

IMPACT OF CONFUCIAN CONCEPTS OF FEELINGS ON ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE IN KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Resumen

La finalidad de este estudio es analizar el impacto de los conceptos de Confucio relativos a los sentimientos –particularmente el paternalismo y el favoritismo– en la cultura organizacional actual de la educación superior en Corea del Sur. La influencia del paternalismo y el favoritismo en dicha cultura organizacional es evidente en cuestiones como la ausencia de crítica, que es uno de los grandes defectos en los colegios y universidades; la presencia de facciones arraigadas en los lazos familiares, las relaciones regionales y escolares se convierten en un obstáculo para el intercambio del conocimiento y de la información académica entre universidades, facultades, departamentos y catedráticos; el favoritismo basado en los lazos familiares y sentimientos egoístas constituye otra costumbre problemática; el estudio y alabanza del conocimiento extranjero es también una dificultad; y, por último, la presencia de una cultura organizacional cerrada es un dilema más de la educación superior coreana.

Palabras clave: cultura organizacional, paternalismo, confucianismo.

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of Confucian concepts of feelings, especially paternalism and favoritism, on organisational culture in current Korean higher education. The writer used a descriptive analysis method through a cross-cultural approach to defend this study systematically. The influence of paternalism and favoritism on institutional organisational culture are evident in the following: the absence of criticism is one of shortcomings in colleges and universities; factionalism rooted in family ties, regional relations, and school ties becomes an obstacle to the exchanging of scholarly knowledge as well as of academic information among universities, schools, departments, and faculty members; favoritism based on interpersonal ties and selfish feelings is another problematic practice; egoistic scholarship and worship of foreign knowledge are also problematic; and finally, a closed organisational culture is another dilemma in Korean higher education.

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Introduction

Confucianism, one of the major historical factors leading East Asian people to the path of the spiritual world, contributed enormously to Korean society and culture. Traditionally, Confucian ethical concepts placed emphasis on moral social harmony between human relations through the establishment of self-cultivation. Particularly, the concept of feelings or emotions (心: ching) represented a vantage point from which to review Confucian thought because the early Confucian scholars and Neo-Confucians regarded feelings as part of human beings' original nature (Chung, 1995).

As Confucianism has significantly affected the East Asian peoples' sociocultural concept of the spiritual world, so Confucian philosophy encourages some Westerners to question, ethically and metaphysically, their most basic commitments to the notions of human nature as well as the meaning of life (Graham, 1986; Knoblock, 1988; Ozmon and Craver, 1990; Schwartz, 1985; Tongqi et al., 1995). In this vein, understanding the Confucian concept of feelings or emotions may provide Westerners with a refreshing and original philosophy regarding the nature of human beings and the meaning of Confucian ethical values.

Furthermore, paternalism and favoritism are two significant ethico-factors rooted in Confucian feelings that have provided guidance to the Korean people in the Korean society. Although both factors have different connotations: paternalism commonly demonstrates a positive implication that means "government as by a benign parent" (The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy, 1994, p. 279), whereas favoritism generally shows a negative conception that means "the treating of one person, family, or class of men with special favor or partiality to the correlative neglect of others" (Webster's Third

New International Dictionary, 1986, p. 830). In spite of these different connotations, the two factors have greatly influenced organisational culture in Korean higher education both positively and negatively. Accordingly, the examination of the theoretical context regarding the two factors is of equal importance. This exploration may provide both the Korean and the Western peoples with an opportunity to review the theoretical source of paternalism and favoritism based on the Confucian concepts of feelings.

Although Confucianism was introduced to the West, for the most part, by the Western Christian missionaries or priests from a few centuries ago, in the late twentieth century Confucianism has appealed to many Western scholars as an antidote to Western philosophical or educational complacency (de Bary, 1960, 1981, 1989; Deuchler, 1992; Graham, 1986; Griffiths, 1990; Hall and Ames, 1987; Hatton, 1982; Kalton, 1988; Ozmon and Craver, 1990; Schwartz, 1985; Weber, 1968). In practice, Confucian thought has already found a place in various fields and remains an attractive way of thought today.

