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**A Multifocal Analysis of Korean Educational Policies
on the Teaching Profession**

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**A Multifocal Analysis of Korean Educational Policies
on the Teaching Profession**

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Korean education policies were derived from the 5.31 Education Reform oriented to the increase of autonomy and accountability for school effectiveness and the quality instruction through teacher professionalism enhancement. The policies are related to the influences of historical events and contexts embedded in the interactions of policy players who have their own arguments, particularly professionalism versus managerialism. The policies have been driven by right-wing perspectives. As a result, the roles, powers, functions, and structures of teaching profession have gradually changed. From the structural analysts, Basil Bernstein and Michel Foucault, teaching profession has become a system of supervision, compliance, normalization, isomorphism related to the collection code. The dynamic, complex and multilevel policy implementation need to be analyzed from a multifocal approach coupled with historical institutional, political, and structural analysis. This analysis contributes to understanding the changes of teaching profession resulted from intricate and dynamic interactions embedded in policy environments causing or influencing policy implementation directly and indirectly. Korean educational policy analysts, generally, tend to use one of the institutional, the political, and the structural perspective. Most policy analyses are concerned with the political analysis

focused on exploring the political interaction between policy players, presenting policy issues and alternatives, analyzing the new institutionalism of education policy formation and implementation process, and influencing of policies on school organization and teachers apart from the political environment and the political interactions. In this respect, the multifocal policy analysis will be beneficial to shed light on a multifocal analysis of Korean educational policies.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A landmark of Korean education reform occurred on May 31, 1995 with the passage of the 5.31 (May 31) Education Reform. An effort to encourage educational innovation was infused with three distinct movements in Korean politics at the time: the widespread acceptance of market theory, a new social conception of Korea's place in the world, and a general reform of the practice of government. Korea joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1993, which in turn drove the nation's efforts to evolve from a traditional industrial economy to a knowledge-based, post-industrial economy. Along the way, a new paradigm of professional behavior emerged marked by a classical right-wing or neo-liberal worldview that focused on competition, free trade, deregulation, open government and accountability. At that time, Korea was governed by the 'pen', a civilian government that had replaced the military regimes (from early 1960s to Feb. 1993). The new regime prioritized reforming the social order from that of an authoritarian top-down driven state to a more democratic state that valued individual autonomy. Education was a prime policy instrument to begin to construct a "new Korea" and the 5.31 reform embodied its overall aims of rooting out the traditional military order. The Ministry of Education (MOE¹) needed to change the educational system in order to recover the belief of the public in education, relieving the burden of preparing for the entrance examinations for upper education and reducing private education expenditure through reviving public education, reforming educational standards and instructions

¹ MOE was renamed as the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MOE & HRD) on January 29, 2001, and then changed to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) in February 2008. In this dissertation, the author will use MOE hereafter instead of MOE & HRD and MEST.

for new economic regime. Most of the reform agendas have substantially served as the fundamental principles of education in the successive governments (MOE, 1998).

The reform was aimed at converting the system from a provider-centered to a learner-driven system, from a closed to an open system, from a uniform to a diverse and specialized organization, from regulation and control to autonomy and accountability, and from low-quality supervision to quality management through evaluation (The Education Reform Committee, 1998). The main policies have been implemented through the establishment of deregulation, school councils, national standards, student-centered curricula, school personnel systems innovation, new teacher evaluation practices, the National Assessment of Educational Achievement, and school evaluation and transparency (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2001; Kim, 2010a; Kim, 2010b). Put simply, Korea's educational policies have been drastically based on conservative political perspectives that focus on autonomy, professionalism, and accountability.

Autonomy policies are based on school-based management that has been given more discretion in school operations, which include personnel, curriculum articulation and operation, and budgeting (Park, 2010; Choi, 2009; Ko, 2009; Chung, 2008). Professionalism policies have focused on creating a promotion and evaluation system that replaces the closed, vertical and strict seniority system with the open, flexible and performance-based system (Lee & Hong, 2008; Cho, 2007; Han, 2004; Park & Ko, 2000; Ko, 2001; Lee & Kim, 2003; Lee, 2004). Accountability policies have focused on competition, classification and comparison among students, teachers, and schools with explicit and clear criteria and evaluative procedures (Kim, K. T., 2005; Kim, 2010a; Kim, 2010b; Kim, et al, 2009a; Kim, et al, 2009b).

The educational policies are embedded in political processes. The policy players have been the typical groups Kingdon (2003) presented: government, parties, interest groups related to

teachers, parents and citizens, the media, and academics. They have distinctive identities, roles, expectations and cultures; also, they have the power and strategies to persuade, negotiate, oppose, unite, mobilize, resist, and struggle. The stakeholders can be classified as both supporting and opposing groups (Cahn, 1995). The supporting ones were most stakeholders. Opposing groups included the teachers' union and parents' associations. Scholars, research institutions, and the media were expected to be in the middle, but most tended to support the governmental policies.

The policies have resulted in heated debates on the social inequality. There are achievement gaps in Korea according to income and regions as wealthier areas can supplement public spending with private dollars. Advocates of equality are concerned about the polarization of social strata and school labeling. On the other hand, proponents of educational excellence emphasize competition, test score publication, and high-quality professionalism. The different perspectives of both parties produce differing treatments of policies.

In addition to the controversial issue of educational equality, administrative versus professional accountability was debated by liberals and conservatives. Administrative accountability is related to a tightly coupled policy in a loosely coupled system (Fusarelli, 2002). Recent reform initiatives were designed to improve education through tightly coupled education policy and practice. Higher standards, testing, and accountability are believed to improve student achievement through tightened centralized control and more effective command structures (Boyd & Crowson, 2002; Meyer, 2002). Thus, Reyes, Wagstaff, and Fusarelli (1999) argued that government involvement in education (i.e., test-based accountability) has led to more tightly coupled school policies. There is a great concern that these policies will reduce teacher professionalism and autonomy by focusing on instruction tailored to the test rather than rich educational experiences and higher thinking skills for authentic pedagogy.

These policies have produced dramatic changes in teaching profession. Schools are marked by several images such as a bureaucracy (Morgan, 2006), a loose coupling system (Weick, 1976), a complex organization (Bolman & Deal, 2008), and a professional and moral organization (Sergiovanni, 2007). In spite of these distinctive school images, school policies have focused on the bureaucratic and hierarchical lens. Hoy and Miskel (2001) said that school organization became more formalized, more centralized, and less professional in an era of accountability. Also, professionals are under ‘a regulated autonomy’, which is highly standardized, tightly managed, and rigidly evaluated (Apple, 1998; Whitty, 2002). In the meanwhile, performance-based policies continuously observe whether schools and teachers achieve predetermined and regulated guidelines and goals (Perryman, 2006; Webb, 2006). Thus, they may become ‘an evaluated’ organization or self” (Gunzenhauser, 2006; Rex & Nelson, 2004). However, professionals have their professional identity or consciousness of what and how to act in the classroom (Zembylas, 2003); they can resist the policies for taking care of themselves individually or collectively (Ball, 2003; Bushnell, 2003; Webb, 2005).

From the Korean literature, Kim (2010b) pointed out that accountability policies have produced more supervision and professionals that either comply or are considered resistant. Also, Kim (2010a) maintains that administrative accountability has resulted in reduced professional discretion. Kim, Joo, Kim and Park (2009b) argue that the NAEA forced teachers to focus on test-based instruction. Na (2008) argued that teachers perceived the NAEA as a form of teacher evaluation because of administrators and parents’ sensitive responses to the test and cultural recognition that test results are consistent with school rankings. Also, Cho (2007) found that teacher evaluation caused a dilemma, due to the differences between teacher’s professionalism and excellence in education based on conservative policy. She argued that teachers reacted

against the policy dilemma by using breakthrough and struggle. Furthermore, the autonomy policies may not only produce vertical structure and focused leadership in schools but also cause disagreement and conflict between principals and teachers (Park, 2010; Choi, 2009; Chung, 2008).

In these veins, the changes in the teaching profession of Korea are the results of intricate and dynamic interactions embedded in policy environments causing or influencing policy implementation directly and indirectly. The researchers and scholars in policy studies, in general, point out that policy implementation would be analyzed through both the macro approach as policy environments and the micro and structural one as implementation structure and process (Honig, 2006; Sabatier, 2007; Birkland, 2005). The policy analysis approached from bifocal or multifocal perspectives contributes to “better understanding the policy problems we study; the relationships among policy discourse, planning, implementation, and practice; the dynamics of policy contexts; and the impact of policy and practice on individuals.” (Young, 1999, p.679) Also, the use of more than one framework will “construct research designs and collect data, analyze and interpret the data through the different frames, and compare the similarities and differences in the findings that emerged from the different perspectives.” (Young, 1999, p. 679)

However, Korean educational policy analysts, generally, tend to use one of the institutional, the political, and the structural perspective. Most policy analyses are concerned with the political analysis focused on exploring the political interaction between policy players (Kim, et al, 2009a, 2009b; Shin & Park, 2008), presenting policy issues and alternatives (Seo & Hong, 2008; Kim, J. W., 2008; Kim & Lee, 2008; Kim, 2005b), or analyzing the new institutionalism of accountability policy formation and implementation (Han & Kim, 2008; Shin & Jeon, 2007). Also, the structural analysis of policies is focused on how the specific policies

influence school organization and teachers apart from the political environment and the political interactions (Kim, 2010a, 2010b; Park, 2006; Na, 2008; Cho, 2007; Park, 2010; Choi, 2009; Chung, 2008).

Korean educational policy analysts may be missing the multifocal perspectives. In order to shed light on a multifocal analysis of Korean educational policies, this study examines how policies or institutions influence the changes of teaching profession over time as follows:

1) From the macro approach, how have the institutional environments and events influenced the policy and the teaching profession?

2) From the micro approach, how have political interactions between the players influenced the policy and the teaching profession?

3) From the structural approach, how has the teaching profession been changed by policies?

4) From the integrated approach, how have policies influenced on the changes of teaching profession by interacting among political players?

Chapter 2

Vignettes of Research: Korean Education System and Policies

A. Educational system

Korea was under Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. After being liberated from Japanese colonial rule, Korea was put under the United States' military administration by 1948. The Korean War broke out in 1950 and the Korean peninsula has been divided into South and North Korea since 1953, but a state of war still technically exists between the two nations. This has led South Korea to defer to 'the right-wing' rule. The U.S. assisted the economic and social revival of Korea during 1950s and provided access to the U.S. higher education system, producing many scholars that influenced Korean economic and social development.

The early educational system in Korea was a mixture of the Japanese and American system. The educational administration system in Korea tended to follow the Japanese model of a rigid, top-down, and formalized system. However, curriculum and instruction were echoed in the U.S. education system (The Ministry of Education, 1998). These traditions endured thirty years (1962 – 1993) of military regimes and into the present democratic governments even though the civilian governments have had conflicting political ideology: the civilian government (1993-1998, conservative); the people's government (1998-2003, progressive); the participation government (2003-2008, progressive); the Lee Myoung-bak government (2008-the present, conservative).

Korean educational system is based on the fundamental principles prescribed in Article 31 of Constitution of the Republic of Korea (No.10, Oct. 29, 1987). Those are:

(1) All citizens shall have an equal right to receive an education corresponding to their abilities (the equality of education).

(2) All citizens who have children to support shall be responsible at least for their elementary education and other education as provided by the related Acts (compulsory education).

(3) Compulsory education shall be free of charge (free education).

(4) Independence, professionalism, and political impartiality of education and the autonomy of institutions of higher education shall be guaranteed under the conditions as prescribed by the related Act (autonomy, professionalism, and impartiality of education).

(5) The State shall promote lifelong education (lifelong education).

(6) Fundamental matters pertaining to the educational system, including in-school and lifelong education, administration, finance, and the status of teachers shall be determined by the related Act (the principle of legality).

The concrete enforcement of the Constitution is prescribed by the Framework Act of Education (Act No.8915, 21. Mar, 2008) that is a product of the 5.31 education reform focused on creating the new Korea education system after the military government for 30 years. The Act concretely follows Article 31 of the Constitution as follows: principle of education (Article 2), the right to learn (Article 3), equal opportunity of education (Article 4), educational independence (Article 5), educational neutrality (Article 6), educational finance (Article 7), compulsory education (Article 8), school education (Article 9), social education (Article 10), establishment of schools (Article 11), parties involved in education (Article 12-17), etc. Particularly the Act establishes schools on the principle of legality. Article 9 prescribes the types and purposes of schooling: 1) Schools shall be established to conduct early childhood education,

elementary education, secondary education and higher education; (2) Schools shall be public in nature, and shall make efforts to maintain and develop sciences and cultural heritage and to promote the lifelong education of residents as well as educating students; (3) School education shall be performed with an emphasis on education of the whole person, including the development of creativity and the cultivation of human nature of students; (4) Fundamentals of school education such as types, establishment and management of schools shall be determined separately by other Acts. Also, schools, according to Article 11, can be established and managed by not only the State and local governments but also “a juristic person (called school corporation) or an individual”. The schools established by a juristic person and individual are called private schools. Almost all private schools, except some autonomous and specialized private schools, in Korea have received public grants from the local governments for their school personnel and operation. So, all schools in Korea are currently under governmental control and supervision.

B. Expansion of schooling

The Korean school ladder system has been based on a single track system following a 6-3-3-4 pattern, which refers to years in elementary school, middle school, high school, and university, respectively. In 2009, there were 5,830 elementary schools, 3,119 middle schools, and 2,284 secondary schools. The number of students in elementary schools are 3,474,445; in middle schools, 2,011, 601; and there are 1,985,544 high school students; the number of teachers are elementary school teacher 175,071, middle school teacher 109,325, high school teacher 125,478. Concerning the establishment of schools, there are 5,754 public elementary schools and 76 private elementary schools; 2,459 public middle schools and 660 private schools; 1,331 public

high schools and 953 private high schools. Students per class are elementary school 27.8, middle school 34.4, high school 34.2. Advancement rate from elementary to middle school is 99.9%, from middle school to high school 99.6%.

As figure 1 shows, the enrollment rate was 97.3% for elementary school (age of enrollment 6-11), 73.3% for middle school (12-14), 48.8% for high school (15-17), and 11.4 for higher education (18-21) in 1980. However, it is 97.9% for elementary school, 96.2% for middle school (12-14), 92.5% for high school (15-17), and 70.4 for higher education(18-21) in 2009 (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2009). The advancement rate has strikingly increased from 27.2% of all high school students in 1980 to 81.9% of 2009 (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2009). The rise in the enrollment and advancement rate are a result of the increased enforcement of compulsory education from the 1960s. Since 1969, there has been no limitation placed on entrance to middle school and all who wish to enter middle school have been assigned to the school nearest their residence. Free compulsory middle school education began in 1985 in remote island areas and has been expanded to county areas between 1992 and 1994. All cities across the nation have adopted the compulsory education system since 2002 (Lee, et al, 2008). Such a dramatic growth also produced an intense competition in the entrance system of high school.

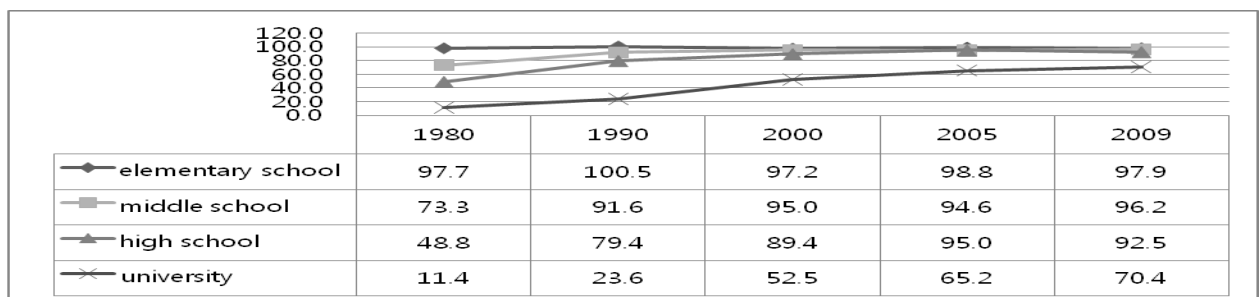


Figure 1 Enrollment rate
Source: KEDI, 2009

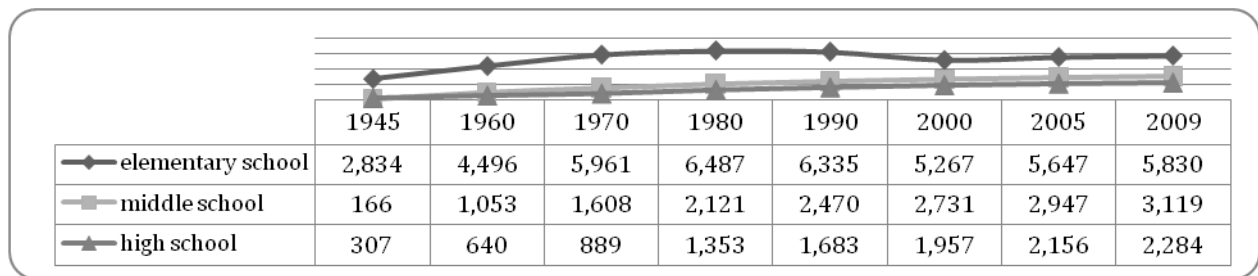


Figure 2 Number of school

Source: KEDI, 2009; MOE, 1998; Lee, et al, 2008; <http://eng.mest.go.kr>

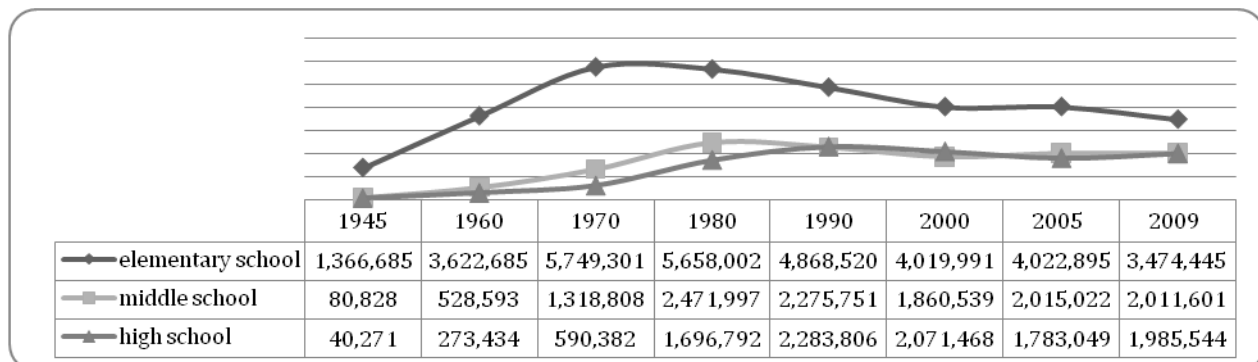


Figure 3 Number of student

Source: KEDI, 2009; MOE, 1998; Lee, et al, 2008; <http://eng.mest.go.kr>

C. School types and choice

The 5.31 education reform produced a more diverse school system with increased choice for parents (Kim & Kim, 2008). Before the 5.31 education reform, high schools were divided into general high schools, vocational high schools, air and correspondence high schools, and special purpose high schools (foreign language and science). However, after the reform, diverse types of schools came into being: specialized high schools such as animation, information, ceramics, and cooking; international high schools; alternative schools for drop-outs and maladjusted students; talented students' schools; autonomy private high schools that can independently operate without government grants and supports; and publicly-sponsored

autonomy schools². In 2009, there were 1,534 general high schools, 691 vocational high schools, 40 Air and Correspondence high schools, 203 specialized schools (183 vocational specialized schools and 20 alternative schools), 134 special purpose high schools, 6 autonomy private high schools, and 249 autonomy schools.

Korea originally had pursued a school choice system based on the competitive entrance examination. The middle schools conducted their own entrance examinations that were abolished by government in 1968. People ranked elementary schools based on the number of students admitted to top middle schools in their locality. Likewise, middle schools were labeled by the number of students who were admitted to the more prestigious high schools until 1974 when the government carried out the high school equalization policy in order to normalize education at all school levels. 31.6% of the total number of high schools (51% of general high schools) are under the high school equalization policy and they mostly located in major cities that have high population density areas like Seoul and Pusan (The Presidential Advisory Committee for Educational Innovation, 2003). There was variance in the admission process between equalization-applied areas and non-equalization areas and between general high schools and vocational high schools. In other words, applicants for all vocational high schools and general high schools in non-equalization areas are given the opportunity to choose their school and to be selected by a selection examination or based on achievement in middle school, while applicants for general high schools in equalization areas were not given the opportunity to select their

² Specialized high schools are aimed to provide occupation education centered on professional skill and expertise and alternative education focused on the education of experience and field trip. Special purpose high schools are related to the specialists for specialized areas such as science, foreign language, art, athlete, and internationalization. Autonomy private high schools may be designated by the Superintendent of the Office of Education (or Local Education Agency) and can operate school or education courses (Article 105-3 of Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Autonomy schools can operate special education courses with the purpose of developing creativity and personality of students (Article 105-3 of Elementary and Secondary Education Act).

school and were assigned to a school in their residential district. The high school equalization policy was aimed at equalizing educational opportunities, assigning students via lottery to schools adjacent to their homes. Its application was common in both public and private schools. There was little opportunity for families to choose which schools their children attended. Also, because of distinctive curriculum and subjects, it was difficult to move from general schools to specialized and vocational schools, and vice versa (MOE, 1998).

