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Moral Education: The Korean Experience

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Introduction

According to a Korean maxim, "If there are three persons, including me, the other two persons must be moral exemplars for me." This maxim emphasizes that we learn from both a bad exemplar and a good exemplar. We learn from a good exemplar when a person gives us an opportunity to imitate his or her good behaviors. We also learn from a bad exemplar when a person gives us an opportunity to reflect on immoral behaviors.

Facing a moral crisis of the young, many citizens in the U.S., including educators concerned with education for democratic citizenship, are calling for effective moral education of the youth (Hoge, 1996). There is a growing consensus in the United States that schools need to strengthen ethical standards in the young (Chu, 1996). However, the growing consensus on the need for moral education of the young does not imply an agreement on the proper aim, content, and method of moral education. Disputes about the proper aim, content, and method of moral education in the U.S. occupy the forefront of the public concerns. Korea's recent and historic experiences in moral education offer American educators a thoughtful consideration.

The purpose of this paper is to review this history of moral education, presenting the moral education programs, including teacher education programs, being currently implemented in Korea. The paper concludes with suggestions for American educators who are interested in moral education.

Historical backgrounds

Through nearly a 5,000-year-old history, Koreans have cherished the cultivation of moral character as a focal point of human life. Traditionally, Koreans have considered themselves as the recipient of bright light from the East as the foundation of life. For them, the heaven was regarded as the foundation of moral order and human conscience. This strong belief in the East and heaven led to ethical consciousness based on the idea that "Our heaven knows us completely" or "Heaven is the author of the virtue that is in us." This, in turn, led to a strong sense of moral shame before the heaven and moral obligation to the heaven. Even in the modern scientific community, many Koreans become frightened of heaven's vengeance when they do unjust acts (Korea Ethics Studies Association, 1993).

Koreans typically view a moral upbringing as the central feature of human life. Moral education has thus been seen as the very core of the educational process. Koreans have strongly believe that cultivating moral virtues is possible by way of continuous moral education and sincere self-discipline (Park & Chu, 1996). For instance, the Hwarang-do (Flowery Youth Groups) in Silla dynasty (57 BC to 935 AD) gave a high priority to moral education. Hwarang-do was organized to train the bodies and minds of the young and to build up their characters through academics and military training in order to be patriotic and

courageous citizens of the Silla dynasty. Even in the more recent Choseon dynasty (1392 AD to 1910 AD), moral education was the most important, separate subject matter in such traditional forms of educational institutions as Sungkyunkwan, Hyanggyo, Seodang, and Seowon.

After Korea was liberated from Japanese imperialism at the conclusion of World War II, Korea was influenced by Western educational systems. At that time, moral education in schools was not an independent subject matter but a function of the total school curriculum. Following the Western educational ideas, Korean educators had a vague expectation that moral education would permeate the total school curricula. Unfortunately, such a rosy expectation was not well realized. Under this infused or generalized approach to moral education, no one paid much attention to moral education. Generally, teachers paid attention only to teaching their own subject matter. In a word, most teachers stood aloof from moral education as if they were moral bystanders (Chu & Park, 1996).

During the Korean War (1950 to 1953) and the process of rapid modernization, the specter of moral disorder gradually became a hot issue among Koreans. Observers sensed that the gradual erosion of the traditional values which had oriented Koreans to be moral persons had brought about a loss of canons regarding morally important matters.

During the Korean War, the traditional value system such as respect for filial piety and the elderly, sense of community, cooperation, integrity, and respect for life became degraded, and simultaneously social disorder spread all over the country. The war between North and South Korea brought about a deep sense of distrust, and facilitated a wave of "survival-first policy" regardless of aims and methods of life. After the Korean War, incessant threats of invasion from North Korea made Korean people strengthen their stances of anti-communism. Therefore, the need for teaching about anti-communism gained a momentum among educators.

Meanwhile, the rapid social change accompanied by economic development produced an unpredicted value crisis among Koreans. A "me-first" philosophy arose and materialism greatly increased. Egoism, nepotism, and regionalism became frequent justifications for breaking moral rules. Money especially shaped the ultimate values and goals of Koreans (Park, 1993). At the same time, crime, drugs, and violence increased rapidly. Koreans began to realize that as they became affluent, they became impoverished in the moral and spiritual aspects of life.

Following the Korean War and rapid industrialization, the need for loyalty to democratic values emerged. Korean educators began to propose that the democratic ways of life must be instilled at early ages through a systematic education. At that time, several democratic values often collided with Korean traditional values. For example, Korean's ways of life were based on the close affection and loyalty. But, such values as affective relationship and close friendship often collided with rational solution and due process as democratic values in public life.

Moral education today in Korea is a reflection of these situational and historical factors. To put it another way, the needs for solidifying a national identity as Korean people, cultivating democratic values/attitudes, and creating a moral consensus through a synthesis between traditional values and democratic values were important causes of the implementation of moral education as a separate, required subject-matter in schooling (Chu & Park, 1996).

Curriculum

In the moral education curriculum, every aspect of moral education is specified in detail such as the aim, objective, content (list of moral virtues), teaching method, and evaluation for every grade and school

level. Over the fifty years from 1945 to the present time, the moral education curriculum has been changed several times (Korea Educational Development Institute, 1988).