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of Confucian concepts of feelings on organisational culture in current Korean higher education and to review the theoretical context of paternalism and favoritism that comprise of two axes in administrative organisational culture. Accordingly, the significance of this study is not only that it forces Korean educators to review the reflections and problems of paternalism and favoritism based on Confucian concepts of feelings in school organisations, but also because it provides Western educators with useful information in order to understand Confucian paternalism and favoritism as factors which form a main stream of organisational culture in Korean higher education.

To defend this study systematically, the author will use a descriptive analysis method

through a cross-cultural approach outlined in the following steps. First, the concepts of Confucian feelings will be discussed in terms of the theories of some representative Chinese and Korean Confucian thinkers, and the concepts of culture and values in organisations will be illustrated in several Western sociocultural aspects. Second, the reflections of Confucian feelings on organisational culture, mainly paternalism and favoritism, in Korean higher education will be reviewed. Third, the problems of paternalism and favoritism based in Confucian feelings in Korean higher education will be analyzed. Finally, several keys to change the present organisational culture in Korean tertiary education will be suggested in the concluding section. Overall, this article will focus on the concepts of Confucian feelings related to paternalism and favoritism in Korean higher education.

Concepts of Confucian feelings

In order to understand the Confucian concepts of feelings, the author attempts to review the classical Confucian texts, such as the works of Mencius (371-289 BC), one of the greatest Confucian philosophers of the classical period in China, and the works of Xun Zi [Hsun Tzu] (300-230 BC), a Confucian philosopher of the classical period in China, as well as the works of Chinese and Korean Neo-Confucian scholars.

In the early Confucian texts, the Confucian term “feelings” originated from the Book of Mencius (2A: 6):

All men have a mind which cannot see the sufferings of others. The feeling of commiseration is essential to man...The feeling of commiseration is the principle [beginning] of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance [courtesy] is the principle of

propriety. The feeling of approving [right] and disapproving [wrong] is the principle of knowledge [wisdom]. (trans., Legge 1971: 201-03)

Mencius points out that individuals have four principal feelings that are rooted in the human heart. The four beginnings are essential to the four ethical feelings: benevolence or humanity is rooted in the feeling of commiseration; righteousness is rooted in the feeling of shame and hatred; propriety or decorum is rooted in the feeling of modesty and complaisance; and knowledge or wisdom is rooted in approving and disapproving. Mencius regards the four ethical principles based on the feelings as the most important ethical virtues for self-cultivation that embrace a sense of education.

Based on Mencius’ metaphysical or ontological view, Chu Hsi (1130-1200), one of representative Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Cheng-Chu school that emphasized Learning of Principle or Learning of Human Nature and Reason in the Chinese Sung Period (960-1279), claimed that humanity is the nature, and commiseration is feeling (Chu Tzu Chuan-shu, 45: 3a-19b; trans., Chan, 1986: 500). Chu Hsi also contended that the mind or heart embraces feelings, yet he distinguishes human nature from feelings. Specifically, he asserts that benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom belong to human nature, whereas commiseration, shame and dislike, courtesy and modesty, and right and wrong belong to feelings. However, Chu Hsi asserts that, “Although the spheres of human nature and feelings are different, their mutual penetration is like the bloodstream in which each part has its own relationship” (Chu Tzu wen-chi 67: 21a).

Considering both Mencius’ and Chu Hsi’s theories, the four principal feelings or the four beginnings are regarded by both Confucian philosophers as inherent moral virtues

or great virtues. According to their theories, the feelings, including the four beginnings—humanity (仁), righteousness (义), decorum (礼), and wisdom (智)—are originally rooted in the human mind because the mind or heart combines and directs both human nature and feelings.

Likewise, Cheng Yi (1033-1107), one of representative Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Cheng-Chu school during the Chinese Sung Period (960-1279), also asserted that there are only the four beginnings in human nature that come from Heaven (trans., Chan, 1986: 473). Considering Mencius' and Cheng-Chu's theories, the writer evaluates that the four beginnings are considered as moral feelings inherent in human nature or the principle of the Way (道) for moral self-cultivation.