However, after the 5.31 education reform, the school choice system has been changed from a compulsory allotment system to the pre-application and post-allotment system in which students choose two schools within a district and the Local Education Agency (LEA) makes the final decision by lottery. But in the case of Seoul's metropolitan area, this policy was changed to choose two schools irrespective of district boundary from 2010. However, the policy has raised concerns that students are transferring not because they found a particular school's curricular program attractive, but rather in pursuit of a better academic profile for college admissions. In reality, the students attending specialized schools don't receive a higher GPA than those of general school students (Kim & Kim, 2008; Yang, Jeon, & Lee, 2008).

D. Scholastic ability test as cultural school accountability

Korean culture has a deep-rooted belief that if parents offer a better environment of education to their children, they will be able to rise in the world and gain fame. The Korean proverb, "a dragon comes out from the streamlet" best captures the value of education in Korean culture. It implicates that a person's success in the academic or social world depends not on his/her fortune or ascribed wealth and position but on his/her achievements. In practice, the

“dragon” has meant that students enter outstanding schools by passing the entrance examination for schools of higher educational level.

The college entrance examination (called the scholastic ability test) has maintained since the beginning of Korean education system. The test, taken just one time every year, is a national event. Most public offices and commercial companies postpone their opening times to allow test-takers to efficiently commute or enter test places. Also, during the time of the listening test for Korean (08:00 – 08:20) and English (15:00 – 15:20), airplanes are possibly prohibited from taking off and landing. After finishing the test, TVs and newspapers release the answer key and the “hot” issues of the test about who the youngest or oldest test takers are and who was narrowly late, and so on.

The test results are utilized as the criterion to judge whether or not high schools are successful. They are used for comparing schools with the best-known schools, the second-class schools, and the third class schools according to the number of who are admitted to the more prestigious schools. From this perspective, Korea’s accountability system may be embedded in cultural contexts. Put another way, the accountability system in Korea may be called a “cultural accountability system” in that the admission to next level of school has a cultural meaning.

E. Parents’ educational fervent through private tutoring and cram schools

The multiple classifications of high school have produced the stratification of schools into prestigious and competitive schools and those considered as common and left-behind. Critics argue that the categorization of schools will foment and reflect on the polarization of social classes. Upper-middle class families sent students to outstanding special purpose high

schools that focused on science, foreign languages, and art. Most of the students attending these schools were admitted to the top universities of Korea (Kim, 2009b).

This phenomenon has caused an overheated private education expenditure war at the level of elementary and middle schools in order that children can enter into special purpose high schools to increase the chances of admission to noted universities. Private education such as tutoring and clam school means education provided and supplied upon personal request as well as education other than schooling provided by primary and secondary school. In 2009, parents pay nearly 22 billion dollars for private education. This scale corresponds to 56% of the MOE budget (38.5 billion dollars). Private education expenditure per student amounts to 242 dollars per a month. Most of this money goes towards elementary education: 10.2 billion dollar for elementary school; 6.2 billion dollars for middle school; 5.1 billion dollars for high school (Statistics Korea, 2009). It indicates that parents whose children yearn for the top-class middle or high schools would not only invest a lot of time and money in hiring the best tutors or paying tuition to private academic institutes (cram schools).

The cost of private tutoring is a determinant variable to explain the future educational gap of children between classes. Rich children enroll in elite courses, English kindergarten, and private elementary schools. They enjoy long- and short-term study abroad programs and private tutoring. They attend international middle schools, special purpose high schools, and prestigious universities. However, poor children cannot afford private tutoring, lag behind the academic competition from kindergarten, and lose academic interest in school (Yeom, 2009). So while Korean culture strongly values education as the key towards social mobility, in actuality, the two-tiered school system helps preserve the social order due to the enhanced opportunities that money provides.

F. Educational Administration and governance

The MOE plans and coordinates educational policies; formulates policies that govern the primary, secondary and higher educational institutes; publishes and approves text-books; provides administrative and financial support for all levels of the school system; supports local education offices and national universities; operates the teacher training system and is responsible for overseeing lifelong education and developing human resource policies.

On the other hand, the Superintendent for the Local Education Agency (LEA) and the Council member for the Local Education Council, separated from the City and Provincial ones, began with the enactment of the local educational autonomy law in 1991. The Superintendents make decisions regarding education, art and science. On the other hand, members of the Education Council examine and resolve the bills and petitions for education, arts and sciences. They must be education officials with at least five years of experience in education administration. They were directly elected from the residents from 2010. A total of 16 LEA and 182 county education offices exist.

Schools operate and manage themselves through the School Operation Committee. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes these committees in order to enhance the autonomy of school operations and conduct education suitable for local situations and characteristics. The School Operation Committees at public or private schools consists of representatives from teachers, parents and the local community. The number of members for school operation committees at national, public or private schools tends to be the range of 5 to 15 people taking into consideration the school size. The functions of the School Operation Committees at national or public schools are to deliberate on the following matters: the establishment or amendment of school charters and school rules; the school budget plan or

settlement of accounts the operation method of the school education process; selecting education books and education materials; school uniforms, and extracurricular activities, and other responsibilities as recommended by school administration.

G. Teachers and teachers' union

Teachers are classified into teachers, assistant teachers, professional counselors, librarians, training teachers and nursing teachers. Teacher education is offered by universities of education, colleges of education, departments of education and those with teacher's certificate programs in general colleges and universities. Kindergarten teachers are trained at colleges, junior colleges, and the Korea National Open University. Most primary school teachers are trained at 11 universities of education, including the Department of Primary Education at the Korea National University of Education and Ewha Womans University. In 1984, all teachers colleges were upgraded to four-year universities. Secondary school teachers are trained under a mixed system of exclusive and open training system at teachers colleges, national universities of education, education majors at universities, majors with teacher training courses at universities, and graduate schools of education. Until 1990, graduates of national universities were hired at middle and high schools without having to pass any exams and graduates of private universities were employed through the teacher appointment examination. From 1991, all teachers have been hired by the result of the teacher appointment examination based on open screening tests (article 11, Public Education Official Act, Act No. 8889, Mar 14, 2008) conducted by the Local Educational Agency due to the decision of the Constitution Court.

The Act offers teachers some rights and places restrictions on their activities. The age limit of teachers is 62 years (Article 47, Public Education Official Act, Act No. 8889, Mar 14,

2008). Teachers cannot get fired from the profession by age 62 without the violations of the Public Officials (Act No. 10342, June 8, 2010). Also, Article 43 of Public Education Official Act limits the ability of schools to fire teachers, unless they do something in violation of the law. In addition to the usual limitations on teacher behavior within schools, teachers are also forbidden from political activity, collective action, taking a job outside of the profession, and must maintain religious neutrality within schools. In terms of rank, the education profession is based on a Confucian culture with a defined career ladder hierarchy based largely on experience. There are four strata: principal, vice-principal, school staffs, and general teachers.

The promotion from teacher to vice-principal requires about 20 to 25 years of teaching experience. Promotion to the principalship has become a hot issue because Korean society is based on a seniority-based authority and a high esteem or worth of a person's success in the academic or social world. In order to cool down the overheated competition for becoming a principal, the Ministry invented and implemented the principal open recruitment system and implemented a position of head teacher.

There are big two teachers' unions in Korea: The Korean Federation of Teachers' Association (KFTA) and the Korean Teachers and Education Workers Union (KTEWU). KFTA, a conservative group, are teachers' association groups at the level of each city and at each province; and KFTA is the central organization of the unions. It was established in 1947 and teachers in kindergartens, primary, middle and high schools and universities are members. On the other hand, KTEWU, a progressive group, was organized on May 28, 1989, and was active for the next 10 years as an illegal organization until the Teacher Union Establishment and Operation Act was enacted (January 29, 1999), which established KTEWU as a legitimate organization as of July 1, 1999. Membership is reserved for any teacher in kindergartens,

primary, middle and high schools. It works jointly with the Democratic Labor Union and various civic organizations on educational and social issues.

Since late 1992, MOE and the KFTA have held biannual negotiation meetings in order to discuss the enhancement of teachers' professional integrity and teacher's welfare. In 1999, MOE and KTEWU have conducted collective bargaining and negotiations to improve teacher salaries, work environment and welfare. The environment for teachers to voice their opinions on a variety of education issues has been vastly improved.

H. Educational policies after the 5.31 Education Reform

As already mentioned, the 5.31 reform represented a landmark shift in Korean education policy. The reform was aimed to convert from a provider-centered to a learner-driven system, from a closed to an open system, from uniformity to diversity and specialization, from regulation and control to autonomy and accountability, and from low-quality supervision to quality management through evaluation (The Education Reform Committee, 1998). The main policies have been implemented through the establishment of deregulation, school councils, national standards, student-centered curricula, school personnel systems innovation, teacher evaluation, the National Assessment of Educational Achievement, and school transparency (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2001; Kim, 2010a; Kim, 2010b; Hursh & Martina, 2003; Apple, 1998). Table 1 is a summary of the main educational policies and institutions of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability after the 5.31 education reform.

Table 1 The educational policies and institutions of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability after the 5.31 education reform

Year	Power regime	Policies/Institutions	Related Resource	Main Characteristics
1995	The civilian government (President Kim Young Sam, conservative regime)	-School operation committee -Invited principal and teacher evaluation -Local Education Agency -School evaluation -School choice -Expanding school autonomy and reduce regulations	Educational reform report for new education system for leading globalization and information age (I), May 31, 1995	-Establish open education society, lifelong learning society -Build school community for school autonomy operation -Establish curriculum for facilitating personality and creativity -School operation respecting the learners -Establish evaluation and support system for educational suppliers (schools and LEAs) -Developing qualified teachers -GNP 5% for educational finance
1996		-The 7 th national curriculum -Legislate Acts concerned with education reform	Educational reform report for new education system for leading globalization and information age (II), Feb. 9, 1996.	-The national common basic curriculum and the high school elective-centered curriculum -The new legal system for establishing new educational system based on levels of education.
1996		-The accreditation system of teacher preparation institutions -The contract teachers (invited principals and Industrial and Academic Teacher)	Educational reform report for new education system for leading globalization and information age (III), Aug. 20, 1996.	Activate the teaching profession Promote the efficiency of school operation system
1997		-Framework on Education Act -Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Act No.5437 (Dec. 13, 1997) Act No. 5438 (Dec. 13, 1997)	The right to learn, school autonomy, and basic right and duty of stakeholders, etc. Institutional evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, school operation committee, etc.
1997		The school curriculum (7 th)	Official Announcement, MOE, 1997-15	-the national common basic curriculum and the high school elective-centered curriculum
1998	The people's government (President late Kim Dae Jung, progressive regime)	Implement the accreditation system of teacher preparation institutions	New college entrance system and education vision 2002: creating new school culture, Dec. 1999	-Quality management and insurance of teachers' college and graduates
1998		School operation plan, performance evaluation, school-based decision making	New college entrance system and education vision 2002: creating new school culture, Dec. 1999	-School operation considering the conditions and characteristics of regions and schools. -The right to learn and learner-centered learning for creativity and personality -School democracy
1999		Reducing the limit of tenure (age 65→age 62)	Education Public Official Act(Act No. 5715 (Jan. 29, 1999)	Activate teaching profession and eliminate the disbelief of teachers.(Article 47 (1))
1999		Establishment of teachers' union	Teacher Union Establishment and Operation Act (Act No. 5729, Jan. 29, 1999)	The negotiation of economic and social position related to work condition, payment, welfare, etc. prohibition of collective action.
2000		School account system	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Act No. 6209, Jan. 28, 2000)	Ensure the school-based management through the autonomous operation of school finance and increasing accountability. (Article 30-2 and 30-3)

(continued)

Year	Power regime	Policies/Institutions	Related Resource	Main Characteristics
2000	The people's government (president late Kim Dae Jung, progressive regime)	Expand school operation committee	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Act No. 6007, Mar. 1, 2000)	The required establishment of school operation committee in all private schools
2001		Head teacher, teachers' college accreditation, merit pay, etc.	The Comprehensive plan of developing teaching profession (July, 2001)	Head teacher system, inducing unqualified technical teacher, teachers' preparation and training evaluation system, internship, job performance criteria, etc.
2001		National assessment of educational achievement (1-3% sample test, 6, 9, 10 th grade)	Article 9 of Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Check the meeting national educational standard, review the validity of educational policies (the result was confidentially sealed)
2001		Merit pay	Reform public official nationwide	Introduce competitive capacity of public education and activate the teaching profession
2004	The participation government (President late Rho Moo Hyun, progressive regime)	Teacher evaluation E-learning and EBS tutoring system	Private education expenditure reduction measure for enhancing public education (Feb. 17, 2004)	Absorption of tutoring and cram school demand into public education system. Multilevel mutual teacher evaluation for enhancing public schooling (horizontal and vertical peer review and evaluation, check and balance)
2004		Principal recruitment system, the head teacher, teacher evaluation, etc	Teacher personnel innovation measure (2004)	Cool down overheated competition, activate teaching profession, and enhance accountability
2006		The Court's decision to disclose the college entrance exam result	Sungoo 2005 Guhap 20825 (2006.9.6)	The decision to publicize college scholastic ability test (2002-2005) Summary: Secure the right to know, promote academic and policy research
2006		Open principal invitation, principal and vice-principal management evaluation	Education policy improvement measure for enhancing educational capacity (2006. 9)	Recruit qualified teacher, introduce ability-centered promotion system, establish teacher evaluation system for improving teacher professionalism
2006		Operate model schools of Principal recruitment system	Implementation plan of principal recruitment system for school quality improvement and school innovation (2006. 5)	Invite qualified and young principal for facilitating school change Operate 526 model schools (06.9 – 10.8)
2007		The Higher Court's decision to disclose the national assessment of educational achievement	Sungoo2006Nu 23588, (2007.4.27)	Limit when using national assessment of educational achievement result for only research purpose (2002-2003)
2007		Educational institution information disclosure	Act on Special Cases Concerning the Disclosure of Information by Education-Related Institution (Act No.8492, May 26, 2007)	Summary: Secure the right to know, promote academic and policy research, activate participation in school, and enhance the efficiency of educational administration

(continued)

Year	Power regime	Policies/Institutions	Related Resource	Main Characteristics
2008	Lee Myoung Bak government (President Lee Myoung Bak, conservative regime)	Operate model schools of head teacher system	2008 head teacher model school plan (March, 3, 2008)	Provide motivation for developing professional development. Facilitate learning organization in the profession
2008		Expanding school autonomy	School autonomy implementation plan (April 15, 2008)	Demolish 29 regulations for School autonomy and diversification. Expand the school autonomy concerning curriculum operation and school affairs
2008		National assessment of educational achievement (all students of 6, 9, 10 th grade)	Article 9 of Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Dec. 2008)	Check the meeting of national educational standard, review the validity of educational policies, and provide the efficient support (the result was used for comparison between students/schools)
2009		National assessment of educational achievement result disclosure	2008 national assessment of educational achievement result and measure for relieving underperformed students (Feb. 16, 2009)	Disclose the level of Local Educational Agency. School result based on the percentage of achievement improvement will be disclosed from 2011.
2009		College scholastic ability test result disclosure	2009 college scholastic ability test result analysis (April, 2009)	Meet the right to know. Two newspapers (The Chosun, the Donga) disclose the level of school
2009		Principal management evaluation	Principal management evaluation measure (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, Feb. 2009)	School-based management and accountability according to school autonomy
2010		Expansion of personnel autonomy	MEST Press Release (Jan. 3, 2010)	School principal request and withdraw teachers' transfer hire part-time and temporary teachers
2010		Parent school participation support	MEST Press Release (April 2, 2009) MEST Announcement No. 2010-48 (Feb. 5, 2010)	Support 2,000 parents' meeting established in a school. School quality improvement and school accountability enhancement through the active and positive participation. Strengthen school monitoring for classroom visitation, teacher evaluation, school management
2010		The Supreme Court's decision to disclose the national assessment of educational achievement	Sungoo 2007Du 9877 (Feb. 25, 2010)	Not disclose National assessment of educational achievement (2002-2003).
2010		Institutionalize teacher evaluation	Seoul Teacher Evaluation Implementation and Operation enforcement rule (Seoul Rule No.764, Feb. 6, 2010)	Teachers' professional development and public education capacity heightening
2010		Six Progressive Superintendent were elected in the Local Election	The Chosunilbo (Jun. 3, 2010)	The check and balance against conservative policies of central government.
2010		182 county office of education remodeling	Enforcement Decree of Local Education Autonomy Act (Presidential decree No. 22230, June 29, 2010)	From guidance, control and supervision to information-providing, consulting, supporting, and counseling. Rename Support office of Education

Chapter 3

Analytic Frameworks

This chapter is to present the analytical framework for the multi-focal analysis of Korean educational policy formation and implementation. As figure 4 shows, the macro analysis is done through historical institutional analysis focused on the influence of external impacts and institutions on policies from the historical-institutional perspective (March & Olsen, 1984). It stresses on policy environments as influencers such as a historical reform and event, the Court's decision, the legislation, and a social value, culture and ideology over time (Baum, 1995; Krasner, 1984, 1988; Dumas and Anyon, 2006; Norton, 2004). According to Immergut (2006, p.557), "institutions have affected policies, and policies have changed our understanding of institutions."

The micro analysis is conducted through a political approach. Politics is related to how individuals and groups or organizations exercise power to establish regulations and gain resources through persuasion, negotiation, union, resistance and struggle, etc (Scribner, Aleman,& Maxcy, 2003; Blase & Blase, 2002). Finally, for the structural analysis, the author will use Tyler (1988)'s structural perspective of school organization analysis. Tyler (1988) pointed out that the structural analysis of school organization is useful for analyzing how actors internalize social orders and regularities and transform their patterns of action through the interaction between actors and according to the changing situation of environments. He used Foucault's and Bernstein's perspective to show how power controls actors through repetitive discipline and supervision, and how the rules of power and control

are embedded in the educational practices and relations. Figure 4 presents that the political dynamics between policy players is influenced by the institutional environments and constraints (Ikenberry, 1988). The political interaction is flexible and mutable according to the new historical events and institutions. When a policy forms, the political interaction takes place; after the policy implementation, its interaction becomes cooled down. If another policy forms, the political dynamics change or are combined with the previous interaction. This process is represented as a repetitive circle. In this vein, policy analysis needs to combine the ‘micro’ with the ‘macro’ approach by analyzing political interaction and power games nested in the relevant political institutions (Kim, et al, 2009b).

As with micro and macro approach, the figure 4 shows that a policy analysis is likely to include structural perspective related to the roles, power, relations, and structures produced from the micro-and-macro level. A policy or an institution is apt to influence on the steady or radical changes of the roles, relations and structures of teaching profession. In this chapter, the researcher will briefly draw on the theoretical backgrounds related to historical institutional, political, and structural perspectives.

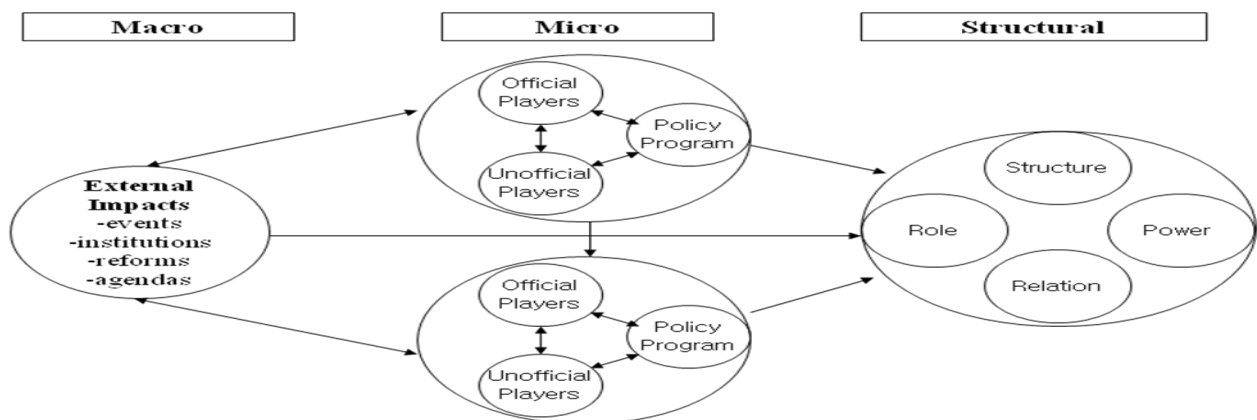


Figure 4 Analytical framework

A. Macro Analysis: historical institutional perspective

Historical institutionalists tend to take time seriously for describing significant events and try to explore their temporal processes and scales (McGuinn, 2006). Also, they are apt to analyze macro contexts and hypothesize about the combined causes and effects of institutions in historical contexts (Immergut, 2006). Among their primary modes of explanation are critical juncture, punctuated equilibrium and path dependence.

Krasner (1984) presented critical juncture as causing the dramatic change of institution and punctuated equilibrium stressing on maintaining the new path after the big shifts. These ideas are related to the notion of path dependence generally used to support a few key claims: the importance of specific patterns of timing and sequence; the large consequences that may result from relatively “small” or contingent events; and the fact that particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse (Pierson, 2000, 2004).

