

What are the challenges since the international students come to your university?

Appendix E.

Interview Protocol for International Students at Both Universities

Background:

What is your name, country of origin, and gender?

What program are you in, and how long have you been in it?

Motivations and Goals:

What did you do to prepare to enter to your university and for how long?

What made you choose your program in Korean higher education?

What is your primary reason for choosing to pursue your studies in Korean higher education?

What are the challenges of studying in a Korean university?

How much do you think a Korean higher education degree would affect your opportunities in your country?

What are your plans after you have graduated?

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