The orthodox Confucian thinkers of Mencius, Cheng Yi, and Chu Hsi disagreed with Xun Zi's view that human nature is inherently evil. However, they agreed with Mencius' view that human nature is inherently good. The Cheng-Chu school claimed that an individual could actualize oneself by overcoming her or his limitations through a conscious effort to understand the principle of Heaven as well as by cultivating her or his nature and feelings. In terms of the doctrines of Mencius and Cheng-Chu, the writer judges that the four beginnings are part of our original goodness of human nature and innate principles for moral self-cultivation.

In addition, Xun Zi [Hsun Tsu] also noted that nature's liking and disliking, pleasure and anger, and sadness and joy are referred to as the feelings (Hsun Tsu, Chapter 24). According to the classical Confucian philosophers, the feelings refer to physical and mental states that are understood as basic human emotions, as well as human nature. With the four beginnings, the seven emotions—love, hatred, desire, pleasure, anger, sadness, and joy—were viewed as the basic human feelings.

In the light of Chu Hsi's theory of li (理)

and chi (氣), the four beginnings (四端) are manifest from li (理: principle or reason), whereas the seven emotions (七情) from chi (氣: material-force). The first belongs to moral feelings, and the second belongs to selfish desires. According to Mencius' epistemology, the four beginnings are moral feelings of the inherent goodness of human nature and aroused by li, and the seven emotions are physical feelings and are aroused by chi.

Two Korean Neo-Confucian philosophers, Yi Toegye (1501-1570) and Yi Yulgok (1536-1584), preserved the tradition of the Chinese Cheng-Chu school in the 16th century in the Korean Choson dynasty, by proposing the Four Principles [Beginnings] and Seven Feelings [Emotions] theses, on the basis of the orthodox Cheng-Chu school, as ethico-metaphysical methods with regard to feelings and desires.

Yi Toegye's Four-Seven thesis focused on the ontological separability or dissimilarity between the principle (li) and material-force (chi). Toegye maintained the notion of dualistic systems of philosophical and ethical ontology concerning mind, nature, and feelings. Principle (li) is related to original human nature, moral mind, Heaven's principles, and four principles [beginnings], whereas material-force (chi) is related to physical human nature, human mind, physical [selfish] desires, and seven feelings.

On the other hand, Yi Yulgok's Four-Seven thesis focused on the ontological inseparability or harmony between the principle and material-force. He emphasized the harmonious or symmetrical relationship between li and chi: between the original human nature and physical human nature, moral mind and human mind, Heaven's principles and physical [selfish] desires, and the four principles or beginnings and seven feelings. Briefly, Toegye's method of self-cultivation based on the Four Principles [Beginnings] and Seven Feelings [Emotions] thesis shows

the separability between li and chi in terms of metaphysically ethical ideas; Yulgok's way of self-cultivation demonstrates the harmony between li and chi from a standpoint of pragmatically ethical ideas.

From an orthodox Cheng-Chu school viewpoint, both Korean thinkers epistemologically have different views regarding the mind, human nature, and feelings, but the two Korean Neo-Confucian scholars ontologically adhered to the doctrine of the orthodox Chinese Cheng-Chu school, namely that li and chi are attributive to the moral mind and human mind, and the four beginnings and seven feelings (Chung, 1995: 35).

Based on the above Confucian thinkers' theories, the concepts of feelings in which the works of Mencius, the Cheng-Chu school, and the two Korean Neo-Confucian thinkers emphasized the core values of the principles and feelings as closely related to the human mind, nature, and principles. The mind, as a principle, is the master of the feelings that enables individuals to do good. The Cheng-Chu school and its followers viewed the four principles based on the feelings as the most important ethical values for self-actualization embracing an educational sense. In addition, they assert that an individual can achieve self-actualization by overcoming one's limitations by making a conscious effort not only to understand the principle of Heaven but also to cultivate human nature and feelings.

In the light of organisational culture, as Chung (1995) points out, the Confucian concepts of feelings can be regarded as ethico-metaphysical methods, moral norms, or ethical values advising individuals to be good and unselfish in Korean society. Unlike the Ming Chinese and Tokugawa Japanese Neo-Confucians who were more devoted to a practical way of the Wang Yang-ming school, the Choson Korean Neo-Confucians who came after Toegye and Yulgok devoted their energy to a doctrinal way of the Cheng-Chu school

and were mainly interested in the specific issues of human nature and feelings (Chung, 1995: 35-36). For this Korean Neo-Confucian tradition, paternalism and favoritism on the basis of the Korean Neo-Confucian theory planted their roots deeply in Korean society and became Confucian values performing positive or negative functions (Hangyeore, 2000; H. Lee, 1999; S. Lee, 2000).