However, historical institutionalism fails to provide how the institutional change caused the actors’ inconsistency and conflicts in the micro relations and contexts because they put too much emphasis on the institutional change caused by macro-level external shocks or events such as the radical regime alteration, wars and revolutions and economic depression (Thelen & Steimo, 1992). In this respect, it is necessary to connect the macro-level with the micro-level approach for analyzing the interplay between actors in historical institutional contexts.

B. Micro Analysis: Political perspective

The policy process involves many political players such as political leaders, government bureaucrats, institutions, private individuals, interest groups, and the media. These policy actors have distinctive identities, roles, expectations, and demands; they also have the power and strategies to persuade, negotiate, oppose, unite, mobilize, resist, and struggle (Sabatier, 2007). Students of public policy agree that players in the policy process can be divided into two main categories: institutional and non-institutional actors (Cahn, 1995) or official and unofficial actors (Birkland, 2005). Institutional or official actors, including legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, are involved in public policy because it is their legal or constitutional responsibility and they have the power to make and implement policies. Non-institutional or unofficial actors, such as parties, interest groups, scholars, the media, and the public, play a significant role in the policy process by pursuing their own interests and mobilizing their power through lobbying, alliance-building, pressure-exertion, demonstration, petition, voting, etc. The roles of interest groups are significant in policymaking. Interest groups, in general, come into being when there is a shared awareness about a particular issue and a continuing common interest among a group of individuals (Walker, 1983). Interest groups have a significant effect on the policy process because they exercise authority or they mobilize power over policy making (Sutton, 1999). They also work to expand or contain an issue and its related policy discourse. In order to achieve an advantageous position they can develop a close relationship with the media to release and present particular interpretations of an issue or policy into the public

debate (Terkildsen, Schnell, & Ling, 1999), or they can secure their legitimate rights through litigation.

C. Structural Analysis: Bernstein's and Foucault's perspectives

Bernstein's concepts, collection and integrated code based on classification/framing, are used for analyzing the historical orientation of policy implementation and the direction of having influenced on the educational practices and the relations between stakeholders. In the meanwhile, Foucault's conceptions are used for exploring how the power supervises, normalizes, and homogenizes the teaching profession through the controlling mechanisms such as evaluation and supervision.

1) Bernstein

Bernstein (1996) suggested that the rules of power and control were embedded in the educational practices of the power that establishes legitimate relations between categories, or levels within a power hierarchy. He discussed these notions within the concepts of classification, framing, and code and he divides each of these ideas into a basic dichotomy.

He uses the term classification to understand the relationship between categories and how distinct they are from each other. Where classification is strong, they are more discrete and insulated from each other. On the contrary, where classification is weak, there is a blurred distinction among the different types (Bernstein, 1977). In the case of strong classification, each category has its unique voice, its own specialized rule of internal relations. Strong classification creates a sense of solidarity among the members of a

particular category. However, in the case of weak classification, each category has less specialized discourses, identities, and voices because they are more open to communications from the outside.

There can be a strong social network that integrates the different types within the system (Bernstein, 1996). Bernstein (1977) frames both the forming of the context in which knowledge is transmitted and received, and the specified pedagogical relationship of teacher and students. That is, framing refers to the location of control over the rules of communication and the definition of what constitutes a legitimate message. Where the framing is strong, the transmitter (e.g., educational agencies) has explicit control over selection, sequencing, pacing, criteria and the social base. Where weak, the acquirer (e.g., schools/teachers) has more apparent control over the communication and its social base (Bernstein, 1996). In this respect, the stronger the classification and the framing, the more the educational relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized, and vice versa.

Bernstein (1977) connects his notion of classification to his concept of code, which explains how knowledge is organized in a system. There are two types of code, collection and integrated. Collection code means the organization of educational knowledge with strong classification. On the other hand, integrated code is defined as content standing in open connection to each other. An integrated code refers to any organization of educational knowledge that involves a distinct attempt to diminish the strength of classification. For example, under a collection code, the high insulation between roles in education increases the discretion and autonomy of teachers. By contrast, an integrated code attempts to standardize teaching practice, reducing a teachers' pedagogical authority.

The strengths of this classification and framing system are evident by the visible and invisible pedagogy. The difference between the visible and invisible pedagogy is the degree of explicitness in the content and the evaluation of an education. Bernstein (1977) explains that “the more implicit the manner of transmission and the more diffuse the criteria, the more invisible the pedagogy; the more specific the criteria, the more explicit the manner of their transmission, the more visible the pedagogy.” (p. 117) Bernstein (1990) argues that a visible pedagogy emphasizes the performance criteria provided by the outside and inside. It has explicit rules of regulative and discursive order, that is, tacit rules or messages are understood in the context of what is explicitly stated and expected. On the contrary, invisible pedagogies are less likely to cause explicit stratifying differences among acquirers because it does not compare acquirers to an external, common standard. It is centered not on the external comparable differences between acquirers, but the uniqueness of acquirers and competencies, which may be poorly defined.

In sum, Bernstein came up with the conceptual ideas of classification and framing to explicate notions of collection and integrated code and the visible and invisible pedagogy. The strength or level of classification and framing depends upon the degree of autonomy and identity, the specificity of criteria, and the clearness of mode of control. Stronger classification and framing results in the collection code which has higher degrees of autonomy and identity. They also are associated with the visible pedagogy and its more explicit criteria and mode of control. On the other hand, weaker classification and framing produces the integrated code, which has lower degrees of autonomy and identity. Likewise,

they also produce the invisible pedagogy with its vague and implicit criteria and manner of control.

2) Foucault

The panopticon originated from Jeremy Bentham's model of effective supervision. It takes the shape of a circular building, built as a central tower for the warden with cells arranged around the edge of the circle. With a window in the cell door, and light from a window in the wall illuminating each prisoner, one warden could easily supervise a large number of prisoners. The prisoners do not know when or whether they are being observed. In the panopticon, the feeling of always being the object of the gaze becomes internalized to the point of becoming a type of self-supervising mechanism.

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) gives keen insights into why and how the power regime utilizes continuous monitoring and gets prisoners to internalize power norms by the discipline of the gaze. Above all, the discipline emphasizes rank as 'the place one occupies in a classification,' (p. 145) in order to record, report, supervise, assess and evaluate their activities and feature. Ranks are used to classify position, success or failure. In a school context, this would mean the ranking of each school or teacher by examination result. The gaze also reinforces its norms through the regimentation of time. Foucault (1977) sees the time-table as a primary means for "establishing rhythms, imposing particular occupations, and regulating the cycles of repetition" (p.149). Schools essentially run on a strict time-table in which both student and professional alike must heed the call of the bell. Third, Foucault (1977) argues that discipline functions as the correction and the

compliance of the normal through comparison, differentiation, hierarchization, homogenization, and exclusion. Fourth, Foucault presents that schools or professionals are perpetually compared through assessment and documentation for discipline and inspection. Fifth, Foucault's panopticon provides the idea that individualizing observation and characterization and classification is united to discipline. In particular, this concept can be considered as the supervision means for schools' and teachers' activities and tasks in both visible and invisible ways.

This can be summarized in terms of Jardine's (2005) three categories of Foucault's ideas in the context of education: 1) monitoring as the supervision focused on panopticon and the examination; 2) classification drawn from the norms that "operate by prohibiting certain thoughts or actions, but more often dictate what our thoughts and actions should be, and therefore act to produce what each of us must be" (p. 66); 3) control through space and time, ranking, exercise, reward and punishment.

Chapter 4

Research Design

A. Research questions

As already noted, this study is to investigate how policies influence the change of identities, relations and structures of teaching profession coupled with the policy environments and political interactions from the multifocal approaches: macro, micro and structural perspectives. For this purpose, the research questions are as following:

- 1) From the macro perspective
 - a. How have policies been implemented and changed over time?
 - b. What are historical regularities and orientations of policy implementation over time?
- 2) From the micro perspectives
 - a. How have political regimes exercised their power and controlled teaching profession?
 - b. What policies came into being?
- 3) From the structure perspective
 - a. How has the macro-level policy implementation affected the teaching profession in light of Bernstein's ideas?
 - b. How has the micro-level policy implementation affected the teaching from Foucault's perspective?

B. Research procedures

The research questions will be addressed in five phases. The first phase is to establish a theoretical framework to connect the macro, micro, and structural perspective. The second phase is to analyze how the historical events and institutional environments influence policy and the teaching profession from the historical institutional perspective. Table 2 summarizes the policies that in this study will be analyzed. The third phase is to analyze how these policies have been implemented through the interactions between policy players, particularly MOE and teacher union, and how they have influenced the teaching profession, using the political perspective.

Table 2 Policies studied

Categories	Specific policies
Autonomy	Deregulation
	School governance
Professionalism	School personnel (principal recruitment, head teacher)
	Merit pay
	Teacher evaluation
Accountability	School evaluation
	National assessment of educational achievement
	Educational institution information disclose

The fourth phase will be combined to the second and third one. It utilizes Bernstein's and Foucault's ideas in order to analyze the evolution of the roles, functions, and structures of the teaching profession. For the teaching profession change from the macro approach, Bernstein's concepts, the collection and integrated code based on classification/framing, will be used to explore which ideological orientation is embedded in the policies and institutions and to which direction policies have influenced on the

educational practices and the relations between stakeholders. For the teaching profession change from the micro approach, Foucault will be used to explore how the power supervises, normalizes, and homogenizes the teaching profession through controlling mechanisms such as evaluation and supervision. The structural analysis of Foucault and Bernstein will be supported by the Delphi survey of how the teaching profession has been changed from the structural perspectives. The final phase of this study is to revisit how policies or institutions influence the sociological changes of identities, roles, relations and structures of teaching profession over time.

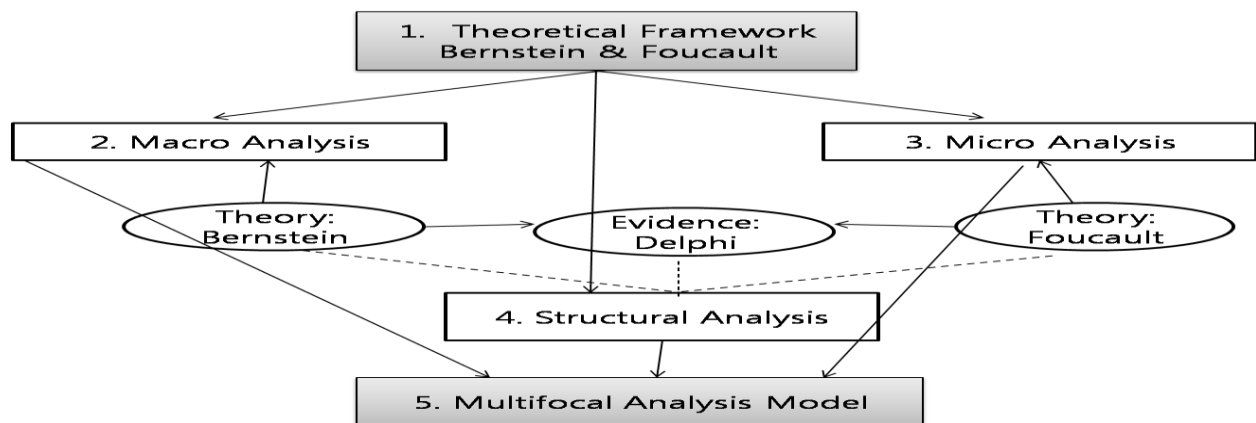


Figure 5 Research Procedure

C. Research methodology

As Table 2 shows, this study will be done by using literature review and the Delphi survey. This study mainly relies on the literature review and incorporates the following resources: major daily newspapers in Korea; national legislation; the judgment of the Korean Courts; MOE's reports and news releases; academic research papers; and official statements and new releases of interest groups such as the Korean Teachers and Education

Workers' Union, the Korean Federation of Teachers Association, and other non-governmental organizations. The researcher will capture and cite the significant positions, opinions, and claims of the policy players by using evidence and objective data in literature because the researcher thinks the policy players' arguments and opinions are not necessarily their own, but are nested in resources as reflected by evidence and objective data. However, these limitations will be addressed through Delphi survey. The objective of the Delphi questionnaire is to determine the consensus of academics on these controversial issues and how policies or institutions influence the roles, relations and structures of teaching profession. This Delphi examination will address the policies of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability after the 5.31 education reform in 1995. This Delphi questionnaire is composed of six sections (See Appendix 1) : 1) the orientation and characteristic of educational policy implementation; 2) school autonomous policies; 3) professionalism policies; 4) accountability policies; 5) the inconsistency of between policies; 6) the teaching profession changing or changed by school policies.

Table 3 Research methodology

Research procedures	Methodology
1. Theoretical frameworks	Literature review
2. Macro analysis	Literature review
3. Micro analysis	Literature review
4-1 Structural analysis (theory)	Literature review
4-2 Structural analysis (evidence)	Delphi
5. Revisiting theoretical frameworks	Literature review

D. Limitations

This study is confined to draw on what a multifocal analysis is, why it is needed and how it is done. Thus, the researcher may be criticized for the detailed and in-depth analysis of why Korean teaching profession went through all of this, how it is highly supervised and evaluated, or what was the big deal, why and how education policy has restricted school curriculum and instruction and how the profession has been de-professionalized, etc because many citations the researcher did are basically going through these news articles and pulling out quotes from second resources.

Chapter 5

Macro Analysis

A. Educational Policy Implementation over Time

1) Autonomy policies

School autonomy policy represents a decentralization of power from the Ministry of Education (MOE), to local governments and schools. The 5.31 education reform created the Regulatory Reform Committee (RRC) whose mission was to produce self-governing, flexible and distinctive school management by eliminating a range of school operation directives and regulations. In 2000, the central government devolved control of K-12 education to the LEAs. According to Kim and Lee (2002), the RRC identified 139 burdensome school regulations in 2002, related to school establishment, management, curriculum, and instruction, a finding confirmed by Chung (2008). However, the School Autonomy Measure (SAM) that went into effect on April 15, 2008 eliminated and delegated a wide range of school regulations stipulated by the laws and ordinances related (Ko, 2009). The plan extended teachers' autonomy in school-based curriculum operations (Park, 2010) and the heightening of the parents' satisfaction with participatory decision making (Choi, 2009).

In the meanwhile, the delegation of personnel decisions to principals may have strengthened a vertical authority system and strong principalship within schools (Park, 2010; Choi, 2009; Chung, 2008). These de-regulative reforms for school self-governance

have transformed the relationship between administrative agencies and schools from a tightly-coupled mode to more loosely-coupled one (Tyler, 1988). This trend was furthered when the central government revised the Enforcement Decree of the Local Education Autonomy Act (Presidential Decree No. 22230, June 29, 2010) for substituting Local Office of Education focused on guidance, control and supervision for the Supporting Office of District Education connected to information-providing, consulting, supporting, and counseling.

The second aspect of school autonomy is school-based management through the school operation committee (SOC). Before the 5.31 reform, there were unofficial channels through which to participate in the school decision-making process such as Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) (Kim, 1995). However, the SOC, composed of a principal, teachers, parents, alumni and community members, was legally approved in 1996 for school-based/participative decision-making (Yu, Kim, & Yang, 1996). Article 32 of Elementary and Secondary Education Act stipulates the items that the SOC can consult and decide upon: school vision and missions, the school's yearly plan, budgeting, curriculum, extracurricular activities, after-school programs, the lunch program, textbook selection, school athletics, and so on. After about 10 years, scholars amassed strong evidence that SOC has contributed to changing schools from closed systems to open systems sharing the right to make decisions, facilitating participative leadership, and boosting mutual respect and trust between stakeholders (Kim, 2006). However, school councils have been criticized as encroaching upon the professional judgment of educators (Jeong, Park, & Kim, 2008; Jeong & Park, 2005).

In 2001, the central government changed the school budget management system from an item-based system to a school-based budgeting system, allowing schools more control over their money (Ban, 2004; Han & Seong, 2002). The 5.31 reform also gave schools—and the SOC—more flexibility on personnel decision. While principals and teachers have been employed by LEAs, the SOC now also could recruit a principal or a teacher. The SOC can also authorize principals of vocational and specialized schools to hire as full-time and part-time teachers people with professional experience in specific industry areas. Furthermore, school principals in Seoul have greater control over transferring teachers in order to raise academic performance (Hwang, November 9, 2009).

The SOC is tied to lateral sharing and collaboration according to the previously prescribed regulations. Also, it is oriented to co-working and shared responsibility so that the responsibility, scope, and identity of each stakeholder become ambiguous and overlapping. Finally, the school operation committee has changed professional discretion into a non-professional commonality and has reduced professional autonomy within a school. In spite of these negative aspects, the present government has further extended “local control” through the Parents’ School Participation Support Plan of 2010. The plan was designed to allow parents more influence on school improvement and to exert more oversight through active participation and school monitoring (MEST, Feb 5, 2010).

2) Professionalism policies

The professionalism policies of the 5.31 education reform had been connected to the Comprehensive Development Measure for Teaching Profession of 2001 and the Teacher

Personnel Innovation System of 2004. These policies are being stabilized by the current regime. Since the Korean education system began, the teaching profession has featured hierarchical and strict ladders: teacher, vice-principal, and principal. However, the policies of professionalism have been transformed output-based policy and the differentiation of career ladder.

Performance-based personnel policy is highlighted by merit pay practices first introduced in 2001. The merit pay system was designed to pay educators according to their individual performance. The adoption of these practices was controversial as teacher unions saw this as an affront to their professionalism and believed the performance assessment lacked objectivity. Ultimately, KTEWU gave the merit pay back to the government (Lee & Hong, 2008; Cho, 2007). In spite of the struggle, the measure has since been institutionalized. Moreover, the current government has plans to incorporate NAEA scores into its teacher evaluation and use this as a basis for merit pay.

School personnel reform effects principal recruitment and the head teacher system. Many teachers strive to become principals; consequently, the competition to enter the principalship has become more intense. The reform was aimed at refreshing the teaching profession through introducing ability-based principal recruitment and a head teacher system. These steps were aimed at reducing the overheated competition for administrative positions and enhance school effectiveness (Park & Ko, 2000). Prior to this reform, Korean principals were required to amass a minimum of 25 years teaching experience and had to have a principal certificate. The Comprehensive Development Measure for Teaching Profession of 2001 lowered by 20 years the required experience for teachers wishing to

enter the principalship (Ko, 2001). Also, the Teacher Personnel Innovation System of 2004 ushered in changes for the internal recruitment of administrators and opened the door for external recruitment. These changes gave opportunities to successful teachers without principal certification as well as experienced professionals outside of the profession to apply for positions in vocational and specialized schools (Lee & Kim, 2003; Kim, 2004; Lee, 2004).

These measures were piloted in 2006 when the progressive government held power and the current right wing government announced their full implementation to all schools beginning in 2010. These changes to the principal recruitment system are likely to undermine educational professionalism due to the openness of administrative positions to what some may deem as incompetent applicants (Rah, Lee, Park, Kim, & Park, 2009). Another effort towards cooling down the heated competition for principalship positions in Korea was the adoption of the head teacher system (Han, 2004). With some difficulty, the current regime began to experiment with the head teacher system in 2008 and has expanded the program to 200 schools. It is likely that head teacher system will strengthen teacher professionalism by adding to the career ladder (Lee, 2004).

Since the passing of the 5.31 reform, teacher evaluation has been used for the dismissal of inadequate teachers from the profession, as well as improving practice through professional development. Teacher evaluation policy is focused on the preparation and implementation of instruction and evaluation. It incorporates formal evaluation by in-school professionals and the satisfaction surveys of parents and students. Originally piloted in 48 schools in 2005, the central government expanded to 69 model schools in 2006, 506

model schools in 2007, and 1594 model schools in 2009. The government has announced that this system of teacher evaluation will be conducted in all schools in 2010, irrespective of the National Assembly's legislation (Kim, et al, 2009a). However, government was implemented through legitimatizing the Local Education Decree of 16 City and Province Office of Education (e.g., Seoul Teacher Evaluation Implementation and Operation Enforcement Rule, Seoul Rule No. 764, Feb. 6, 2010).

3) Accountability policies

From 1996, the City and Province Offices of Education Evaluation (more commonly known as the Local Office of Education Evaluation or LEE) was implemented by the Korean Ministry of Education for assessing the reform implementation and the efficiency of local education in Korea. In 1997, School evaluation (SE), aimed to assess the school effectiveness and accountability, was first undertaken in Seoul. The LEE and SE were designed to assess if schools and the City and Province Offices of Education had implemented more tightly coupled evaluation standards and criteria (Kim, 2005a). LEE and SE feature external and summative evaluations focused on the criteria provided by the administrative agency. Both evaluation mechanisms increased central control and more effective command structures (Fusarelli, 2002; Meyer; 2002). Tighter-coupling evaluation has been influenced by the government's increasing involvement in schooling seeking increased performance.

From 2001 to 2007, the national assessment of educational achievement (NAEA) was administered to one-to-three percent of 6th, 9th, and 10th graders in order to monitor and

assess whether students were meeting national curriculum standards and whether educators were improving the quality of their instruction. In 2008, the Korean government conducted the NAEA for every student in 6th, 9th, and 10th grades in the country. Marking a historic first-ever release of such information, the NAEA results were disclosed to the public through the media on February 16, 2009 (Kim, et al, 2009b). Under current practice, the NAEA is conducted at least two times at the national and regional level for the purpose of monitoring a student and a school. Schools and LEAs are ranked based on the assessment and the results are widely publicized. Schools and individual educators cannot help but to focus on the test and their desire for higher achievement than other schools.

The final element of Korean accountability is educational institution information disclosure systems (EIIDS). This system is designed to disclose a wide range of information about elementary and secondary schools through *Schoolinfo*, a Korean website for the EIIDS of elementary and secondary schools. The basic goal of the policy is to ensure the right-to-know and participation in the schooling of the people, the improvement of efficiency and transparency in school management, and the promotion of scientific research and policy research. Moreover, the government declared that the system is intended to improve schooling and to utilize data as a means to solve education gaps among schools and regions (MEST, 2008). *Schoolinfo* has released indicators such as school facility conditions, curriculum and programs, student and teacher demographics, and achievement results including national standardized test results.

B. Structural analysis: Bernstein's perspective

Bernstein's viewpoint is helpful to analyze the historical regularities of policy implementation over time. First, autonomy policies are based on school-based management consisting of two parts: deregulation and self-governance. The de-regulative reform has gradually had schools move toward an integrated code related to a loosely-coupled and weak controlling mode. Also, the establishment of school operation committee has directed schools to open to the external world and create horizontal, collaborative and shared relationships with stakeholders. Thus, school autonomy policies have been oriented to integrated code.

Second, the professionalism of principals is oriented to the integrated code as the field has opened up to non-professionals. Principal recruitment policies and the head teacher system have changed from the collection code featuring closed, vertical and strict seniority system to the integrated code characterizing open, horizontal, and flexible systems. However, teacher professionalism is likely to be directed to the collection code with the creation of the head teacher position. The merit pay system has been based on visible mode with the unambiguous criteria of performance assessment. Teacher evaluation has been oriented to the explicit collection code related to the clear and detailed evaluation criteria and procedures through mutual advice and peer review. In this point, professional policies have pointed to the open, collaborative, and horizontal relationship (integrated code) under the specific and visible evaluation (collection code).

Finally, accountability policies have focused on the visible collection code. The institutional evaluation systems, SE and LEE, have been oriented to the collection code

with their explicit and clear criteria and evaluative procedures. Also, the NAEA has been directed to the visible collection code with its objective and clear content standards and its public ranking of schools and students according to their performance. EIIDS is oriented to collection code as it classifies schools into a distinctive unit or a strong category and compares them with each other.

Bernstein's framework is beneficial for analyzing the positive and negative relations between policies. To illustrate the facilitating sides, deregulation reform is intended to eliminate the barriers to establish new schools, and to allow schools and teachers to choose their own programs and management styles. Also, autonomy policies have given much authority to schools and have promoted horizontal and collaborative relationships with their stakeholders. These developments have changed the seniority-based, closed professionalism into a performance-based, opened professionalism. This was done by opening the principalship to proven, capable teachers and experienced, high-skilled professionals from outside the profession. Finally, accountability policies provide greater choice for parents and foster competition among providers as "the consumers" can select schools based on performance.

Bernstein's lenses are helpful to illuminate the conflicts between policies. While the autonomy and professionalism policies have been oriented to the integrated code, the performance-based accountability and management such as NAEA, institutional evaluation, and merit pay have been related to the collection code. They are restricted to the visible and specified performance and evaluation criteria and standards. They focus educators on prescribed norms and requirements, leading to increased conformity. Also, while the

curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation policy within a school in terms of autonomy policy have been oriented to the integrated code, the accountability policies like NAEA and EIIDS emphasize the collection code; so, schools and teachers are willing to focus on their instruction and evaluation based on the collection code. Moreover, the autonomy policies have been weakening the distinctive identity of professionals, making unclear responsibility relationships, undermining organizational loyalty and commitment, and shrinking the control of schooling in terms of an integrated code. Finally, in contrast to the various and distinct school operations due to school autonomy, accountability and transparency policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and standard of evaluation. EIIDS especially, presents the uniform and direct indicators that schools must disclose. These strict criteria reduce variance, thus making schools and teachers more similar and normalized, as we will discuss later.

In the meanwhile, inconsistent codes between policies have produced controversial discussions and conflicts between parties. School autonomy policy is aimed to improve the efficiency of school operation and accountability through the abolition of regulation and the delegation of power. The policy is to give self-determination and self-responsibility to schools in exchange for minimizing the external interventions. From the Bernstein's standpoint, this means that schools are controlled by the integrated code with opened and horizontal relationship as well as the invisible mode featuring the indirect and implicit criteria. Autonomy policy can protect schools and teachers from governmental intervention through the invisible control connected with deregulation and school governance.

Figure 6 shows that relation between policies. It means that the less autonomy and professionalism schools and teachers exercise, the more collection code their accountability, and vice versa. Prior to carrying on autonomy policy, schools had a visible control of what and how schools and teachers to do according to the explicit and clear criteria and communication. Under collection code with low and external policy, almost all decision-makings are top-down and their performance can be visibly observable and clearly predictable. This means that responsibilities of schools and teachers are limited. However, after autonomy policy implementation, the more delegation of power and the school-based governance have relatively increased their own decision and responsibilities. On the other hand, figure 7 shows the connection of policy to the relationship among stakeholders. More integrated policies result in more horizontal relationships among stakeholders, particularly for schools and teachers and vice versa. That is, the more integrated policies facilitate participative decision-making, horizontal career ladders, mutual learning organization, and internal peer review. Therefore, it is evident that the more tightly-coupled a policy is, the less relative autonomy schools and teachers can exercise and the more vertical the structure and relationship is.

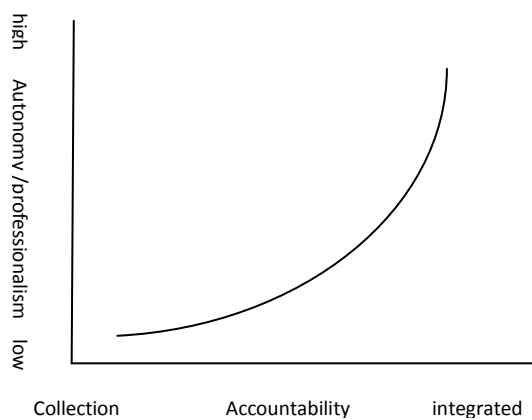


Figure 6 The relations between policies

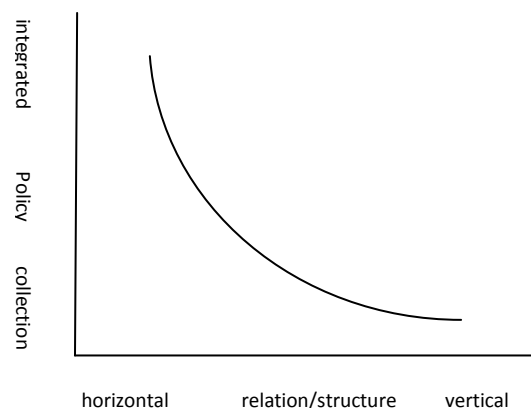


Figure 7 The relation and structure between stakeholders

Chapter 6

Micro Analysis

A. Political interaction, policy process, and policy issues

The policy players have been the typical groups Kingdon (2003) presented: government, parties, interest groups related to teachers, parents and citizens, the media, and academics. The Korean educational stakeholders can be classified as both supporting and opposing groups. The supporting ones were most stakeholders. Opposing groups included progressive teachers' unions and liberal parents' associations. Scholars, research institutions, and the media were expected to be in the middle, but most tended to support the policies. However, Korean key players concerning teaching profession are MOE and teacher unions.

The MOE. The MOE was a primary stakeholder that presented governmental agendas and implemented its decisions. As is typical, the Secretary of MOE presented the governmental agenda for education policies, and the bureaucrats came up with feasible alternatives for the agenda (Kingdon, 2003). The MOE tends to use the following mechanisms for policy agenda setting and policy decision making: persuasion, negotiation, power use, authority use, and administrative authority.

Persuasion refers to a kind of policy propaganda or justification. The MOE published policy briefs and sent out pamphlets to stakeholders to spread its message. For example, after the government and the teachers union clashed over the use of parent and student surveys as part of "high stakes" job evaluation, MOE Secretary Kim Jin Pyo e-

mailed teachers and parents a compromise, in which the teachers' evaluation by parents and students would only involve a satisfaction-level survey to use to improve instruction. The e-mail meant that the MOE gave up the original measure but persuaded stakeholders to implement the revised treatment (Kim, et al, 2009a).

Negotiation means holding conferences or conversations with stakeholders regarding the policy agendas and alternatives. For example, when the MOE needed a breakthrough in a locked struggle, it organized and operated the Special Committee for Enhancing Schooling, consisting of the ministry, the Korean Teachers and Education Workers Union, The Korean Federation of Teachers' Associations, the Parents' Association for Humanistic Education, and the Parents' Association for Good Education. The committee agreed to measures to exclude unqualified teachers from schooling, distinguishing low-performing teachers with instruction in need of improvement from unqualified teachers involved in manipulating academic grades, receiving a bribe, demonstrating sexual violence, or having mental illness. Thus, the MOE could take next the steps to develop and implement the TE policy agenda (Kim, et al, 2009a).

Power use is to make the use of a threat or officially legitimate power lever to make or implement a policy (Kim & Reyes, in press). For example, the MOE conducted the NAEA for every student in Grades 6, 9, and 10 in October 2008 across the country. NAEA results were released to the public through the media in February 2009. The teachers' union resisted against administering the assessment by going on field trips with students instead of conducting the NAEA (Kim, et al, 2009b). As a result, some were dismissed from their positions. In another example, when the MOE made public the draft of the revised ESEA

including a section that the TE system would be conducted beginning in 2008, teachers' unions and KTEWU proclaimed a "sick-out" or taking vacation time in a large group. The Secretary of Education responded by mailing teachers and parents a warning, threatening harsh punishment of those involved in the sick-out scheduled on November 22 (Kim, et al, 2009a).

Authority use means that the ministry exerts influence through the force of its reputation (or the reputation of others) and standing than its formal power mechanisms. To illustrate, the MOE tends to co-opt professional and scholarly authority to explore and evaluate agendas and alternatives. They commission research institutes and academic societies to research, survey, and hold public hearings to ensure the legitimacy, validity, and objectivity of the policy. In this respect, although research institutes and scholar groups, intrinsically try and pursue objective and neutral exploration and evaluation of policy alternatives, their contractual relationship may either skew their findings, or cause opponents of the agenda to regard their results as biased..

Also, the MOE is likely to aggregate and articulate the collective interest instead of that of individual people with constitutional rights. The MOE must respond directly to the demands and expectations of the public; indirectly, it must listen to the media, which functions as the voice of the public. However, the MOE used the media to inform and present the policy. In addition, the MOE has the administrative power and the supervision authority of teachers legally; however, it usually exercised this power through steady persuasion and negotiation with the stakeholders, in spite of the strong resistance of teachers' unions against the MOE.

The interest groups. An interest group, originally, means a group for articulating, mobilizing, and obtaining common goals. The groups were divided by two sides: on the left, the KTEWU and on the right, the Korean Federation of Teachers' Associations and the Good Teacher Movement. Opponent of the governmental policy, particularly, KTEWU claimed that the policies of MOE were focused on efficiency, competition, and the restructuring of the teaching profession at the expense of the professionalism of the teachers. With few formal power levers, the group attempted to carry their argument through protest, engaging in demonstrations, sick-outs, the interruption of public hearings, and the illegal occupation of the office of the National Assembly for the ruling party. Perhaps more constructively, the KTEWU presented survey results regarding the policy. However, they were criticized by the public and the media for their radical actions. Also, since their collective action occasionally broke the law, some members of the KTEWU were jailed. In addition, when the MOE administered NAEA, teachers who objected to the test provided about 150 students an opportunity to take a field trip instead of taking the test. Unlike the KTEWU, the Korean Federation of Teachers' Associations and the Good Teacher Movement demanded the implementation of the education policy in order to improve teachers' instructional capacity.

Korean educational policy processes can be summarized in three areas: (a) policy adoption and implementation without any revision after the government made policy agendas and did policy research (e.g., school autonomy policy, school evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, merit pay); (b) revision, adoption, and implementation of the original policy agenda after heated struggles with stakeholders (e.g.,

teacher evaluation, principal recruitment, head teacher); and (c) policy adoption and implementation because of external influencers (e.g., educational institution information disclosure). The educational policy process, in general, began with the the specific agenda of education reform by the government. The government created the basic plans of most policy agendas and then delegated policy research, public hearings, and opinion surveys to research institutes and scholars in order to ensure the validity and objectivity of the policy and to fulfill the Administrative Procedure Act.

The agencies or scholars conducting policy research gathered public opinion through conferences and opinion surveys and recommended potential challenges and optimal alternatives to the government. During the research period, many interest groups participated in the conferences held by the research team and presented their positions. Based on the research and the public hearings, the government adopted the final agenda and released the news of the policy information to the public and the related stakeholders. After the appointed period (usually 30 days) by the Administrative Procedure Act, the policy became a public policy or was submitted as a proposed act to the National Assembly. Most policies were implemented in this manner. The educational institution information disclosure came from a court decision and National Assembly legislation, but the policy decision-making process followed the same steps as other policies (Kim & Reyes, in press).

Policies are a product of political interaction relating to the addressing of social and educational issues. Most policies were formed by the government but the educational institutional information disclosure was derived from the Court and the National Assembly. The main hot social and educational issues have been connected with enhancing school

autonomy, reducing the private tutoring burden, enhancing teacher professionalism, cooling down overheated promotion competition, and ensuring the right to know school performance and information.

After the termination of military government, social and educational areas craved for democratization. As a result, the local education autonomy was introduced in 1991 and the school operation committee for school self-governance began in 1996. The School Operation Committees were established and operated at national, public, and private schools. Also, the school account system was introduced in 2001. School-based decision-making is coupled to co-working and shared responsibility among school stakeholders. However, school operation committee has only been nominally or formally operating because of the lack of parents' participation in school operations. Also, parents inactively participated in teacher evaluation process because of the lack of information and professionalism concerning school and teacher negatively. The MOE created the Parents' School Participation Support Plan of 2010 for monitoring and assessing the teachers' quality of education and to present their opinions and demands to the schools.

Another hotly-disputed policy issues were focused on not only enhancing school effectiveness but also reducing private tutoring expenditures, which were a financial burden to many parents and caused social and economic inequality. In response, policy makers have made various attempts to reform the teaching profession through productive culture building, competition mechanisms, effective performance management and positive governmental involvement in public education. The endeavors for public education enhancement have been concretized by policy agendas such as school evaluation (1997),

the tenure limit reduction (1999), merit pay system (2001), test-based accountability (2001), test result publication (2009), and educational institution information disclosure (2009). At the same time, power regimes have announced the measures of reducing private education expenditures. The measures were to regulate the private tutoring and cram schools. However, in 2004, the MOE announced a stronger measure to reduce private educational expenditures by introducing a new teacher evaluation system and incorporating the private tutoring system into public schools through afterschool programs. The teaching profession became responsible for reducing private education expenditures.

The government also attempted to strengthen public education through some fundamental reforms of the teaching profession itself. The primary reforms here were the introduction of the merit pay system in 2001 and the teacher evaluation system in 2004. Both reforms were aimed at improving teacher professionalism. Finally, the government reformed the career ladder by introducing a principal recruitment system and adding a head teacher position. This allowed candidates to become a principal without 20 to 25 years of experience and provided a position for a veteran teacher who was not going to advance to principal.

B. Structural analysis: Foucault's perspective

As discussed before, Foucault's ideas render significant implications of how the power regime uses continuous monitoring and control to internalize and normalize the determined power norms. He indicated the effectiveness of discipline related to ranks for in order to supervise and evaluate activities and feature according to performance. And

repeated practice and checking are used for the normalization. Moreover, assessment and documentation function as a constant inspection. Furthermore, individualized observation and classification is united to discipline. Finally, reward and punishment intensify the compliance of what-to-do and how-to-do (Foucault 1977).

Scholars proved that Foucault's perspective has substantive evidences. Borrowing from Foucault's ideas, Perryman (2006) coined "panoptic performativity" as "the regime within which teachers and schools can successfully demonstrate their acceptance of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) of England and school effectiveness discourse and successfully normalize" (p. 152). She argues that the panopticon metaphor may be helpful to understand the experiences about surveillance of schools and professionals as follows: 1) There is the aspect of continuous supervision: teachers under special measures need to behave as if they are being inspected all the time so it becomes second nature and thus the disciplinary mechanism is internalized; 2) There is the experience as not just constant but all-seeing: the central tower of OFSTED was always invisibly watching; 3) The result was increasing conformity to perceived expectations, the acceptance of the discourse as demonstrated through performativity. Along with Perryman, Webb (2005) also presented the use of high stakes achievement tests as an example of "surveillance as a punitive form of accountability" (p. 193). Vinson and Ross (2000) mentioned that the policy makers check and assess school progress in student achievement under surveillance and the public considers school accountability through test scores. Olsen and Sexton (2009) presented that in the era of accountability, schools and professionals should respond to accountability mechanisms "by centralizing and restricting the flow of

information, by constricting control, by emphasizing simplified instructional/assessment practice, and by applying strong pressure for school personnel to conform” (p.14). Webb (2005) pointed out that panoptic leaders would use “surveillance circulation” (199) for the enforcement of unstated expectations through formal and informal observation and evaluation for internalization of surveillance. In this respect, the accountability policy is apt to be connected with ‘overseeing’ leadership for professionals to be acquiesced and complied. Johnson and Johnson (2006) point out that supervising leaders cause a lot of paperwork needed to meet a standardized form forced by a central office. For example, special measure schools or the failing schools are required to make frequent reporting and submit various documents for improvement processes; principals require teachers to check their plan books to see whether they are properly coded at any given time.

The performance-based policies may make the teaching profession transformed from relative or licensed autonomy to regulated or productive autonomy that directly ties professional performance to student achievement by transferring from professional to managerial perspective. As a result, the policies may produce isomorphism and normalization. Cohen and Spillane (1992) claimed that increasing involvement of central government in schooling resulted in reducing variety and increasing isomorphism for effective management. In this sense, Fusarelli (2002) claimed that “institutional isomorphism serves to tighten the loose coupling of educational organizations, enabling them to function in a complex, ever-changing institutional environment (p.568).” The isomorphism under accountability reform is likely to make school organization more formalized, more centralized, and less professional (Hoy and Miskel 2001). Wang, et al

(2006), the accountability reform has encroached on the autonomy and professionalism of teachers on the basis that teachers cannot help but teach the curriculum according to the stipulated test scope and contents. In addition, imposed changes in curriculum control, standardized assessment, and increased external evaluation led to the lowering of teachers' professional identity and motivation (Day 2002). Crocco and Costigan (2007) also found empirical evidence of the decline of personal and professional identity by new teachers in New York City. He argued that accountability diminished creativity, autonomy, and the ability to forge relationships with students.

Basically, Korean educational administration culture seems to have both authoritative characteristics. Administrative inertia kept reality as being one of authoritative inspection and oversight. This feature, regrettably, has endured as part of the school culture until now. Along with supervision, auditing can be regarded as the mechanism for monitoring schools. Supervision refers to school inspection, focused not only on curriculum and instruction, but also on school management and implementation of the districts' policies. The administrative and financial audit inspects and reports how schools implement the given rules and regulations and use the allotted budgets in a legal and efficient manner. Specifically, the audit can be classified as comprehensive audit, special audit and discipline audit. Comprehensive audits refer to regularly checking if the schools have accomplished their administrative and financial tasks such as school affairs management, personnel management, office service regulation compliance, budget and spending management, etc-according to the given laws and regulations once every two or three years. Also, special audits are done in case of need. Discipline audit has been conducted to enforce strict

official discipline among government employees or to inspect misbehaviors (Kim, 2005). Along with supervision and audit, accountability measures such as school evaluation, teacher evaluation, and national assessment of educational achievement emerged the new strong control mechanisms of schools and teachers. School evaluation is conducted by document evaluation, field evaluation and comprehensive evaluation, and the responses of students and parents towards the institutions being evaluated by using various methods, survey research, interviewing related people etc. Also, schools should release input-and-output driven indicators such as school circumstances, curriculum and programs, student and teacher demographics, and achievement results including national standardized test results.

In the meanwhile, teachers have been routinely and perfunctorily assessed by the (vice) principals at the end of each year through the work performance system. As teacher evaluation and test-based accountability has been introduced, professionals, substantially, were supervised or evaluated by the triple mechanisms: annual performance assessment, national assessment of educational achievement (NAEA), and teacher evaluation. NAEA is conducted at least two times in the national and regional level for monitoring the progress of student achievement. Although the monitoring is based on each school, the results are attributed to the outcome or performance of schools and the offices of education due to the ranking systems and the publication to the general citizen and parents. So, schools or professionals cannot help focusing on the test contents for higher achievement than other schools. Apart from the test-based accountability and the work performance, teachers are evaluated by administrators, peer teachers, students and parents. Teachers are to participate

in the annual workshop and several grade- or subject-conferences for teacher evaluation planning and preparation in March, and then they must inform their students and parents of the evaluation system. Teachers have to open their instruction on a specified date to instructional leaders and colleagues in April through May. They also are required to conduct the “satisfaction survey” of their instructions to students and parents in June. In this sense, teachers are inspected by students and parents; therefore, they are revealed to the gaze of senior leaders, peers, students, and parents. Before summer vacation, they also do self-evaluation and report self-improvement plans to schools. During the summer vacation, they need to participate in the professional development program. From October, they are required to check whether their improvement activities are effective or not. At the end of the school year, they are required to do a final self-evaluation for their professional development. According to the result of teacher evaluation, unqualified or low-performing teachers must complete national in-service program; on the other hand, qualified or high-performing teachers can earn more merit pay and an incentive that can research without class.