In terms of the theories of the two Korean Neo-Confucian thinkers, paternalism based on the concept of benevolence is referred to as moral feeling, li, whereas favoritism relied on the concept of approving or disapproving is referred to as physical or selfish desire, chi. In other words, paternalism is a positive factor that embraces humane ethical values in organisations, while favoritism is a negative factor that promotes selfish ethical values in organisations. In practice, favoritism is a valuable ethical value in private affairs, but it is a negative value in public affairs (H. Lee, 2000; S. Lee, 2000: 18-19). However, in spite of the opposing ethical values, humanity rooted in the feeling of commiseration is closely related to the theoretical source of both paternalism and favoritism as paternalism is dependent upon humane feelings that include charitable involvement, provision of amenities, and benign attitudes, whereas favoritism relies on special favor or partiality of an individual or a group. In this vein, both paternalism and favoritism are closely associated with the Confucian culture in Korea.

Concepts of culture and value in organisations

Culture has been defined in many ways. In order to understand the various notions of culture, the author first of all examines the meaning of culture from the classical Greek and Chinese denotative meanings, and then introduces the assertions of Western theorists

regarding the concepts of culture and value. In A Greek-English Lexicon, three words constitute the notion of culture: *paideia* (mental culture, education, or learning), *georgia* (agriculture or farming), and *philotechnia* (enthusiasm for art or ingenious construction) (Liddell and Scott, 1968). Although the actual spelling changed in classical Latin, the meaning of culture was a derivative of the Greek word *georgia*. Accordingly, in the English or the German language, the meaning of culture or *die Kultur* derived from the Latin implications of the cultivation of soil. On the other hand, in the classical Chinese language, *wenhwa* 文華 suggests the process of true human cultivation. Xun Zi, a Chinese philosopher in the third century B.C., used culture (文) in his text (Lee, 1997). Unexpectedly, both classical languages embrace the similar meanings of culture, cultivation. The concepts of culture can also be applied to other ethnic or cultural groups.

Culture has been observed by Western social scientists (Garfinkel, 1967; Geertz, 1973, 1976; Hannerz, 1969; Keesing, 1974; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Valentine, 1968) as the subject of ethnocentric or cross-cultural studies since the late 1950s. Particularly, in the 1980's, culture was used to describe anything from artistic activities (Becker, 1982), science (Latour, 1987; Star, 1989), religion (Neitz, 1987), law (Katz, 1988), media and popular culture (Gitlin, 1985), work organisation (Lincoln and Kalleberg, 1990; Sackman, 1991), organisational culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Geertz, 1973; Schein, 1968, 1984; Tagiuri and Litwin, 1968; Van Maanen, 1976; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), values, styles, and ideology of day-to-day conduct (Swidler, 1986).

Thus, the concepts of culture have many different meanings and connotations as culture is used as a different tool in the various fields, organisations, and ethnic groups. Culture is defined in the following ways:

the entire way of life of a people, including technology and material artifacts (Geertz, 1973); made up of symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning (Keesing, 1974); consisting of symbolic vehicles of meaning, which includes beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, ceremonies, and cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories and rituals of daily life (Swidler, 1986). According to Hofstede (1980), culture is usually reserved for societies, or ethnic or regional groups, but it can be applied equally to other human collectivities or categories: an organisation, a profession, or a family (p. 26). Similarly, Sackman (1991) points out that culture may be seen as constituting the structural and developmental elements and may be conceptualized as the collective construction of reality through the use of sense-making mechanisms. Trice and Beyer (1993) also define cultures as collective phenomena that embody peoples' responses to the uncertainties and chaos which are inevitable in human experience (p. 2). Hence, culture is generally defined as the collective programming of the mind (Hofstede, 1980). Synthetically, the author views culture as the transformation of the visible and invisible entities collectively existing in the human affairs (Lee, 1997).