As presented before, MOE is likely to use persuasion, negotiation, power use, authority use, and administrative authority as policy implementation means. In many cases, MOE use persuasion, negotiation, and authority use to make and implement policies. And power use and administrative authority is unusually used over power regime. However, since the present conservative regime has exerted leadership, the MOE tends to more exercise power use and administrative authority as punitive measures than previous power regimes. Power use is to make the use of a threat or officially legitimate power to make or

implement a policy. For example, the MOE conducted the NAEA for every student in Grades 6, 9, and 10 in October 2008 across the country. NAEA results were released to the public through the media in February 2009. The teachers' union resisted against administering the assessment by going on field trips with students instead of conducting the NAEA. As a result, some were dismissed from their positions (Kim 2010b). For another example, the KTEWU announced the national situation statement after the teachers' signature of the statement for stopping the persecution of teacher union because of the violation of Article 65 (prohibition of political action) and 66 (prohibition of collective action) of Public Officials Act (Act No. 10342, June 8, 2010) two times in 2009. MOE dismissed or suspended 69 teachers from the teaching profession (Lee 2009). For final example, MOE disciplined 169 teachers as dismissal or suspension from the teaching profession due to joining into the Democratic Labor Party, paying the joint fee or contributing to the Party (Choi 2010).

In the meanwhile, MOE used administrative authority to the progressive Superintendents who have an opposing policy orientation to the MOE. The administrative authority was the command to execute the delegated affair. Citizens cast vote to the progressive Superintendents of Six city and provinces including Seoul, Kyounggi, Kangwon, Jeonbuk, Jeonnam, and Gangju in the Local Election in June 2010. The conservative government delegated almost all authority of K-12 education to the Superintendents in 2008. So, it is difficult to obtain agreement and cooperation of the progressive Superintendents in enforcing current main policies such as NAEA and teacher

evaluation. They cancelled NAEA or approved the field trip or other classroom activities substituted for NAEA (Chung, 2010).

And Some Superintendents did a fraternal administrative execution that the low-performing teachers in teacher evaluation excluded from the long-term in-service training (Jung, 2011). The Superintendents were reluctant to enforce the command of MOE to discipline teachers who participated in situation statement (Kim Y. S. 2010) and hold the discipline decision of teachers who joined to the Democratic Labor Party (Hong 2010)

In sum, the control means are administrative authority through supervision, audit and direct orders as well as accountability mechanisms such as school evaluation, teacher evaluation, NAEA, and parents' monitoring and assessment. These mechanisms are paradoxical due to the counter-actions of increasing autonomy. Figure 8 shows how accountability mechanisms have increased as autonomy has been expanded. It is evident that government has increasingly delegated considerable authority to schools and teachers; the accountability mechanisms have been added to the traditional control systems such as supervision, audit, direct order, and end-of-year performance assessments. These methods have become more tightly-coupled, visible and explicit.

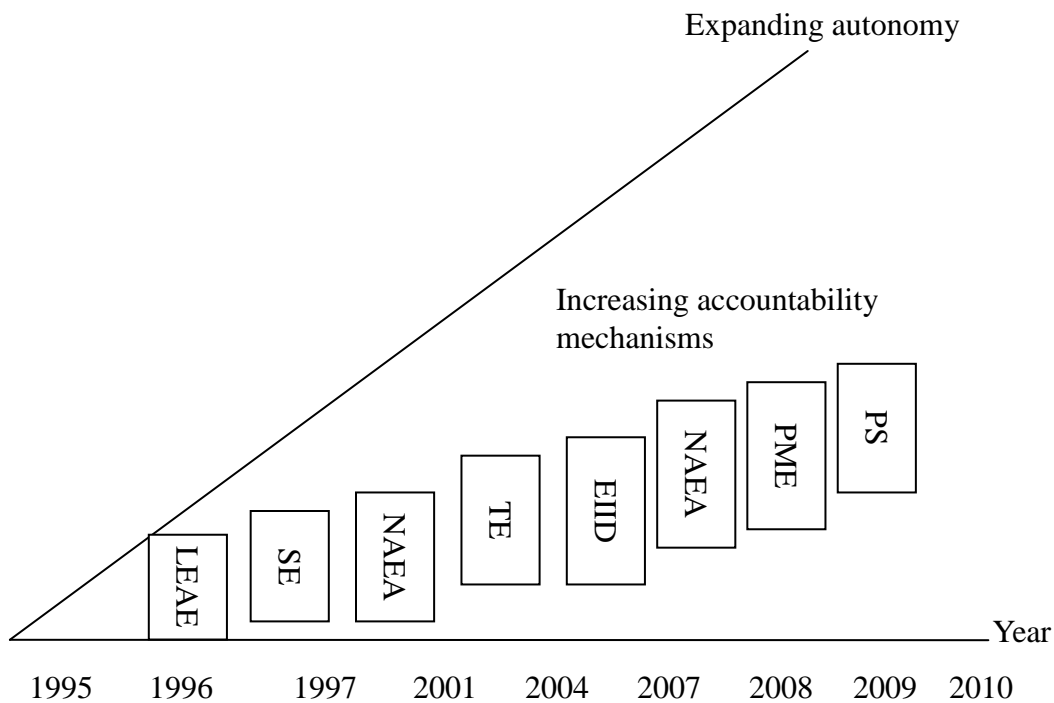


Figure 8 Increasing accountability mechanisms comparing with expanding autonomy

Note: LEE=Local Education Agency Evaluation, SE=School Evaluation, NAEA=National Assessment of Educational Achievement, TE=Teacher Evaluation, EIID: Educational Institution Information Disclosure, PME=Principal Management Evaluation, PS=Parents' Meeting Support Plan

Also, the control means for schools and teachers, even Superintendents are administrative authority such as supervision, audit, and command to execute, accountability mechanisms such as school evaluation, teacher evaluation and national tests, and parents' monitoring and assessment. The measures include the documentation and report, the regular and repetitive evaluation and supervision, the rewards and sanctions, the frequent observation and feedback, and the ranking system, etc.

In this respect, Foucault's perspective can be applied to Korean educational contexts. His standpoints are likely to shed light on the normalization and surveillance of Korean schools and teachers because of an elaborated procedure, a repetitive time schedule, a

punitive measure, and result-driven performance-management. The frequent evaluation and performance management can produce an invisible control system. Teacher professionalism has become more uniform in terms of how and what to do for the performance standards and accountability criteria. And the requirement for constant documentation and the more closely prescribed recipe for a good lesson have also homogenized the teacher workforce. Particularly, test-based accountability is likely to encroach on the autonomy and professionalism of teachers on the basis that teachers cannot help but teach the curriculum according to the stipulated test scope and contents. These points mean that educational policies are oriented to an invisible and indirect supervision and control by governing the individual's cognition and action through normalization. Along with the normalization, educational policies have schools under surveillance through progress in student achievement, and the public as a whole monitors schools and teachers through frequent standardized test scores. Teacher evaluation and NAEA tend to focus on the predetermined standards by the authorities as a sort of surveillance mechanism in that the measures enable administrators to check and supervise if teachers have managed to follow the prescribed guidelines for showing their performance, or good scores. Teachers have always felt supervised without direct and indirect check and evaluation. Therefore, schools and teachers have become invisible and less controlled due to autonomy and professionalism but governments use accountability for a continuous control and supervision through the invisible and indirect manner but a more compliance and normalization.

Chapter 7

Structural Analysis: Evidence

The Delphi survey (see Appendix 1 for the detailed questions) is related to how policies or institutions influence the roles, relations and structures of teaching profession. The primary concern of Delphi questions is to identify the historical orientation and inconsistency of educational policy implementation in terms of Bernstein's conceptions. Foucault's perspectives are used for identifying the normalization, supervision, homogeneity, evaluation, comparison, and sanction of the teaching profession. Furthermore, the survey tried to identify changes in the characteristics of the teaching profession, what characteristics have resisted change, and the most influential policies of changing teaching profession.

The Delphi was conducted using three rounds of surveys. The detailed results are presented in Appendix 2. The first round had participants freely respond to the arguments of the respective policy based on the literature review. Also, it included questions of the characteristics of administrative values, the orientation and characteristic of educational policy implementation. The second round had participants choose the most strongly felt or important three answers of their free responses. And it included the choice questions of the teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies (using a five-point Likert scale), the unchanged teaching profession characteristics irrespective of any kinds of educational policies (five choices), and the policies most influential in changing the character of the teaching profession (three choices). The third round reviewed and

confirmed the results drawn from the first and second surveys. In case of 12 participants' agreement (above 70%), the results were accepted as valid.

Participants were recruited using a paperback directory of the Korea Educational Research Association. The researcher is a member of the Society and possesses a copy of this directory as it is provided to all members annually. Information provided in the directory includes names, institutions, position, address, telephone number, and e-mail. The researcher sent the questionnaire to 32 scholars and 17 participants responded. The 17 participants were adult Korean scholars with a Ph.D or Ed.D. Their degree areas were in educational philosophy (1), educational psychology (1), sociology of education (2), and educational administration (13). Participants work at different institutions including seven university professors, four researchers at the Korean Educational Development Institute, and in K-12 schools as both three teachers and three administrators.

A. The historicity and orientation of policy implementation

An analysis of the historicity and orientation of policies began with identifying administrative and political values in terms of Bernstein's conceptions. The participants were requested to categorize administrative and political values into collection code and integrated code. They thought of efficiency, competition, managerialism, centralization, and control as collection code. On the other hand, the integrated code included equality, communitarianism, integration, professionalism, decentralization, and delegation (see question 1 of Appendix 2). That is, the conservative or right-wing policy orientation is related to collection code and the progressive or left-wing policy is connected to the

integrated code. However, the participants were reluctant to decide individualism as either collection or integrated code at first because of the ambiguity of its meaning. They questioned whether individualism meant individual choice or individual autonomy and responsibility. They finally re-categorized individual choice as collection code and individual autonomy and responsibility as integrated code.

Next, the participants were asked to categorize the policies into the collection and integrated codes. The policies they said oriented toward the collection code were merit pay, teacher evaluation, school evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement as these focused on comparison, efficiency, and competition. On the contrary, deregulation, school operation committee, principal recruitment system were seen as integrated code as these stressed decentralization, professionalism, and communitarianism. However, educational institution information disclosure (EIID) and Head teacher was suspended at the second round; EIID was classified into collection code and Head teacher system integrated code at the final round.

Table 4 The classification of the respective policies into collection and integrated code

Policies	Decision	Opinions
Deregulation	Integrated	Enhance autonomy, weaken hierarchical administration and control, and boost horizontal relationship, etc.
School operation committee	Integrated	Alleviate vertical authority and structure, facilitate communitarianism, form horizontal relationship, distribute powers, ensure autonomy, and intensify diverse participation, etc.
Principal recruitment	Integrated	Flexible strict promotion structure, open teaching profession, motivate participative democracy, and weaken principalship, etc.
Head teacher	Integrated	Diversify promotion structure, enhance professionalism, produce ambiguous and horizontal control structure, etc.
Merit pay	Collection	Establish performance management, boost competitive, hierarchical and comparative culture of teaching profession, and destruct communitarianism and separate between teachers, etc.
Teacher evaluation	Collection	Establish productive quality management, boost competitive teaching profession, and facilitate peer review, separate between teachers, etc.
School evaluation	Collection	Establish performance management, facilitate competitive and

		comparative climate of education, and labeling of good and bad school, etc.
National assessment of educational achievement	Collection	Establish result-based management, facilitate competitive and comparative climate of schools, and labeling of good and bad school, individualization of students, etc.
Educational institution information disclosure	Collection	Establish result-based management, facilitate competitive and comparative climate of schools, etc

The participants reviewed school policy orientation over power regimes. It was conducted at the second round. The classifications were given by the researcher (see question 3 of Appendix 2). The participants were not willing to agree with the classifications because they indicated the policies must be analyzed from a respective policy formation and implementation time. So, the researcher re-categorized them according to the time when policy formed; the 14 participants made a final decision as table 5 shows. Most policy orientations over time are similar to the classification of each policy presented in the table 4. Particularly NAEA and EIID policy orientation has been changed from integrated to collection code due to the transition of power regime from left-wing to right-wing government.

Table 5 The historicity of policy implementation over power regimes

Category		Right-wing 1993-98	Left-wing 1998-2003	Left-wing 2003-08	Right-wing 2008-2011
Autonomy	Deregulation	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	School operation committee	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
Professionalism	Principal recruitment	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Head teacher	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Merit pay system		Collection	Collection	Collection
	Teacher evaluation			Collection	Collection
Accountability	School evaluation	Collection	Collection	Collection	Collection
	National assessment of educational achievement		Integrated	Integrated	Collection
	Educational institution information disclosure			Integrated	Collection

B. School autonomy policies

The questions of school autonomy policies are related to deregulation, school operation committee, principals' expanded personnel and budget decision making. With regard to the influence of deregulation policy on the teaching profession, the participants were presented with seven opinions and chose the most appropriate three responses (see question 4 of Appendix 2). They pointed out that school autonomy policy is formal, nominal, and ineffective because schools are still controlled by the central and local regulations, and the policy mainly focused on delegation from the central to the local governments.

Concerning the influence of the school operation committee on the teaching profession, the participants were presented with seven responses and decided the best three of them (see question 5 of Appendix 2). They indicated that the school operation committee has been formally and nominally operating because it has a mixture of representation including a principal, teachers and parents. The non-professionals have to decide the professional matters. They indicated that there is a willingness to follow the principals' decision and opinion due to lack of interest by non-professionals in school education and management and the unclear roles and functions of parent members.

As far as the influence of principals' extended personnel and budget authority on the teaching profession is concerned, the participants came up with six opinions and decided the best three of them (see question 6 of Appendix 2). They indicated that principals seem to extrinsically have expanded power but don't exercise their leadership and bureaucratic authority because of the old conventions and inertia, the school budget,

and regulations. Also, they responded that the present government intentionally gives strong power to principals in order to control teachers who don't follow governmental policies and intensify the vertical structure of school.

C. Professionalism policies

The questions of professionalism policies are related to the principal recruitment system, head teacher system, merit pay system, and teacher evaluation policy. As with the effect of the principal recruitment system and the head teacher system on the teaching profession, the participants presented six opinions and chose the appropriate three responses of them (see Question 7 of Appendix 2). They agreed with the positive influences. The principal recruitment system is designed to overcome the overheated competition of promotion to principalship, remove authoritative principals, and select democratic, flexible, more qualified principals. In the meanwhile, the head teacher system may enhance the status and professionalism of teachers and make the teaching profession more horizontal by weakening the hierarchical, closed, and strict seniority system. However, both systems have negative effects on the teaching profession in that there is no guarantee of selecting qualified principals and recruited principals are willing to work the better school or to extend principal employment term. They also found that the head teacher system is nominally operating. They indicated that the head teacher system has added a rung to the teaching career ladder and was aimed at making the teaching profession more vertical.

Concerning the influence of merit pay system on the teaching profession, the participants were presented with four opinions and chose two of them (see question 8 of

Appendix 2). The points are that merit pay system is difficult to make consensus on the clear, valid, and reliable evaluation criteria and method and it is based on not ability and performance but the hierarchy and principals' preference.

With regard to the influence of teacher evaluation on the teaching profession, the participants were presented with seven responses and chose the two responses that had the most explanatory power (see question 9 of Appendix 2). First, they saw that teacher evaluation is not associated with assessing the individual teachers' instructional capacity. They also saw the collaborative performance criteria as the lack of reliability, because it is difficult to evaluate the participation of students and parents. Also, they thought that it is difficult to identify effective teachers because of the teachers' neglect, the warmhearted peer review, poor teacher training, ineffective follow-up professional development, and the ineffective sanctions for the unqualified or low-performing teachers.

As far as the influence of the productive (performance-based) autonomy on the teaching profession, the participants presented five opinions and chose the persuasive three responses (see Question 10 of Appendix 2). They pointed out that performance management is not easy to influence the fundamental and visible change of teaching profession because of the difficulty to establish standard and the diverse interpretation of the standard. Also, they indicated that performance management is hard to apply to education sector due to the growth and change of children difficult to assess. Furthermore, performance management causes the reduction of relative autonomy of teachers, the homogeneity and unification of teaching and works and the hardening administration.

D. Accountability policies

This section asks respondents to gauge how the accountability policies have influenced the teaching profession. The questions of accountability policies are combined with the general effect of accountability policy, school organization characteristics in an era of accountability, organizational homogeneity, the surveillance of schools and teachers, and teacher resistance.

First, the participants were presented with seven choices on the generality of accountability policies and chose following three answers (see Question 11 of Appendix 2): accountability policies foment comparison and competition by means of information disclosure; accountability evaluation is based on short-term evaluation visitation, result-oriented evaluation, and external evaluation; accountability policies should be focused on meeting the minimum standards so that it cannot cause the devaluation of professionalism and the lowering of teacher quality.

As far as the school organization in era of accountability is concerned, the participants were presented with four responses and chose the two best (see question 12 of Appendix 2). They pointed out that accountability policies are based on the objective and visible criteria. And the results that can be compared by the government and school systems have become centralized and formalized, yet coexisting with autonomous and decentralized policies.

Concerning the homogeneity of the school organization, the participants were presented with four options and chose two (see question 13 of Appendix 2). They pointed out that accountability policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and

standard of evaluation. They also chose that accountability policies undermine independent and creative teaching. For example, schools tend to focus instruction on tested subjects (Korean, English, Math, Science) and the detriment of untested classes (e.g. Music, Art, Physical activities).

With regard to the supervision and observation of schools and teachers, the participants were presented with eight options and chose three (see question 14 of Appendix 2). They selected that evaluation methods need to be improved so that evaluation may be an instrument of self-reflection, mutual learning, and improvement. Also, they saw that accountability policies do not affect the supervision of the teaching profession and solely heightens the deep-rooted bureaucratic culture of teaching profession. Finally, irrespective of the supervision and assessment, schools are still independently operated and teachers teach their own way.

Regarding the resistance of teachers in an era of accountability, the participants presented with seven responses and chose two answers (see question 15 of Appendix 2). They pointed out that teachers are likely to disagree with the accountability policies. However, teachers are responsible for student learning because they are hired public servants. Also they are professionals that should accept accountability policies. Also, they saw that the teaching profession is composed of mostly disinterested teachers and some resisting teachers. Teachers tend to informally, cynically, and individually resist the policies.

E. Teaching profession changes

This section is related to the teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies, the characteristics most resistant to any policy, and the policies most influential policies in changing the profession. Unlike the previous sections, Question 17 presents the respondents with a 5-point Likert scale (“5” means strongly agree, “1” refers to absolutely disagree). Questions 18 and 19 gave the respondents three and five choices to select from, respectively.

The researcher asked the participants to check the level of agreement about the following questions of teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies. As a result, participants responded that the recent policies tend to put emphasis on competition and comparison between schools and teachers (M 4.63, SD 0.89), radical change (M 4.00, SD 0.82), productive professionalism (M 4.00, SD 0.82), performance-based management (M 3.88, SD 0.98), and the short-term, direct, and visible control and evaluation (M 3.81, SD 0.87). However, professionalism has been reduced in terms of the negative cognition of teachers’ independence of instruction and guidance (M 2.88, SD 1.09) and in terms of professional collaboration, advice and feedback between teachers (M 3.31, SD 0.87). In these veins, the recent policies are likely to lead the teaching profession to the collection code.

Table 6 The teaching profession characteristics changed by the policy implementation

Questions	N	M	SD
1) The recent policies have emphasized teachers' independence of instruction and guidance.	16	2.88	1.09
2) The recent policies have emphasized the hierarchical bureaucratic structure.	15	2.94	1.00
3) The recent policies manage the instruction and works very tightly.	16	3.69	0.87
4) The recent policies reduce the autonomy and responsibility of teachers' instruction and evaluation.	16	3.69	0.87
5) The recent policies standardize instruction and school operation by introducing the standardized performance criteria and methods.	15	3.63	0.96
6) The recent policies have emphasized the performance management based on the clear objectives and results.	16	3.88	1.02
7) The recent policies have emphasized the short-term, direct, and visible control and evaluation.	16	3.81	0.98
8) The recent policies have emphasized the professional collaboration, advice and feedback between teachers	14	3.31	0.87
9) The recent policies have emphasized the safety and gradual improvement rather than radical change.	16	4.00	0.82
10) The recent policies have emphasized the competition and comparison between teachers or schools.	16	4.63	0.89
11) The recent policies produced the more control and guidance of LEA.	16	3.63	1.26
12) The recent policies have emphasized the performance-based professionalism.	16	4.00	0.82
13) The recent policies have emphasized the transmission of subject knowledge more than the ethical and professional decision of teachers.	14	3.75	0.77

Question 18 asked respondents to choose what characteristics of the profession would be most resistant to any change in policy. The participants were asked to pick five of the choices that come from the summary of the teaching profession characteristics presented in Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (2002). They chose the following: (see question 18 of Appendix 2): each teacher autonomously teaches and guides students in their classroom; the teaching profession prefers safety and incremental improvement to radical change; the teaching profession is difficult to manage and evaluate due to the diversity of objectives and the ambiguity of outcome; the teaching profession puts stress on the autonomy and responsibility of instruction and evaluation; the teaching profession is in the difficult

position of short-term, direct and visible control and evaluation. They reflected on the loosely-coupled system and the professional organization.

In this respect, the recent policies have pursued the destruction of the loosely-coupled system through more tightly-coupled policies (teacher evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, and educational institution information disclosure) considered as the most influential policies of causing the teaching profession change (see question 19 of Appendix 2).

F. Findings

As far as the findings for each of the major areas of study are concerned, the Korean educational policies after the 5.31 education reform are clearly oriented toward the right-wing values of competition, comparison, efficiency, autonomy, transparency, and accountability. That is, policies are based on tightly-coupled collection code (merit pay, teacher evaluation, school evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, educational institution information disclosure) with loosely-coupled integrated code (school autonomy, school operation committee, principal recruitment system and head teacher system). In spite of the different policy orientation of successive power regimes, this policy orientation has remained constant.

The implementation of autonomy policies has meant that schools and their teachers have more school-based governance and responsibility along with a more horizontal relationship with stakeholders. However, school operation committee has nominally been operated because of the lack of parents' professionalism and participation and the

willingness to follow the decisions of school staffs. Also, autonomy policies may create a principal-centered vertical governance system, but principals cannot exercise their authority due to institutional inertia and constraints. In spite of the negative sides, the policies have changed the following school characteristics: an invisible and horizontal loosely-coupled mode toward LEA and stakeholders and a visible and hierarchical tightly-coupled mode within a school.

After the 5.31 reform, the professionalism policies have been based on peer reviews, coaching, and performance-based management. However, teachers may not perceive that the teacher evaluation system has been channeling schools and teachers into a more dynamic and close interaction. They have yet to facilitate teamwork and collective collaboration. Also, performance management seems to be ineffective because of the warmhearted and perfunctory peer review and unclear, unreliable performance standards.

After the implementation of autonomy policies, central administrative control over schools has become more implicit and hidden. In this respect, accountability was considered as a measure for disclosing the schools' implicit and hidden realities and operations. The accountability policies are the most influential in changing teaching profession. They have pressured schools and teachers to perform according to clear and specific evaluation criteria. Also, accountability policies may cause school and teacher normalization via compliance to elaborated and explicit procedures and a repetitive time schedule.

The teaching profession, basically, has been characterized as loosely-coupled system due to its individualism, difference, high discretion, internal control, and implicit

rules. After the right-wing policies have been launched, the teaching profession has grafted onto it a tightly-coupled control system related to explicit standards, performance-based management, and reduced autonomy. Also, teachers still work themselves in the classroom but they have yet to collaborate and interact with others in spite of peer review and performance evaluation. Furthermore, the teaching profession has become more homogeneous and normalized because schools and teachers meet common performance standards and guidelines in order to avoid sanctions. As a result, teachers' professional identity has become oriented toward an evaluated professional or school. This has produced resistance among some teachers. In this respect, teaching profession has been tightly-coupled, homogeneous, collective, external, sanction-based, routine, and standardized rather than different, diverse, individual, loosely-coupled, internal, and implicit. That is, it has been changed toward collection code by means of normalization, homogeneity, comparison, supervision and evaluation.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusion

A. Summary

This study has explored how the Korean teaching profession has been changed as a result of policy implementation combined with the interaction of policy environments and political actors. For this purpose, this study used multiple analyses: macro, micro, structural analysis. Macro analysis was based on historical institutional approach focused on the influence of external impacts and institutions on policies. The micro analysis is conducted through political approach related with the political interactions and the political control mechanisms of teaching profession. The structural analysis was connected to the macro and micro analysis by using Bernstein's and Foucault's ideas.

The methodologies of this study were the literature review and the Delphi Survey. The literature review was based on the resources such as major daily newspapers, the governmental documents, and academic research papers. It was focused on investigating the historical policy implementation process, the political interaction and issues, and the change of teaching profession in terms of Bernstein's and Foucault's perspectives. To summarize the literature review, Korean education policies in education were derived from the 5.31 Education Reform oriented to the increase of autonomy and accountability for school effectiveness and quality instruction through teacher professionalism enhancement. The policies are related to the influences of historical events and contexts embedded in the interactions of policy players who have sought to recast the balance of the dichotomies of

educational equality versus excellence and professionalism versus managerialism. The hotly-disputed policies have been driven by the right-wing approach of productive autonomy and accountability. From the structural perspective, the teaching profession has become more homogeneous and normalized. Thus, the roles, powers, functions, and structures of teaching profession and the relations have gradually been changed in a tightly-coupled, visible, and explicit way through supervision, comparison, competition, classification, and evaluation.

The Delphi Survey helped provide additional support for the use of Foucault's and Bernstein's perspectives on the changes in the teaching profession in the Korean education system. The Delphi questionnaire addressed the policies of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability. The Delphi was conducted using three rounds. The first round was that participants freely answer to the arguments of the respective policy based on the literature review and then the second round was that participants choose the most appropriate three answers of their free responses. The third round was to review and confirm the results drawn from the first and second round survey. Also, it included questions about the characteristics of administrative values, the orientation and characteristics of educational policy implementation, the teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies, the characteristics of the profession most resistant to change, and the most influential policies of changing teaching profession characteristics. The Delphi panels were 17 Korean scholars with a Ph.D or Ed.D who work at different institutions such as university, educational research center and K-12 schools.

The results of Delphi survey are consistent with the literature review. The Korean educational policies after the 5.31 education reform are clearly oriented toward the right-wing orientations such as competition, comparison, efficiency, autonomy, transparency, and accountability. In spite of the different policy orientation of power regimes, most policies have maintained almost the same orientation of policy. Autonomy policies have been oriented toward an invisible and horizontal loosely-coupled mode toward LEA and stakeholders and a visible and hierarchical tightly-coupled mode within a school. The professionalism policies may be based on an integrated mode, but have yet to facilitate teamwork and collective collaboration. Also, performance management seems to be ineffective because of the warmhearted and perfunctory peer review and the unclear and unreliable performance standards. The accountability policies have been oriented toward a visible and tightly-coupled collection code focused on causing school and teacher normalization and supervision through elaborated and explicit criteria, procedures and a repetitive time schedule.

B. Limitations

This research is focused on exploring what a multifocal analysis is, why it is needed and how it is done. However, it is possible that the researcher might miss the analysis of why Korean teaching profession went through all of this, how it is highly supervised and evaluated, or what was the big deal, etc. Also, it is difficult to find out the empirical evidences of Korean teaching profession changes caused by the current policies from the Bernstein's and Foucault's perspectives. So, the researcher used or cited western evidences

based on the beliefs that Korean educational policies has had similar orientations and agendas. In this respect, the study might be criticized for the fragmented discussions due to the lack of the in-depth analysis of Bernstein's and Foucault's evidences in Korea's education contexts. Furthermore, the limitations of literature resources concerning the teaching profession changes made the researcher difficult to analyze more details concerning the evidences of why and how Korea has restricted its curriculum and the profession has been de-professionalized, etc. Finally, many citations the researcher did are basically going through these newspaper articles and pulling out quotes from teacher union. In this respect, conducting the Delphi survey may contribute to providing the evidences of Korean teaching profession changes to a limited degree. The researcher wishes this paper to become a trigger for future Korean empirical studies.

C. Implications and discussions of the findings

Educational policies are a product of historical events and constraints. Power regimes have continued to develop educational policies. Korean educational policies have been impacted by external influences connected to historical events. Korea has been governed by a civilian administration since 1993. The first civilian government needed to create Korea's new social order and structure through national educational reforms. Also, membership in the OECD in 1993 was meant to demonstrate a radical shift to a knowledge-based, postindustrial, free-market economy. The 5.31 Reform in education was among the nation's grand reforms for changing the culture of militarism, authority, regulation, uniformity, and control to a culture of autonomy, deregulation, diversity, delegation, and

accountability. Right after the 5.31 reform, the government deregulated the system, created the school operation committee, and the principal recruitment system. School evaluation and national assessment of educational achievement were also included in the 5.31 Reform agenda. The policies were aimed to enhance school effectiveness and quality instruction through effective performance management and positive governmental involvement in public education. School evaluation and national assessment of educational achievement, and school operation committee were institutionalized by the ESSA and have been implemented over successive power regimes. Some measures, particularly the principal recruitment system, were proposed through the Comprehensive Plan of Developing the Teaching Profession (2001) and the Innovation of the Teacher Personnel System (2004).

In 1998, the progressive government first-ever attained leadership. The government believed the teachers union operated as an illegal organization due to its disapproval of the military and civilian government. The emergence of the teachers' union into the educational policy making process helped check and slowed down the pace of reform. At the same time, Korea was undergoing close scrutiny by the International Monetary Fund and, it felt the need to proceed with its platform of efficiency, competition, autonomy and accountability. The government lowered the age limit of tenure from 65 to 62, introduced performance-based or ability-based promotion and payment system, and new school-based management systems.

The education reform, in principle, placed emphasis on the reduction of private tutoring expenses, which were a financial burden to many parents and reinforced social and economic inequality. However, the public still lacks confidence in public education, and

parents want to send their children to the top-10 universities. In 2004, the MOE announced measures to reduce private educational expenditures and increase teacher quality, based on the assumption that highly qualified teachers would increase public faith in public education and lessen the need for private tutoring. These measures have been announced every year since 2004. Furthermore, although test-based accountability have been implemented since 2001, the publication of the results had been prohibited to prevent labeling schools as successes or failures and to avoid spotlighting the inequality of education. However, the court's decision and the National Assembly's legislation, the EIIDA, forced governments to release the results to the public.

The present power regime, a conservative government, intensified the right-wing policies. In 2008, the NAEA was administered to every student in 6th, 9th, and 10th grades all around the country and the NAEA results were disclosed to the public through the media in 2009. Teacher evaluation was institutionalized through the Local Autonomy Decree in 2010. By launching the school autonomy measure, schools were given authority over teacher personnel and curriculum. The government also experimented with a head teacher system. The government supports the parents' active participation for school monitoring and teacher evaluation through Parent School Participation Support Plan (PSPS, 2010). The local direct election of 2010 made a drastic change of educational governance that the MOE enforced the policies and the LEA followed them. The citizens also now elect six regional superintendents that can check and balance the policies of the MOE.

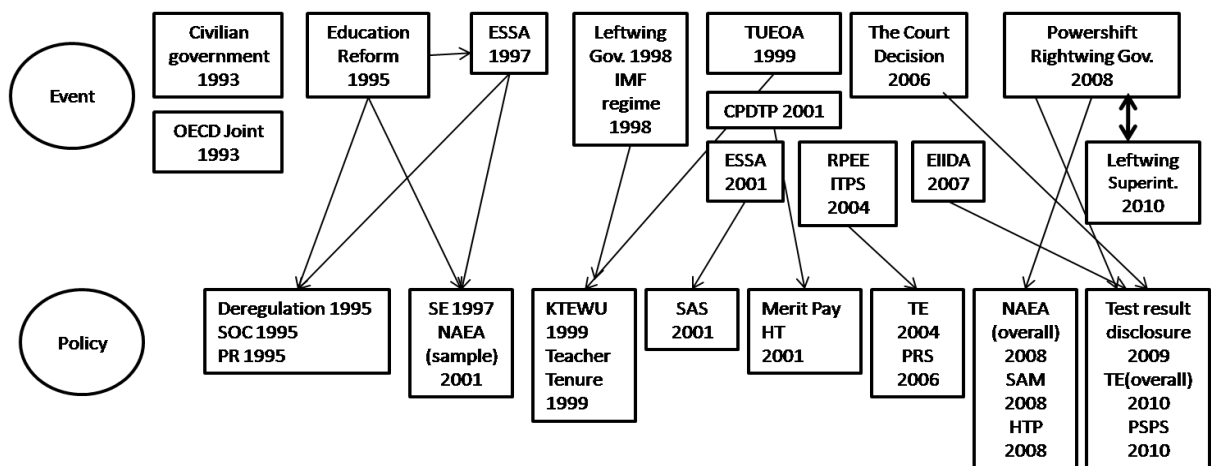


Figure 9 Historical events and institutions related to Korean educational policies.

Note: CPDTP=Comprehensive Plan of Developing Teacher Profession; EIIDA = Education Institution Information Disclosure Act; ESSA = Elementary and Secondary School Act; HT(P)=Head Teacher Plan; IMF=International Monetary Fund; ITPS= Innovation of Teacher Personnel System; KTEWU= the Korean Teachers and Education Workers Union; NAEA = national assessment of educational achievement; OECD = Organization Economy Cooperation and Development; PRS=Principal Recruitment System; PSPS=Parent School Participation Support Plan; RPEE = Reduce Private Education Expenditure; SAM=School Autonomy Measure; SE=School Evaluation; SOC=School Operation Committee; Teacher Tenure=Reduce the limit of Teacher Tenure (65→62); TUEOA=Teacher Union Establishment and Operation Act

In this respect, irrespective of power regimes, Korean education policy has reflected right-wing values. The 5.31 reform embodies conservative principles of deregulation, local autonomy through school councils, and competition and efficiency through school and teacher evaluation as well as testing. Many of these reforms, such as the principal recruitment system, began under left-wing leadership, but have come to full fruition under the present conservative government. This scenario can be described as a path dependence related to maintaining the new path after the big shifts; particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse.

Educational policies are embedded in the dynamic interaction of political players.

The key Korean players for most policy formation and implementation were the MOE and KTEWU. The MOE tends to use the following mechanisms for policy making and

implementation: persuasion, negotiation, power use, authority use, and administrative authority. On the other hand, KTEWU' power exercise was mainly dependent on press release, press conference, demonstrations, "sick-outs", the interruption of the public hearing, the illegal occupation of the office of the National Assembly for the ruling party, and other protests. In most cases, MOE would use persuasion and negotiation. However, recently MOE tends to exercise more direct power and administrative authority.

The interaction between MOE and teachers' union is likely to effect the policy change. For example, the fierce opposition of teachers to the direct participation of parents in teacher evaluation was altered for the indirect evaluation by the satisfaction survey of instruction and guidance. Also, superintendents have been able to express dissent by, at times, refusing to implement the teacher evaluation system—or failed to punish teachers who resisted. The success of such resistance may have goaded the MOE into using stronger explicit and visible performance-based accountability mechanisms along with conventional control tools such as guidance and supervision, audit and administrative orders.

Policies are a product of the social and educational issues. These issues have been chosen as policy agenda but the policy made and implemented in a different time. However, the fundamental agenda has developed and elaborated over power regimes. The school autonomy was accomplished by school operation committee (1996), school account system (2001) and school autonomy measure (2008), the Parents' School Participation Support Plan (2010). The private tutoring measure has been improved every year since the Reduce Private Education Expenditure Act (2004) was implemented. In order to cooling down the overheated promotion competition, MOE invented and implemented the principal

recruitment system and the head teacher since the 5.31 reform. In order to enhance public education and the right to know, MOE have enforced teacher evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, and educational institution information disclosure.

Performance-based management and accountability policies are a main controlling mechanism of teaching profession. Teachers have been routinely and perfunctorily assessed by the (vice) principals at the end of each year through the work performance system. As teacher evaluation and test-based accountability has been introduced, professionals, substantially, were supervised or evaluated by the three mechanisms: annual performance assessment, NAEA, and teacher evaluation. Apart from the test-based accountability and the work performance, teachers are evaluated by administrators, peer teachers, students and parents. In this sense, teachers are inspected almost everyone they interact with in the system, subjecting them to the constant gaze of senior leaders, peers, students, and parents.

The control mechanisms for teachers and schools are based on accountability mechanisms such as school evaluation, teacher evaluation and national tests, and parents' monitoring and assessment. The measures include the documentation and report, the regular and repetitive evaluation and supervision, the rewards and sanctions, the frequent observation and feedback, and the ranking system, etc. These control measures are consistent with Foucault's discipline ideas.

Structural analysis contributes to making sense of how educational policies have been a catalyst of changing teaching profession structures and relations. This study used Foucault's and Bernstein's ideas. Bernstein's concepts, collection and integrated code

based on classification/framing, help discover common patterns in policy implementation over time. In the meanwhile, Foucault's conceptions used for exploring how the power supervises, normalizes, and homogenizes the teaching profession through the controlling mechanisms such as evaluation and supervision. School autonomy policies have been oriented to integrated code. Professional policies have pointed to the open, collaborative, and horizontal relationship (integrated code) under the specific and visible evaluation (collection code). Accountability policies have focused on visible collection code with the explicit and clear criteria and evaluative procedures. Additionally, Bernstein's lenses are useful for figuring out the conflicts among policies. To illustrate, the autonomy and professionalism policies have been oriented to the integrated code on the one hand; on the other hand, the performance-based accountability and management such as NAEA, institutional evaluation, and merit pay have been related to the collection code. In the meanwhile, Foucault's conceptions are helpful to have sense of how the teaching profession becomes normalized, supervised, evaluated and homogenized. They are accountability mechanisms such as school evaluation, teacher evaluation and national tests, and parents' monitoring and assessment through the documentation and report, the regular and repetitive evaluation and supervision, the rewards and sanctions, the frequent observation and feedback, and the ranking system, etc.

Educational policy analysis is not a linear analysis but a multiple analysis. The macro analysis may be useful to analyze the influence of external impacts and institutions on policies, but it has a limitation of exploring how political actors interact and struggle in the context of individual policy environments. Micro analysis is helpful to understand

political interactions and issues but it cannot present how the role, function, structure, and relation of teaching profession have been changed. Structural analysis cannot consider the influence of the interactions of policy players as well as institutions and social contexts. In this respect, educational policy implementation analysis needs to be approached from multiple lenses in order to capture the complexities and dynamism of policy implementation.

Multifocal analysis of educational policies, primarily, are beneficial for making sense of how policies have had a significant influence on the changes of identities, roles, structures, as well as relationships both within and between schools and teachers. Also, it makes clear the direction and strength of the structure, function and role, and the change of teaching profession according to the historical policy analysis in spite of different inconsistent ideologies and policy environments over the power regime periods. Second, the multifocal policy analysis is helpful to make sense of the historical regularity and orientation of policy dynamics, policy discourse, policy implementation and practices. It is possible to make judgments on how the policies have been implemented over time and across policy-contexts. This means that the perspectives can be used for analyzing the coherence and succession of the policy agendas and implementation in terms of how the policies interconnect and conflict between the whole reform orientation and the individual policy implementation over time. Third, the multifocal analysis will help the researchers to weave a variety of research designs, data collection, analysis into interpretation of policy process. This may contribute to figuring out the similarities and differences of the

stakeholders' political intentions and orientation, the interpretations and exploration of issues and alternatives.

D. Revisiting the analytical framework as a tool to analyze policy implementation

Korean educational policies are a product of historical events and constraints. They have been impacted by external influences connected to historical events such as a civilian administration and OECD joint. Thus, Korean educational policies reflected the same free-market priorities as the 5.31 Reform agenda ushered an era of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability. Most of the agenda were institutionalized by the ESSA. The successive governments took track of the reform agendas in terms of path dependence maintaining the new path after the big shifts; particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse. Although the policies have been formed in different years and according to distinct policy intentions and means, they were coupled with the influences on the interactions of policy players, focused on a heated issue, that is, the professionalism vs. managerialism for enhancing public education and reducing private education expenditures. The mechanisms for controlling teachers and schools are based on the documentation and report, the regular and repetitive evaluation and supervision, the rewards and sanctions, the frequent observation and feedback, and the ranking system, etc. These control measures are similar to Bernstein's visible and tightly-coupled control mode with the collection code. Teacher professional has become more uniform in terms of how and what to do for the performance standards and accountability criteria. And the requirement for constant documentation and the more closely prescribed recipe for a good lesson have also

homogenized the teacher workforce. Particularly, test-based accountability is likely to encroach on the autonomy and professionalism of teachers on the basis that teachers cannot help but teach the curriculum according to the stipulated test scope and contents. As a result, as Figure 10 shows, the roles, functions, structures, and relations of teaching profession have gradually been changed to the tightly-coupled schools, the supervising leadership and a complying professionalism. Thus, the educational policy analysis need to be approached from the combination of macro (historical institutional analysis), micro (political approach), and structural analysis.