With respect to the stabilizing of cultural patterns, Hofstede (1980) analyzed a system of social norms, consisting of the value systems shared by major groups within a population. According to Hofstede's theory, the origins of cultural patterns are traceable to a variety of outside influences and ecological factors such as geography, economy, demography, genetics/hygiene, history, technology, and urbanization. "The societal norms have led to the development and pattern maintenance of institutions in society with a particular structure and way of function" (Hofstede, 1980: 26). The structure and functioning of institutions include family pat-

terns, role differentiation, social stratification, socialization emphases, education, religion, political structure, legislation, architecture, and theory development. Hofstede asserts that norms or cultures evolve in response to ecological factors rather than to outside influences or values. In his theory, Hofstede views culture as an attribute of collectivity, whereas norms or values are an attribute of individuals and collectivities.

In addition, Swidler (1986) proposed an alternative three steps analysis of culture: an image of culture as a "tool kit," culture's causal effects, and culture's causal significance. In the process of the alternative analysis culture, Swidler (1986) judges cultural values as more highly articulated and explicit in unsettled periods, whereas settled cultures constrain action over time due to the high costs of cultural remodeling to adopt new patterns of action in settled periods (p. 284).

Like those of culture, values are defined many ways. Hofstede (1980) defines a value as: "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (p. 19) and "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of actions" (ibid). Hofstede (1980) distinguishes values as the desired and the desirable. He evaluates that the norms of values are statistical and pragmatic in the former case, whereas they are absolute or deontological in the latter case.

On the other hand, Swidler (1986) views values to be inseparably related to culture inseparably because culture is actually a combination of values and practices in our society. Swidler (1986) contends that culture affects human action through values that direct it to some ends rather than other (p. 274). Accordingly, values are enduring beliefs that the specific modes of conduct or end-state of existence are personally or socially prefer-

able to the opposite or converse modes of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1973: 5). Values indicate common preferences among who share similar outcomes in their lives and for certain types of conduct (Borgatta and Borgatta, 1992). The conduct is valued by individual or groups because it leads to the individual needs or the societal needs.

Therefore, the conception of cultural values is a means of balancing members' needs against the needs of society to maintain and enhance itself (Parsons and Shils, 1951). In this vein, the Confucian concepts of feelings may be regarded as cultural values. In current Korean society, paternalism and favoritism based on Confucian principles and feelings may be viewed as stabilized cultural patterns by an individual or a group in the private or public affairs (Hangyeore, 2000; H. Lee, 1999; S. Lee, 2000).

Concepts of organisational culture

Organisational culture is closely aligned with the concepts of culture and value. In modern organisations, the relations between culture and values are inseparable. The concepts of organisational culture simply repeat the insights of the human relations perspective on industrial and educational relations because organisational culture is interrelated with most other concepts in administration.

Similar to the concepts of culture, the definitions of organisational culture are various: espoused values (Deal and Kennedy, 1982), observed behavioral regularities such as customs, traditions, and rituals (Goffman, 1959; Trice and Beyer, 1993; Van Maanen, 1976), formal philosophy (Ouchi 1981; Pascale and Athos, 1981), norms (Homans, 1950), rules of the game (Ritti and Funkhouser, 1982; Schein, 1968; Van Maanen, 1976), feeling or climate (Schneider, 1990; Tagiuri and Litwin, 1968),

habits of thinking and linguistic paradigms (Douglas, 1986; Hofstede, 1980; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), shared meaning (Barley, 1984; Geertz, 1973; Smircich, 1983), root metaphors or integrating symbols (Gagliardi, 1990; Schultz, 1991), and shared values and basic assumptions (Schein, 1992).

In an analysis of organisational culture, Schein (1992) delineates three levels of culture: 1) artifacts include visible organisational structures and processes; 2) espoused values are strategies, goals, and philosophies; and 3) basic assumptions are unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings.