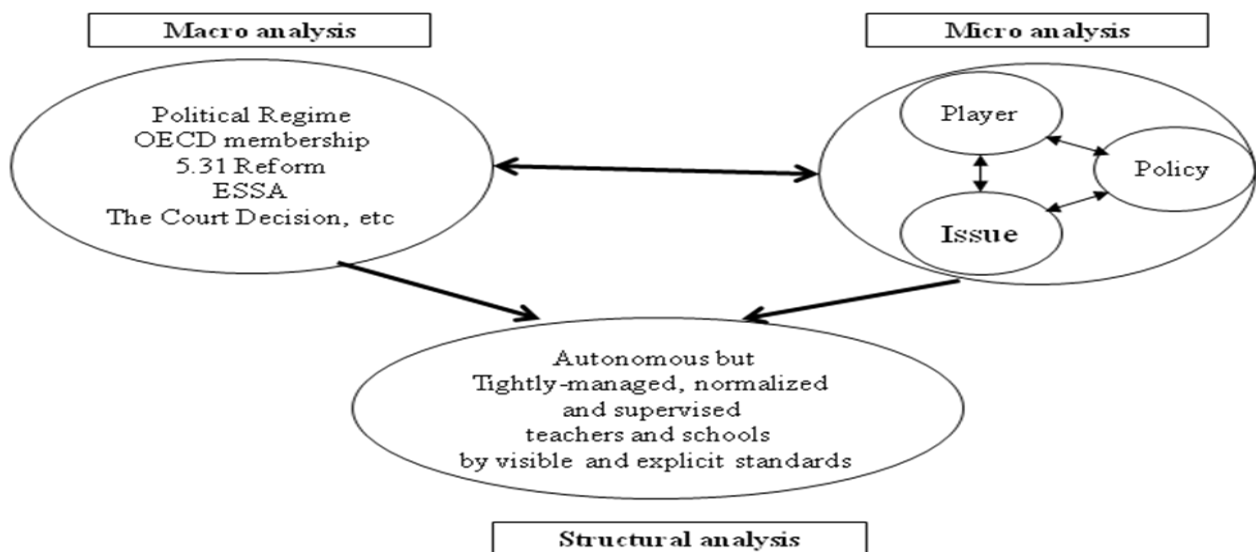


Figure 10 A revisiting analytical frame

E. Conclusion

Korean educational policy analysts, generally, tend to use one of the institutional, the political, and the structural perspective. Most policy analyses are concerned with the political analysis focused on exploring the political interaction between policy players,

presenting policy issues and alternatives, analyzing the new institutionalism of policy formation and implementation process, and influencing of policies on school organization and teachers apart from the political environment and the political interactions. In this respect, the multifocal policy analysis will be beneficial to shed light on a multifocal analysis of Korean educational policies.

The multifocal analysis can explore the historicity and orientation of educational policies after the 5.31 educational reform. It is possible to make judgments on how the policies have been implemented over time and across policy-contexts. This means that these perspectives can be used for analyzing the coherence and succession of the policy agendas and implementation in terms of how the policies interconnect between the whole reform orientation and the individual policy implementation over time. Also, it makes clear how this reform agenda has endured through successive governments that have had different and inconsistent ideologies and have brought different policy environments. That is, it reveals the historical determinism in terms of the schools' and teachers' changes of identities and functions as the product of the policies.

Scholars, above all, need to explore macro, micro, and structural combination models. The research can reveal the merits and limitations of those models. Moreover, scholars should pay attention as to why administrators use tightly-coupled policies, how the policies are related to leadership, and how they de-professionalize the teaching profession. Second, researchers should determine how tighter policies in the loosely coupled or intertwined coupling organization impact both professional development and authentic pedagogy. Third, further studies should include empirical studies on how have changed

characteristics of the teaching profession and professionals' roles evolve over time. Fourth, researchers need to study how norms and regulations of teacher evaluation and test-based accountability streamline and complicate professionals' lives by using in-depth field observation and interviews. Fifth, scholars need to give heed to how professionals resist and take care of their instructional orientation and their professional self. Sixth, they will have to look for how tighter policies in the loosely coupled or intertwined coupling organization are fitted for both professional development and authentic pedagogy. They need to explore the compromise and balance between administrative and professional accountability. In order to connect both perspectives, administrative and professional, further studies are required to explore the relevant alternatives which focus on understanding the specific, contextual, process-oriented and comprehensive accountability realities embedded in classroom.

Appendix 1

Delphi Questionnaire

This Delphi questionnaire is aimed to draw on the professionals' consensus of the controversial issues and complicated problems related to how policies or institutions influence the roles, relations and structures of teaching profession. This Delphi examination will address the policies of autonomy, professionalism, and accountability after the 5.31 education reform in 1995. This Delphi questionnaire is composed of five sections: 1) the ideological orientation and characteristic of educational policy implementation; 2) school autonomous policies; 3) professionalism policies; 4) accountability policies; 5) the inconsistency of between policies. Your answers will contribute to identifying the validity of the changing regularities and realities of teaching profession through policy implementation. And your responses will keep confidential and be solely used for the publications including a dissertation and journals. Please do sincere answers by reading the questions carefully. I appreciate your time and sharing of your expertise.

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The historicity, orientation and characteristics of policy implementation

Question 1 please choose collection code or integrated code of administrative and political values (First round)

Category	Collection code	Integrated code
Efficiency		
Equality		
Communitarianism		
Individualism		
Social integration		
Competition		
Managerialism		
Professionalism		
Centralization		
Decentralization		
Control		
Delegation		

Reading for Question

The more vertical, efficient, explicit and traditional approach of school management and teaching have a collection code combined with visible pedagogy; the more horizontal, equal, implicit and progressive orientation have an integrated code coupled with invisible pedagogy. That is, the more conservative policies that tend to favor individualism, efficiency, independence and competition are classified into collection code. By contrast, the notions of communitarianism, equality, and social justice that dominate a more leftist approach to education sides more with integration code. When examining a local education agency (LEA), those with more tightly defined hierarchies are part of the collection code and those with more decentralized structures are part of integrated code.

Question 2 (first round) please classify educational policies into collection code and integrated code and present the reason why you choose.

(First round)

Policies	Collection or integrated code?	Reasons
Deregulation		
School operation committee		
Principal recruitment		
Head teacher		
Merit pay		
Teacher evaluation		
School evaluation		
National assessment of educational achievement		
Educational institution information disclosure		

Question 3 (second round). Please put collection or integrated code in the blanks of table.

Category		Post-reform			
		Right-wing 1993-98	Left-wing 1998-2003	Left-wing 2003-08	Right-wing 2008-
Autonomy	Deregulation				
	School governance				
	Curriculum				
Professionalism	School personnel reform				
	Professionalism				
	Teacher evaluation				
Accountability	School evaluation				
	National assessment of educational achievement				
	Educational institution information disclosure				

The school autonomous policies

This section is to identify to how school autonomous policies influence on the change of teaching profession. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 4

How do you think of the influence of deregulation on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Autonomy policies are based on school-based management in terms of the gradually extended autonomous authority and discretion of school operations combined with personnel, curriculum articulation and operation, and budgeting. The de-regulative reform has gradually had the relationships of LEA and schools toward a loosely-coupled and weak controlling mode. These de-regulative reforms for school self-governance have transformed the relationship between administrative agencies and schools from a tightly-coupled mode to more loosely-coupled one.

Question 5

How do you think of the influence of school operation committee on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

The establishment of school operation committee has directed schools to open to the external world and create horizontal, collaborative and shared relationships with stakeholders. The school operation committee is oriented to co-working and shared responsibility so that the responsibility, scope, and identity of each stakeholder become ambiguous and overlapping. Finally, school operation committee has changed professional discretion into non-professional commonality; thus reducing professional autonomy within a school.

Question 6

How do you think of the influence of principals' expanded personnel and budget decision on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

The delegation of personnel and budget decisions to principals may have strengthened a vertical authority system and strong principalship within schools.

The professionalism policies

This section is to identify how the professionalism policies influence on the change of teaching profession. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 7

How do you think of the influence of the principal recruitment policy and the head teacher system on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Professionalism policies have been focused on the principal recruitment policy, the head teacher, the merit pay, and the teacher evaluation in order to enhance professionalism, to collapse the existing bureaucratic structure and to create a new career ladder. Principal recruitment policies and the head teacher system have changed from the closed, vertical and strict seniority system to the open, horizontal, and flexible system.

Question 8

How do you think of the influence of merit pay system on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

The merit pay system has been based on the teacher motivation boosting under unambiguous criteria of performance assessment.

Question 9

How do you think of the influence of teacher evaluation on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Teacher evaluation has been oriented to the clear and detailed evaluation criteria and procedures through mutual advice and peer review.

Question 10

How do you think of the productive autonomy on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

The teaching profession has transformed to regulated or productive autonomy that directly connects professional performance to student achievement and that is a highly standardized, tightly managed, and rigidly evaluated.

The accountability policies

This section is to identify how the accountability policies influence on the change of teaching profession. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 11

How do you think of the influence of accountability policies on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Accountability policies have focused on competition, classification and comparison between students, teachers, and schools through the explicit and clear criteria and evaluative procedures.

Question 12

How do you think of the school organization in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

In an era of accountability, school organization became more formalized, more centralized, and less professional.

Question 13

How do you think of the homogeneity of school organization in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Accountability policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and standard of evaluation. Educational Institution Information Disclosure System, especially, presents the uniform and direct indicators that schools must disclose and also national standardized test and school evaluation have no big difference. These strict criteria reduce variance, thus making schools more similar and normalized.

Question 14

How do you think of the supervision and observation of schools and teachers in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Performance-based accountability policies continuously observe and inspect whether schools and teachers achieve predetermined and regulated guidelines and goals. Perryman (2006) argues that there is the aspect of continuous supervision. Teachers under special measures need to behave as if they are being inspected all the time so it becomes second nature and thus the disciplinary mechanism is internalized. Along with Perryman, Webb (2005) also presented the use of high stakes achievement tests as an example of “surveillance as a punitive form of accountability” (p. 193). Vinson and Ross (2000) mentioned that the policy makers check and assess school progress in student achievement under surveillance and the public considers school accountability through test scores. Thus, leaders may be linked to supervision and control from the tower of administrative agencies. Johnson and Johnson (2006) point out that supervising leaders cause a lot of paperwork needed to meet a standardized form forced by a central office. For example, special measure schools or the failing schools are required to make frequent reporting and submit various documents for improvement processes; principals require teachers to check their plan books to see whether they are properly coded at any given time.

Question 15

How do you think of the resistance of teachers in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

Professionals are may become ‘an evaluated’ organization or self’ (Gunzenhauser, 2006; Rex & Nelson, 2004). However, professionals have their professional identity or consciousness of what and how to act in the classroom (Zembylas, 2003); they can resist the policies for taking care of themselves individually or collectively (Ball, 2003; Bushnell, 2003; Webb, 2005; Gunzenhauser, 2008).

The inconsistency between policies

This section is to identify the paradoxical direction of policies. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 16

How do you think of the following policy paradox? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Reading for Question

While the autonomy and professionalism policies have been oriented to the integrated code, the performance-based accountability has been related to the collection code. So, they are restricted to the visible and specified performance and evaluation criteria and standards and are increasingly conformed and normalized by focusing on the prescribed norms and requirements.

**Teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies
(Second round)**

17. Please check the level of agreement about the following questions of teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies

Questions	Strongly agree	agree	So so	disagree	Strongly disagree
1) The recent policies have emphasized teachers' independence of instruction and guidance.					
2) The recent policies have emphasized the hierarchical bureaucratic structure.					
3) The recent policies manage the instruction and works very tightly.					
4) The recent policies reduce the autonomy and responsibility of teachers' instruction and evaluation.					
5) The recent policies standardize instruction and school operation by introducing the standardized performance criteria and methods.					
6) The recent policies have emphasized the performance management based on the clear objectives and results.					
7) The recent policies have emphasized the short-term, direct, and visible control and evaluation.					
8) The recent policies have emphasized the professional collaboration, advice and feedback between teachers					
9) The recent policies have emphasized the safety and gradual improvement rather than radical change.					
10) The recent policies have emphasized the competition and comparison between teachers or schools.					
11) The recent policies produced the more control and guidance of LEA.					
12) The recent policies have emphasized the performance-based professionalism.					
13) The recent policies have emphasized the transmission of subject knowledge more than the ethical and professional decision of teachers.					

18. Which are the unchanged teaching profession characteristics irrespective of any kinds of educational policies? (five choices)

1. Each teacher autonomously teaches and guides students in their classroom.
2. Teaching profession is a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure.
3. Teaching profession is a controlled and supervised position by the administrative agencies.
4. There is no big change in instruction, daily routines and schedule from the induction of the profession.
5. Teaching profession puts stress on the autonomy and responsibility of instruction and evaluation.
6. Teaching profession cannot share the standardized instruction and guidance with each other.
7. Teaching profession has difficulty for performance management and evaluation due to the diversity of objective and the ambiguity of outcome.
8. Teaching profession is a difficult position of short-term, direct and visible control and evaluation.
9. Teaching profession is a professional community based on mutual advice and collaboration.
10. teaching profession is based on paternalism and formality.
11. Teaching profession is based on more individualism than collectivism.
12. Teaching profession is usually slow to respond to the changing policy environments and social needs.
13. Teaching profession is more motivated by the whole-being growth of students than other performances.
14. Teaching profession prefers safety and incremental improvement to radical change.

19. What are the most influential policies of changing teaching profession characteristics? (three choices)

Policies	The most influential policy
Deregulation	
School operation committee	
Principal recruitment	
Head teacher	
Merit pay	
Teacher evaluation	
School evaluation	
National assessment of educational achievement	
Educational institution information disclosure	

Appendix 2 Delphi Results

The historicity, orientation and characteristics of policy implementation

Question 1. Categorizing administrative and political values into collection code and integrated code

(First round)

Category	Decision	Collection code	Integrated code
Efficiency	Collection	16	1
Equality	Integrated	2	15
Communitarianism	Integrated	2	15
Individualism	Undecided	7	10
Social integration	Integrated	3	14
Competition	Collection	16	1
Managerialism	Collection	17	
Professionalism	Integrated	4	13
Centralization	Collection	17	
Decentralization	Integrated		17
Control	Collection	17	
Delegation	Integrated		17

Note: acceptance from 12 participants' agreement (71%)

(second round)

15 panels' agreement

Collection code: efficiency, competition, managerialism, centralization, control
 Integrated code: equality, communitarianism, integration, professionalism, decentralization, delegation
 Undecided : individualism (8:9). Re-categorize individual choice (collection code) and individual responsibility (integrated)

(final round)

16 panels' agreement

Collection code: efficiency, competition, managerialism, centralization, control, individual choice
 Integrated code: equality, communitarianism, integration, professionalism, decentralization, delegation, individual autonomy and responsibility

Question 2. classify educational policies into collection code and integrated code

(First round)

Policies	Decision	Opinions
Deregulation	Integrated (16)	Enhance autonomy, weaken hierarchical administration and control, and boost horizontal relationship, etc.
School operation committee	Integrated (16)	Alleviate vertical authority and structure, facilitate communitarianism, form horizontal relationship, distribute powers, ensure autonomy, and intensify diverse participation, etc.
Principal recruitment	Integrated (15)	Flexibilize strict promotion structure, open teaching profession, motivate participative democracy, and weaken principalship, etc.
Head teacher	Undecided	Collection: demarcation and verticalization of teaching profession, and intensify vertical structure and hierarchy, etc. Integrated: diversify promotion structure, enhance professionalism, produce ambiguous and horizontal control structure, etc.
Merit pay	Collection (14)	Establish performance management, boost competitive, hierarchical and comparative culture of teaching profession, and destruct communitarianism and separate between teachers, etc.
Teacher evaluation	Collection (14)	Establish productive quality management, boost competitive teaching profession, and facilitate peer review, separate between teachers, etc.
School evaluation	Collection (16)	Establish performance management, facilitate competitive and comparative climate of education, and labeling of good and bad school, etc.
National assessment of educational achievement	Collection (16)	Establish result-based management, facilitate competitive and comparative climate of schools, and labeling of good and bad school, individualization of students, etc.
Educational institution information disclosure	Undecided	Collection: Establish result-based management, facilitate competitive and comparative climate of schools, etc Integrated: intensify integration and communitarianism

Note: () means the number of panels' agreement

(second round) ask undecided questions

Head teacher

Collection	Integrated
5	12

Educational institutional information disclosure

Collection	Integrated
13	4

(final round) 16 agreement

Collection code : merit pay, teacher evaluation, school evaluation, national assessment of educational achievement, educational institution information disclosure

Integrated code : deregulation, school operation committee, principal recruitment, head teacher

Question 3. school policy orientation in terms of power regimes(second round, 10 agreement)

Category		Right-wing 1993-98	Left-wing 1998-2003	Left-wing 2003-08	Right-wing 2008-2011
Autonomy	Deregulation	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	School operation committee	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
Professionalism	Principal recruitment	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Head teacher	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Merit pay system	Integrated	Collection	Collection	Collection
	Teacher evaluation	Integrated	Integrated	Collection	Collection
Accountability	School evaluation	Collection	Collection	Collection	Collection
	National assessment of educational achievement	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Collection
	Educational institution information disclosure	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Collection

Main review: analyzed from an respective policy formation and implementation

(final round, 14 agreement)

Category		Right-wing 1993-98	Left-wing 1998-2003	Left-wing 2003-08	Right-wing 2008-2011
Autonomy	Deregulation	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	School operation committee	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
Professionalism	Principal recruitment	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Head teacher	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Merit pay system		Collection	Collection	Collection
	Teacher evaluation			Collection	Collection
Accountability	School evaluation	Collection	Collection	Collection	Collection
	National assessment of educational achievement		Integrated	Integrated	Collection
	Educational institution information disclosure			Integrated	Collection

The school autonomous policies

Question 4

How do you think of the influence of deregulation on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

“Autonomy policies are based on school-based management in terms of the gradually extended autonomous authority and discretion of school operations combined with personnel, curriculum articulation and operation, and budgeting. The de-regulative reform has gradually had the relationships of LEA and schools toward a loosely-coupled and weak controlling mode. These de-regulative reforms for school self-governance have transformed the relationship between administrative agencies and schools from a tightly-coupled mode to more loosely-coupled one.”

(responses of first round)

1. Enhance school-based management.
2. Increase parents' participation in schooling.
3. Not be a positive autonomy because a school has self-determination but do not fully exercise the substantive autonomous power such as personnel and budget and is still under the direct supervision and guidance of Superintendents.
4. Not concerned with school management because they are focused on the delegation of authority from the central government to the local education agencies. The power of LEA is more expanded than before.
5. No more than a carrot and pivot mechanism. Under autonomy policies, schools may superficially seem to have autonomy but substantially feel like an old administrative inertia.
6. Reduce professional decision and activities due to lack of parents' expertise.
7. Differ from the affluent areas to the poor areas in exercising autonomy owing to financial conditions.

Second round (appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Enhance school-based management (5)
2. increase parents' participation in schooling (4)
- 3. Not be a positive autonomy because a school has self-determination but do not fully exercise the substantive autonomous power such as personnel and budget and is still under the direct supervision and guidance of Superintendents. (10)**
- 4. Not concerned with school management because they are focused on the delegation of authority from the central government to the local education agencies. The power of LEA is more expanded than before. (9)**
- 5. No more than a carrot and pivot mechanism. Under autonomy policies, schools may superficially seem to have autonomy but substantially feel like an old administrative inertia. (13)**
6. Reduce professional decision and activities due to lack of parents' expertise (3).
7. Differ from the affluent areas to the poor areas in exercising autonomy owing to financial conditions. (2)

Final round (final decision: 3, 4, 5)

Question 5

How do you think of the influence of school operation committee on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

The establishment of school operation committee has directed schools to open to the external world and create horizontal, collaborative and shared relationships with stakeholders. The school operation committee is oriented to co-working and shared responsibility so that the responsibility, scope, and identity of each stakeholder become ambiguous and overlapping. Finally, school operation committee has changed professional discretion into non-professional commonality; thus reducing professional autonomy within a school.

(the responses of first round)

1. Heighten the equity and transparency of school management because the closed schools become a direct channel to reflect on the social and parents' needs.
2. Do not limit the teacher professionalism because the number of teachers involved in the committee is similar to that of parents. The roles and functions of parent members are unclear.
3. Rather than the participation of non-professionals, the culture of professional community based on the deep-rooted conventions and routines has a negative effect on the effective operation of the committee.
4. be a formal and superficial committee because the members are not responsible for school operation and affairs that are professional and are decided by the school teachers and managers. Be a mixture of a representative and a professional area.
5. Reduce the teacher profession because of the strong intervention of the committee to the school management.
6. Cause the political climate in a school for ensuring the power of influence and the interest relations.
7. be willing to follow the principals' decision and opinion because parents don't have interest in school education and management.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Heighten the equity and transparency of school management because the closed schools become a direct channel to reflect on the social and parents' needs. (6)
2. Do not limit the teacher professionalism because the number of teachers involved in the committee is similar to that of parents. The roles and functions of parent members are unclear. (8)
3. Rather than the participation of non-professionals, the culture of professional community based on the deep-rooted conventions and routines has a negative effect on the effective operation of the committee. (4)
4. be a formal and superficial committee because the members are not responsible for school operation and affairs that are professional and are decided by the school teachers and managers. Be a mixture of a representative and a professional area. (16)
5. Reduce the teacher profession because of the strong intervention of the committee to the school management. (3)
6. Cause the political climate in a school for ensuring the power of influence and the interest relations. (1)
7. be willing to follow the principals' decision and opinion because parents don't have interest in school education and management (9).

(final round, final decision): 2, 4, 7

Question 6

How do you think of the influence of principals' expanded personnel and budget decision on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

The delegation of personnel and budget decisions to principals may have strengthened a vertical authority system and strong principalship within schools.