However, the process of creating a new organisational culture is not simple. Generally, organizational heroes, rites and rituals, social norms and values, assumptions, and communication networks play key roles in creating organisational cultures (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). Once an organisational culture is created, a number of mechanisms help solidify the acceptance of the values and ensure that the culture is maintained or reinforced (Lunenburg and Ornstein, 1991). Organisational cultures sometimes need to be changed because they are different according to each organisation, institute, society, and country. Thus, the organisational culture of Korean society is different from that of Western society. The former is mainly based on Confucianism (Deuchler, 1992; Fairbank and Reischauer, 1989), whereas the latter is based on Hellenistic Judeo-Christianity (Guterk, 1972).

In organisational culture in American postsecondary institutes, Burton R. Clark (1970) emphasizes an organisational saga which is a collective understanding of a unique accomplishment based on historical exploits of a formal organisation, offering strong normative bonds within and outside the organisation (p. 178). To establish an organisational saga in higher education, Clark (1970) suggests two stages: initiation and ful-

fillment. He notes that initiation takes place under varying conditions and occurs within a relatively short period of time; fulfillment is related to features of the organisation that are enduring and more predictable (Clark, 1970: 180).

In addition, Clark (1992) suggests that an institutional innovation in the initiation stage may be attempted under three main conditions: new organisation, crisis in an established institution, and evolutionary openness in an established institution (p. 237). In the fulfillment stage, the key elements in colleges are the personnel (senior faculty), the program, the external social base (alumni), the student subculture, and the imagery of the saga (Clark, 1970). In conclusion, Clark (1970) evaluates that an organisational saga is a powerful means of unity in the formal place (p. 183).

In terms of Korean higher education, Confucian saga has been strongly apparent in organisational culture in higher education institutions. Particularly, paternalism and favoritism based on the Confucian principles and feelings have enormously effected on educational administration both positively and negatively. Paternalism and favoritism positively strengthen the solidarity between or among organisational members, while both isms negatively promote a closed administrative system (Korean Council for University Education, 1992; 1995). However, there are numerous problems concerning administrative systems, social values, and organisational culture. From this point, the author will review the reflections of Confucian feelings on social values and organisational culture in Korean higher education and analyze the problems in the following next two sections.

Reflections of confucian feelings on
organisational culture in korean higher
education

Although the Confucian concepts of feelings appear in various forms in Korean higher education, paternalism and favoritism are two commonly representative types or factors. In this article, the writer attempts to examine only the two factors from the theories of the Chinese and Korean Confucian thinkers, within the context of the formation of the two factors. As mentioned in the previous section, paternalism and favoritism are related to the Confucian principles and seven feelings rooted in the human nature and mind, especially the feelings of commiseration grounded on humanity.

According to the theory of a system of social norms (Hofstede, 1980), the Confucian principles and feelings have been developed and maintained as individual values, collectively cultural values, societal norms with a particular social structure, or societal organisational institutions by a variety of outside influences and ecological factors, such as an authoritatively male dominant society, a hierarchically vertical organisational structure centered on an age-ranking system, an authoritatively rigid organisational structure grounded on Confucian ethico-political principles and rules, a stratified socio-economic society based on societal strata such as scholar, farmer, maker, and merchant (Deuchler, 1992; Fairbank and Reischauer, 1989; Lee, 1999b). The structure and functioning of institutions developed the desirably absolute or deontological values rather than the desired statistical or pragmatic values by means of the following factors: family patterns centered on consanguineous ties, factionalism according to social strata, role differentiation on account of rank, age, and sex, social stratification due to socioeconomic positions, political structure according to organisational status, discrimination of academic attainments, and geographical or regional structure (Hart, 1993; Kihl, 1994; Lee,

1999b; Yun, 1996).

The above cultural values based on Confucian rules and concepts, according to Swidler's (1986) theory of cultural values, were formed by embracing ethico-political principles under the absolutely formalized organisational structure in the unsettled Choson (1932-1910) Kingdom period (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1989; Lee, 1999b). In contemporary Korean society, what is referred to as the settled period, the Confucian cultural values, on the one hand, have been remodeled into new socioeconomic stratified structure with an influx of Western thought and culture, but on the other hand, have been succeeded by the following socio-ecological factors: paternalism based on Confucian ethical codes and concepts, blood ties grounded on family relations or kinship, regional ties centered on individual birthplace, school ties according to individual's affiliated schools, and factionalism by means of various internal or external ties (Deuchler, 1992; Lee, 1999b; S. Lee, 2000; Yun, 1996).