(responses of first round)

1. Before expanding principals' authority of personnel and budget decisions, principals have exercised the initiative according to leadership style, made a democratic decision, or decrease their leadership. So, principal's expanded power is not just a cause of vertical authority system.
2. Strengthening the principal's power is a strong way to maintain effective school.
3. The more strong power of principal results in the more administrative influence on teachers. Teachers cannot help following principals' leadership.
4. Despite the expansion of principal's power, principals tend to consider the discussion and compromise with the office of education because of finance and accountability.
5. Principals formally seem to have the expanded power but don't exercise their leadership and bureaucratic authority because of the old conventions and inertia, the school budget, and the regulations.
6. The present government intentionally gives strong power to principals in order to control teachers who don't follow governmental policies and intensify the vertical structure of school.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

- 1. Before expanding principals' authority of personnel and budget decisions, principals have exercised the initiative according to leadership style, made a democratic decision, or decrease their leadership. So, principal's expanded power is not just a cause of vertical authority system. (8)**
2. Strengthening the principal's power is a strong way to maintain effective school. (5)
3. The more strong power of principal results in the more administrative influence on teachers. Teachers cannot help following principals' leadership. (6)
4. Despite the expansion of principal's power, principals tend to consider the discussion and compromise with the office of education because of finance and accountability. (5)
- 5. Principals formally seem to have the expanded power but don't exercise their leadership and bureaucratic authority because of the old conventions and inertia, the school budget, and the regulations. (11)**
- 6. The present government intentionally gives strong power to principals in order to control teachers who don't follow governmental policies and intensify the vertical structure of school. (11)**

(final round, final decision): 1, 5, 6

Professionalism policies

Question 7

How do you think of the influence of the principal recruitment policy and the head teacher system on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Professionalism policies have been focused on the principal recruitment system, the head teacher system, the merit pay, and the teacher evaluation in order to enhance professionalism, to collapse the existing bureaucratic structure and to create a new career ladder. Principal recruitment policies and the head teacher system have changed from the closed, vertical and strict seniority system to the open, horizontal, and flexible system.

(responses of first round)

1. Principal recruitment system is designed to overcome the overheated competition of promotion to principalship. Principal recruitment system tends to kick out of the authoritative and hardening principals and select democratic, flexible qualified principals. Head teacher system may enhance the status and professionalism of teachers and make teaching profession more horizontal by destruct the hierarchical, closed, and strict seniority system.
2. Principal recruitment from outside consider economic efficiency more than educational professionalism.
3. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system is a motivation for teachers to make efforts to develop professionalism.
4. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system theoretically seem to be horizontal and flexible but they are not effective because of the limitation of qualification and a kind of promotion incentive for failing to advance vice-principal.
5. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system are not functioned as an educational institution. It is necessary to recruit the non-licensed vice-principal and teacher rather than to invite the qualified principal. There is no guarantee to select qualified principals and head teacher system is nominally operating.
6. Principal recruitment system may be used for working at the good school or extending principal term. Head teacher system is to add a ladder of teaching career and make teaching profession vertical.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

- 1. Principal recruitment system is designed to overcome the overheated competition of promotion to principalship. Principal recruitment system tends to kick out of the authoritative and hardening principals and select democratic, flexible qualified principals. Head teacher system may enhance the status and professionalism of teachers and make teaching profession more horizontal by destruct the hierarchical, closed, and strict seniority system. (15)**
2. Principal recruitment from outside consider economic efficiency more than educational professionalism. (5)
3. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system is a motivation for teachers to make efforts to develop professionalism. (5)
4. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system theoretically seem to be horizontal and flexible but they are not effective because of the limitation of qualification and a kind of promotion incentive for failing to advance vice-principal. (5)
- 5. Principal recruitment system and head teacher system are not functioned as an educational**

institution. It is necessary to recruit the non-licensed vice-principal and teacher rather than to invite the qualified principal. There is no guarantee to select qualified principals and head teacher system is nominally operating. (10)

6. Principal recruitment system may be used for working at the good school or extending principal term. Head teacher system is to add a ladder of teaching career and make teaching profession vertical. (8)

(final round, final decision): 1, 5, 6

Question 8

How do you think of the influence of merit pay system on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

The merit pay system has been based on the teacher motivation boosting under unambiguous criteria of performance assessment.

(responses of first round)

1. The merit pay system is closed due to formality and paternalism (favorable persons from managers get more merit pay).

2. The merit pay system is based on not ability and performance but the hierarchy and principals' preference.

3. The merit pay system failed to boost teachers' motivation because of the climate of teaching profession: the tendency not to accept the difference of performance between teachers and the property to have same pie with peers.

4. The merit pay system is difficult to make consensus on the clear, valid, and reliable evaluation criteria and method. (ex: in high school, the effective teachers for instruction and guidance tends to get less merit pay than teachers who send students to top 10 universities or classroom teacher who many students get higher grade of national tests)

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. The merit pay system is closed due to formality and paternalism (favorable persons from managers get more merit pay). (10)

2. The merit pay system is based on not ability and performance but the hierarchy and principals' preference. (13)

3. The merit pay system failed to boost teachers' motivation because of the climate of teaching profession: the tendency not to accept the difference of performance between teachers and the property to have same pie with peers. (10)

4. The merit pay system is difficult to make consensus on the clear, valid, and reliable evaluation criteria and method. (ex: in high school, the effective teachers for instruction and guidance tends to get less merit pay than teachers who send students to top 10 universities or classroom teacher who many students get higher grade of national tests) (17)

(final round, final decision): 2, 4

Question 9

How do you think of the influence of teacher evaluation on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Teacher evaluation has been oriented to the clear and detailed evaluation criteria and procedures through mutual advice and peer review.

(responses of first round)

1. Teacher evaluation doesn't evaluate the individual teachers' instructional capacity, the collaborative performance and also has inaccurate results due to the lack of reliability, the criteria difficult to evaluate and the participation of students and parents. In spite of this reality, evaluation itself makes teachers more careful to their works.
2. There is no clear evaluate criteria of what effective teacher is because of the teachers' neglect, the warmhearted peer review and the formal and ineffective follow-up training and sanctions for the unqualified or low-performing teachers.
3. Teacher evaluation tends to increase the formal workloads and undermine the morale and motivation of teachers.
4. Teacher evaluation depends on the human relationship and individual character.
5. Teacher evaluation causes the climate of check and conflict between teachers.
6. The criteria and procedures of teacher evaluation tend to lead to the standardization of teaching activities and skills. So, it is advantageous to review a minimum qualification of teacher but it is difficult to lead to high-qualified professionalism.
7. Teacher evaluation may be a special measure to fire the unqualified teachers (involved in bribery, sex assault, and psychological problems, etc) out of the profession.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Teacher evaluation doesn't evaluate the individual teachers' instructional capacity, the collaborative performance and also has inaccurate results due to the lack of reliability, the criteria difficult to evaluate and the participation of students and parents. In spite of this reality, evaluation itself makes teachers more careful to their works . (16)
2. There is no clear evaluate criteria of what effective teacher is because of the teachers' neglect, the warmhearted peer review and the formal and ineffective follow-up training and sanctions for the unqualified or low-performing teachers. (14)
3. Teacher evaluation tends to increase the formal workloads and undermine the morale and motivation of teachers. (7)
4. Teacher evaluation depends on the human relationship and individual character. (1)
5. Teacher evaluation causes the climate of check and conflict between teachers. (7)
6. The criteria and procedures of teacher evaluation tend to lead to the standardization of teaching activities and skills. So, it is advantageous to review a minimum qualification of teacher but it is difficult to lead to high-qualified professionalism. (6)
7. Teacher evaluation may be a special measure to fire the unqualified teachers (involved in bribery, sex assault, and psychological problems, etc) out of the profession. (4)

(final round, final decision): 1, 2, 3, 5

Question 10

How do you think of the productive (performance-based) autonomy on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

The teaching profession has transformed to regulated or productive autonomy that directly connects professional performance to student achievement and that is a highly standardized, tightly managed, and rigidly evaluated.

(responses of first round)

1. Performance management is hard to apply to education sector due to the growth and change of children difficult to assess.
2. Performance management causes the relative autonomy of teachers, the homogeneity and unification of teaching and works and the hardening administration.
3. The emphasis of performance management is necessary to establish the basic performance criteria of teachers' role and function.
4. It is not related to the reduction of autonomy and the standardization of work.
5. Performance management is not easy to influence the fundamental and visible change of teaching profession because of the difficulty to establish standard and the diverse interpretation of the standard.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Performance management is hard to apply to education sector due to the growth and change of children difficult to assess. (13)
2. Performance management causes the relative autonomy of teachers, the homogeneity and unification of teaching and works and the hardening administration. (9).
3. The emphasis of performance management is necessary to establish the basic performance criteria of teachers' role and function. (7)
4. It is not related to the reduction of autonomy and the standardization of work. (6)
5. Performance management is not easy to influence the fundamental and visible change of teaching profession because of the difficulty to establish standard and the diverse interpretation of the standard. (14)

(final round, final decision): 1, 2, 3, 5

The accountability policies

This section is to identify how the accountability policies influence on the change of teaching profession. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 11

How do you think of the influence of accountability policies on the teaching profession? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Accountability policies have focused on competition, classification and comparison between students, teachers, and schools through the explicit and clear criteria and evaluative procedures.

(responses of first round)

1. Accountability policies are originated from the disbelief of teacher professionalism.
2. Accountability policies must be intensified because of the basic right of parents and society for schooling.
3. It is difficult to establish clear and concrete evaluation criteria and procedures not based on the quantitative data.
4. Accountability policies foment comparison and competition by means of the information disclosure.
5. Accountability evaluation is based on short-term evaluation visitation (usually a single day or a half day), result-oriented evaluation, and external evaluation (including the internal assessment for paperwork provided to the evaluation panels).
6. Accountability policies are focused on meeting the minimum standards. If not, it causes the devaluation of professionalism and the lowering of teacher quality.
7. Accountability policies confront the struggle and resistance due to the opposition of national test and the progressive Superintendents, and the progressive parental association.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Accountability policies are originated from the disbelief of teacher professionalism. (2)
2. Accountability policies must be intensified because of the basic right of parents and society for schooling. (8)
3. It is difficult to establish clear and concrete evaluation criteria and procedures not based on the quantitative data. (5)
4. Accountability policies foment comparison and competition by means of the information disclosure. (12)
5. Accountability evaluation is based on short-term evaluation visitation (usually a single day or a half day), result-oriented evaluation, and external evaluation (including the internal assessment for paperwork provided to the evaluation panels). (10)
6. Accountability policies are focused on meeting the minimum standards. If not, it causes the devaluation of professionalism and the lowering of teacher quality. (9)
7. Accountability policies confront the struggle and resistance due to the opposition of national test and the progressive Superintendents, and the progressive parental association. (4)

(final round, final decision): 4, 5, 6

Question 12

How do you think of the school organization in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

In an era of accountability, school organization became more formalized, more centralized, and less professional.

(responses of first round)

1. Accountability policies are based on the objective and visible criteria and result that can be compared by the governments; so, school system become centralized and formalized.
2. It is indispensable to render autonomy comparing to the accountability. If so, school organization is less centralized and more professionalized.
3. It coincides a formalized and centralized with autonomous and decentralized policies.
4. It is necessary to require minimum accountability to the teaching profession.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Accountability policies are based on the objective and visible criteria and result that can be compared by the governments; so, school system become centralized and formalized. (17)
2. It is indispensable to render autonomy comparing to the accountability. If so, school organization is less centralized and more professionalized. (6)
3. It coexists a formalized and centralized with autonomous and decentralized policies. (15)
4. It is necessary to require minimum accountability to the teaching profession (7)

(final round, final decision): 2, 3

Question 13

How do you think of the homogeneity of school organization in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Accountability policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and standard of evaluation. Educational Institution Information Disclosure System, especially, presents the uniform and direct indicators that schools must disclose and also national standardized test and school evaluation have no big difference. These strict criteria reduce variance, thus making schools more similar and normalized.

(responses of first round)

1. Accountability policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and standard of evaluation. They undermine the independent and creative teaching and the autonomy and intrinsic characteristics of schools. For example, schools tend to focused on the class increase of tested major subjects (Korean, English, Math, Science) and the reduction of the untested classes (eg. Music, Art, Physical activities) (17).
2. Accountability policies based on school autonomy facilitates the diversification and specialization of school operation. (15)
3. Whether school homogeneity or not depends on the objectives of accountability, that is, clear (e.g., student achievement) or ambiguous (e.g., diverse and creative education) criteria. (7)

4. Accountability is used for the merit pay system and the teacher personnel policies. (3)

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Accountability policies may make schools more uniform due to clear criteria and standard of evaluation. They undermine the independent and creative teaching and the autonomy and intrinsic characteristics of schools. For example, schools tend to focused on the class increase of tested major subjects (Korean, English, Math, Science) and the reduction of the untested classes (eg. Music, Art, Physical activities) (17).

2. Accountability policies based on school autonomy facilitates the diversification and specialization of school operation. (15)

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4. Accountability is used for the merit pay system and the teacher personnel policies. (3)

(final round, final decision): 1, 2

Question 14

How do you think of the supervision and observation of schools and teachers in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Performance-based accountability policies continuously observe and inspect whether schools and teachers achieve predetermined and regulated guidelines and goals. Perryman (2006) argues that there is the aspect of continuous supervision. Teachers under special measures need to behave as if they are being inspected all the time so it becomes second nature and thus the disciplinary mechanism is internalized. Along with Perryman, Webb (2005) also presented the use of high stakes achievement tests as an example of “surveillance as a punitive form of accountability” (p. 193). Vinson and Ross (2000) mentioned that the policy makers check and assess school progress in student achievement under surveillance and the public considers school accountability through test scores. Thus, leaders may be linked to supervision and control from the tower of administrative agencies. Johnson and Johnson (2006) point out that supervising leaders cause a lot of paperwork needed to meet a standardized form forced by a central office. For example, special measure schools or the failing schools are required to make frequent reporting and submit various documents for improvement processes; principals require teachers to check their plan books to see whether they are properly coded at any given time.

(responses of first round)

1. Evaluation method and utilization need to be improved so that evaluation may be an instrument of self-reflection, mutual learning and improvement.

2. Accountability policies don't effect on the supervision of teaching profession and solely heighten the strength of labor in teaching profession because of the deep-rooted bureaucratic culture of teaching profession, dissimilar to the western countries that ensure considerably the independence of instruction.

3. Irrespective of the supervision and assessment, schools are still independently operated and teachers teach their own way. Also, there is no way to make schools and teachers behave as if they are being inspected and supervised.

4. Accountability policies will be applied to only at-risk or low-performing schools and teachers.
5. Accountability policies have been not normally functioning for paying accountable for schools and teachers.
6. Accountability policies are oriented to the relative and external evaluation comparing between schools and teachers.
7. Accountability policies are an unequal game for the inappropriate evaluation criteria and methods.
8. Accountability policies make failing schools and teachers depressed and uneasy because of sanctions.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Evaluation method and utilization need to be improved so that evaluation may be an instrument of self-reflection, mutual learning and improvement. (11)
2. Accountability policies don't effect on the supervision of teaching profession and solely heighten the strength of labor in teaching profession because of the deep-rooted bureaucratic culture of teaching profession, dissimilar to the western countries that ensure considerably the independence of instruction. (9)
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4. Accountability policies will be applied to only at-risk or low-performing schools and teachers. (5)
5. Accountability policies have been not normally functioning for paying accountable for schools and teachers (3)
6. Accountability policies are oriented to the relative and external evaluation comparing between schools and teachers. (3)
7. Accountability policies are an unequal game for the inappropriate evaluation criteria and methods (4).
8. Accountability policies make failing schools and teachers depressed and uneasy because of sanctions.(1)

(final round, final decision): 1, 2, 3

Question 15

How do you think of the resistance of teachers in an era of accountability? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Professionals are may become 'an evaluated' organization or self' (Gunzenhauser, 2006; Rex & Nelson, 2004). However, professionals have their professional identity or consciousness of what and how to act in the classroom (Zembylas, 2003); they can resist the policies for taking care of themselves individually or collectively (Ball, 2003; Bushnell, 2003; Webb, 2005; Gunzenhauser, 2008).

(responses of first round)

1. Before the accountability policies were introduced, teachers taught the test-based instruction for college entrance examination. There is little difference of teaching and learning style before and after accountability policy implementation.

2. The more the autonomy, the more the resistance of external control.
3. Teachers are likely to disagree with the accountability policies. However, teachers are responsible for student learning because of the hired public servant from the citizens. Also they are professionals so that they accept accountability policies.
4. Teaching profession is composed of most disinterested teachers and some resisting teachers. Teachers tend to informally, cynically, and individually resist against the policies.
5. In a social context of the competition and survival, teachers' resistance will be weakened.
6. Teachers are less sensitive to the policy change because they consider accountability not as an educational logic but as an economic agenda and they believe the policies don't considerably effect on their work life.
7. Teachers resist because the policies reduce their professionalism.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Before the accountability policies were introduced, teachers taught the test-based instruction for college entrance examination. There is little difference of teaching and learning style before and after accountability policy implementation. (8)
2. The more the autonomy, the more the resistance of external control. (5)
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5. In a social context of the competition and survival, teachers' resistance will be weakened. (1)
6. Teachers are less sensitive to the policy change because they consider accountability not as an educational logic but as an economic agenda and they believe the policies don't considerably effect on their work life. (8)
7. Teachers resist because the policies reduce their professionalism. (5)

(final round, final decision): 1, 3, 4

The inconsistency between policies

This section is to identify the paradoxical direction of policies. Please read carefully and write your answers.

Question 16

How do you think of the following policy paradox? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

While the autonomy and professionalism policies have been oriented to the integrated code, the performance-based accountability has been related to the collection code. So, they are restricted to the visible and specified performance and evaluation criteria and standards and are increasingly conformed and normalized by focusing on the prescribed norms and requirements.

(responses of first round)

1. Under the condition of not establishing future standard, as the national assessment of educational achievement has been conducted, the teacher professionalism and instructional independence are nominally maintained.
2. School autonomy and delegation is aimed to have a desirable performance. However, schools have been exempt from the performance management.
3. Teachers tend to formally and superficially respond to the policies; so, the effect of policies on teachers is not significant.
4. Policies are inconsistent with school realities and contexts.
5. Because a package of conflicting policies is implementing, schools and teachers are under confusion and hard to comprehend what signal is real. Clearly, the policies has been oriented toward the strong control in spite of the seemingly inconsistency.
6. Autonomy and professionalism are not a potential treatment. The serious problem is that the policies have been decided by administrators, not professionals.

(second round, appropriate 3 choices of the first round responses)

1. Under the condition of not establishing future standard, as the national assessment of educational achievement has been conducted, the teacher professionalism and instructional independence are nominally maintained. (2)
2. School autonomy and delegation is aimed to have a desirable performance. However, schools have been exempt from the performance management. (4)
3. Teachers tend to formally and superficially respond to the policies; so, the effect of policies on teachers is not significant. (11)
4. Policies are inconsistent with school realities and contexts. (3)
5. Because a package of conflicting policies is implementing, schools and teachers are under confusion and hard to comprehend what signal is real. Clearly, the policies has been oriented toward the strong control in spite of the seemingly inconsistency. (13)
6. Autonomy and professionalism are not a potential treatment. The serious problem is that the policies have been decided by administrators, not professionals. (10)

(final round, final decision): 3, 5, 6

Teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies

(Second round)

17. Please check the level of agreement about the following questions of teaching profession characteristics changed by school policies

Questions	N	M	SD
1) The recent policies have emphasized teachers' independence of instruction and guidance.	16	2.88	1.09
2) The recent policies have emphasized the hierarchical bureaucratic structure.	15	2.94	1.00
3) The recent policies manage the instruction and works very tightly.	16	3.69	0.87
4) The recent policies reduce the autonomy and responsibility of teachers' instruction and evaluation.	16	3.69	0.87
5) The recent policies standardize instruction and school operation by introducing the standardized performance criteria and methods.	15	3.63	0.96
6) The recent policies have emphasized the performance management based on the clear objectives and results.	16	3.88	1.02
7) The recent policies have emphasized the short-term, direct, and visible control and evaluation.	16	3.81	0.98
8) The recent policies have emphasized the professional collaboration, advice and feedback between teachers	14	3.31	0.87
9) The recent policies have emphasized the safety and gradual improvement rather than radical change.	16	4.00	0.82
10) The recent policies have emphasized the competition and comparison between teachers or schools.	16	4.63	0.89
11) The recent policies produced the more control and guidance of LEA.	16	3.63	1.26
12) The recent policies have emphasized the performance-based accountability.	16	4.00	0.82
13) The recent policies have emphasized the transmission of subject knowledge more than the ethical and professional decision of teachers.	14	3.75	0.77

18. Which are the unchanged teaching profession characteristics irrespective of any kinds of educational policies? (five choices)

1. Each teacher autonomously teaches and guides students in their classroom. (13)
2. Teaching profession is a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure. (3)
3. Teaching profession is a controlled and supervised position by the administrative agencies. (4)
4. There is no big change in instruction, daily routines and schedule from the induction of the profession. (2)
5. Teaching profession puts stress on the autonomy and responsibility of instruction and evaluation. (6)
6. Teaching profession cannot share the standardized instruction and guidance with each other. (3)
7. Teaching profession has difficulty for performance management and evaluation due to the diversity of objective and the ambiguity of outcome. (10)

8. Teaching profession is a difficult position of short-term, direct and visible control and evaluation.(6)
9. Teaching profession is a professional community based on mutual advice and collaboration. (3)
10. teaching profession is based on paternalism and formality.(2)
11. Teaching profession is based on more individualism than collectivism. (3)
12. Teaching profession is usually slow to respond to the changing policy environments and social needs. (3)
13. Teaching profession is more motivated by the whole-being growth of students than other performances. (5)
14. Teaching profession prefers safety and incremental improvement to radical change. (12)

19. What are the most influential policies of changing teaching profession characteristics? (three choices)

Policies	The most influential policies
Deregulation	3
School operation committee	2
Principal recruitment	5
Head teacher	2
Merit pay	2
Teacher evaluation	9
School evaluation	3
National assessment of educational achievement	8
Educational institution information disclosure	7

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