In particular, paternalism among the traditional cultural values planted humane culture that emphasized mutual fraternity as well as interpersonal geniality or commiseration between superiors and subordinates, administrators and faculty members, teachers and students, seniors and juniors in school, and colleagues in Korean higher education institutions (Lee, 1999b; J. Lee, 2000). In addition, favoritism based on blood, regional, and school ties promoted homogeneous coteries, who sought socio-economic interests as well as academic advantages, with special favor and partiality (H. Lee, 1999; Lee, 1999b; Pyo, 1999).

Thus, within the boundaries of organisational culture, both paternalism and favoritism, based on Confucian principles and feelings, may be regarded in terms of the three levels of culture that. Schein (1992) contended because both concepts,

as cultural values, were already commonly spread out in Korean higher education. In the context of an attributive characteristic in organisational culture, the two concepts were formed by various socio-ecological factors, such as social norms and values, rite or rituals, philosophy and feelings, assumptions, organisational heroes, etc.

In current Korean higher education, both paternalism and favoritism have introduced a negative influence rather than a positive one in Korean higher education. For instance, there are faculty inbreeding, a closed faculty appointment, and personal connections in school affairs (Pyo, 1999, p. 79). It is time to renovate negative sides in Korean academic society. In practice, the renovation of fixed traditional values and customs is not simple, but the Korean people require progressive renovation in order to create new organisational culture in Korean tertiary institutes. In this vein, the author will specifically discuss paternalism and favoritism as negative forces on Korean higher education and suggests some ideas by which to overcome or improve these problems in the following section.

Problems of paternalism and favoritism in Korean higher education

The author intends to discuss the negative impact of paternalism and favoritism on organisational culture in current Korean higher education as follows:

First, the absence of criticism is a big problem in colleges and universities. In general, one who shares a personal relation with his or her superior usually overlooks his or her significant mistake during one's duty due to personal ties (Korean Council for University Education, 1992, 1995; Lee, 1999b). Owing to these interpersonal ties, the tied persons related by special favor or partiality have a correlatively neglect impact on others. In the

case of academic affairs or scientific activities between teachers and students, as well as between senior and junior faculty members who are concerned with an academic clique, students or junior members rarely criticize their teachers' or seniors' assertions or theories on the basis of Confucian interaction patterns (Lee, 1999a). Teachers generally control their students through both legitimated authority and moral norms that are somewhat analogous to those between parents and children, whereas students believe that they are indebted to their teachers for the benefits bestowed just as daughters and sons are indebted to parents (Lee, 1999a, p. 17). Based on these Confucian values, although there is no empirical data, in reality, students usually follow their teachers' instructions without any criticism, and junior faculty members rarely raise any objections to senior faculty members' assertions in current Korean higher education.

Second, factionalism is a significant problem. Factionalism rooted in family ties, regional relations, and school ties becomes an obstacle to the interchange or exchange of scholarly knowledge as well as academic information between universities, schools, departments, and faculty members (Pyo, 1999; Lee, 1999b). In addition, factionalism creates new cliques or factions, bears egoistic scholarship between individuals or among schools, and hinders academic development under an open competitive system. According to the Dong-A Ilbo dated on September 21, 1999, a ratio of teaching faculty members affiliated with individual's alma mater in three prestigious universities showed that Seoul National University was 95.6 percent, Yonsei University 80.3 percent, and Korea University 60.1 percent (A 21). This proves that the appointment system and customary practice for the selection of college or university teachers are related to faculty inbreeding. In addition, the appointment of university teachers was

heavily influenced by regional and school ties. For example, Pusan National University in Pusan city was 47.9 percent, and Cheonnam National University in Kwangjoo city [Cheonnam province] was 51.6 percent (The Dong-A Ilbo, A 21, Sep. 21, 1999).

Third, favoritism based on interpersonal ties is another problem. Some types of inequitable appointment for the selection of university teachers are connected with interpersonal ties. According to the Dong-A Ilbo (September 21, 1999), the rate of inequitable appointment for faculty selection showed: the despotism of the president or the governing body was 24.3 percent; giving and receiving money or other-valuables was 15.2 percent; and the request of influential persons was 6.5 percent (A 21). Judging from the statistical results, favoritism hinders the openness in educational administration by promoting a closed or partial administrative system. For this reason, there is lack of equity and openness in educational administration, in particular personnel management.

Fourth, academic career and clique-oriented doctrines are also significant problems. These wrong doctrines have aggravated not only new school-ties based on individual's affiliated school but also homogeneous academic coteries who seldom exchange or interchange their knowledge with heterogeneous academic groups. Also, the doctrines cause homogeneous academic coteries to monopolize socio-economic interests. Between October 27 and 28, the Hangyeore 21(2000) surveyed the culture of one's academic career and clique in current Korean society. According to the result of this survey (Hangyeore 21, 2000), 63.4% of 700 persons answered that "without academic career and clique, there is no success in Korea" (p. 18). In addition, 64.4% of 700 adults responded that "if you want social success in the future, it is important to be graduated from prestigious universities" (Hangyeore 21, 2000: 18).

Finally, a homogeneously closed organisational culture is another problem in Korean higher education. Homogeneous collectivism based on blood, region, and school ties ignores an open organisational system which embraces internal or external communication network because of a homogeneous group that intends to maintain its vested interests regarding academic activities and other valuable affairs (Korean Council for University Education, 1992, 1995; Lee, 1999b; Pyo, 1999). In practice, the majority of financial support or governmental projects for the promotion of knowledge-base society as well as for the enhancement of academic quality is commonly monopolized by part of prestigious university teachers although the Korean government invites the public to join in government projects for the acceleration of a knowledge-base nation (Hangyeore 21, 2000: 21). The Project, "BK21" (Brain Korea for the 21st century) is an adequate example. For this project, the Korean government has yearly contributed with 200 billion Won—on November 17, 2000, 1 U.S. dollar was estimated 1,200 Won— for 7 years from 1999 until 2005 to promote science and technology. Seoul National University occupies 45% of the total budget (Hangyeore 21, 2000: 21). In current Korean higher education, the public subscription of scientific activities as well as the evaluation criteria of scientific activity outcomes are still unfixed openly or competitively.

Concluding remarks

As presented in this article, the concepts of Confucian feelings related to paternalism and favoritism have had a great impact on organisational culture in Korean higher education both positively and negatively. In the current Korean higher education, however, a negative influence is more greatly apparent.

In order to improve or change this negativity, the author suggests several basic recommendations or opinions as follows.

First, in order to change the absence of criticism, the writer suggests that wisdom, one of Confucian four principles based on moral feelings, should be stabilized as an individual or social norm to distinguish what is right or wrong. In addition, with the concepts of "right" and "wrong" as basic assumptions, each person or group in universities should actively create a new organisational culture, that is, "discussion culture" as well as "criticism culture" interpersonally.

Second, in order to minimize factionalism, a closed educational administrative system founded on family, local, and school ties should be changed into an open system through losing a person's vested interest and creating a democratic climate. Also, egoistic scholarship, worship of foreign knowledge, and factionalism should be minimized through reciprocally institutional cooperation and knowledge exchange. In addition, every constituency of universities should exert all possible efforts to promote academic quality and scientific development both internally and externally.

Third, in order to correct favoritism, a closed and an unfairly partial administration based on personal ties should be opened through restructuring the organisational structure of university administration democratically, effectively, and rationally. In other

words, educational administrators or planners should create a new administrative system to secure the impartiality of personnel management, to ensure the transparency of appointment committee, and to guarantee each constituency autonomy and democracy.

Fourth, in order to change a closed organisational culture, a multi-culturally open organisational culture centered on diversity and uniqueness should be enforced through building the responsive campus. As the first step for creating a new institutional culture, the writer suggests that three main conditions asserted by Burton R. Clark (1992)—new organisation, crisis in an established institution, and evolutionary openness—should be applied to higher education institutions in Korea.

Finally, in order to create strong organisational culture and to promote academic development, any favoritism and factionalism, as well as a negative influence of paternalism based on blood, regional, and school ties in Korean higher education should be abolished or minimized through changing a closed system and traditional collectivism into an open system and Western democratism.

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