1. The first moral education curriculum (1954-1963): This curriculum was the first modernized curriculum enacted by Korean Ministry of Education. Moral education in this period focused on civics education.
2. The second moral education curriculum (1963-1973): This curriculum focused on anti-communism ethics, economic rehabilitation, and traditional values.
3. The third moral education curriculum (1973-1982): Moral education became a separate, required subject matter in both elementary and secondary schools. Moral education as a separate subject matter focused on the settlement of Korean-style democracy, virtues leading to modernization, and economic development.
4. The fourth moral education curriculum (1982-1987): Moral education focused on the teaching method improvement, from "bag of virtues approach" to the cognitive-developmental approach. Moral judgment and moral discussion were favored rather than moral inculcation.
5. The fifth moral education curriculum (1987-1992): This curriculum emphasized democratic ways of life. There was also an important shift from anti-communism to unification and defense-oriented education.
6. The sixth moral education curriculum (1992-2000): This curriculum is now in practice, focusing on communitarian ethics, basic moral habits, and autonomous moral character traits. There is an attempt to balance between teaching moral virtues and teaching moral reasoning. This curriculum also emphasized the desirable ways of life "For unification of Korea" and "After unification of Korea." Our discussion hereafter will stay within the boundary of the sixth moral education curriculum.

Subject matter

Moral education as a separate subject matter is based on a belief that moral education in Korea must be both universal and particular. It is based on the principle of universality in that it respects the universality of moral norms. It is also based on the principle of particularity in that it must consider particular political, social, economic, and technological contexts facing Koreans. According to the sixth national curriculum for moral education, moral education as a separate subject matter has the following characteristics (MOE, 1992a; 1992b; 1992c).

1. Elementary schools
 1. First level
 - The title of subject matter: "Right Life"
 - Grade: From first grade to second grade
 - Class hours: Two hours per week
 - First grade: 60 hours per year
 - Second grade: 68 hours per year
 - Textbook: A separate textbook for each grade
 - Teacher: A homeroom teacher
 2. Second level
 - The title of subject matter: "Morals" 1
 - Grade: From third grade to sixth grade
 - Class hours: One hour per week (34 hours per year)
 - Textbook: A separate textbook for each grade
 - Teacher: A homeroom teacher
2. Middle schools

- The title of subject matter: "Morals"
 - Grade: From seventh grade to ninth grade
 - Class hours: Two hours per week (68 hours per year)
 - Textbook: A separate textbook for each grade
 - Teacher: The teacher with a license in moral education
3. High schools
- The title of subject matter: "Ethics"
 - Grade: From tenth grade to twelfth grade
 - Class hours: One hour per week (34 hours per year)
 - Textbook: One textbook for three years
 - Teacher: The teacher with a license in moral education

Regardless of the different subject titles (i.e., Right life, Morals, and Ethics), all courses are focused on moral shaping. The title of each subject matter shows well its unique and relative emphasis area. For example, while "Right Life" and "Morals" in elementary schools have a strong emphasis on appropriate moral habits and etiquette, "Ethics" in high schools lays a specific stress on the development of mature ethical judgment and the formation of autonomous moral character. "Morals" in middle schools as a bridge between elementary and high schools has its emphasis on the comprehension of moral norms and the development of moral decision-making.

Objectives and content

In general, moral education as a separate subject matter has intended to help students build moral habits and good social manners needed to behave properly, comprehend moral norms and ideals needed to lead a desirable life, develop the abilities of moral judgment and moral decision-making needed to deal with moral conflicts, and cultivate autonomous character traits needed to fulfill the ideals and principles of moral life as a member of the Korean national community.

Therefore, the objectives of moral education are divided into four major areas. "The formation of moral habits and good manners" involves mastering basic good habits and social etiquettes through continuous modeling, inculcation, and training. This curriculum strand involves learning such specified moral habits or etiquettes as how to greet to the elderly, how to talk to the elderly, how to use public goods, how to keep close friendship, how to properly dispose of trash and garbage, how to observe school regulations, how to conserve materials, how to do one's duty, how to reflect on one's daily life, how to help others, how to cooperate with others, how to take pride in one's fatherland, and so forth.

"The comprehension of moral norms and ideals" is related to transmitting great moral traditions. If we don't know what is right or wrong, we can't behave morally in a strict sense. In this regard, direct transmitting of moral norms or ideals is of importance. This curriculum strand attempts to instill a strong commitment to the moral order through persuasive presentation of moral norms, and to develop students' comprehension of the need for a normative structure in society. Therefore, it requires students to learn universal moral norms or ideals so that they develop the ability to tell right from wrong.

"The development of moral judgment and decision-making" refers to students' ability to solve moral conflicts occurring in daily life situations on the basis of discrete moral considerations and morally justifiable methods. This curriculum strand involves students in practical experiences, so that the judgment or decision-making they make is conscious and deliberate, based on their moral autonomy.

"Building autonomous moral character" refers to having a solid moral disposition or a strong moral willingness to do the good by dint of internalization of moral principles, ideals, and self-actualization.

This curriculum strand requires students to develop autonomous voices or lenses on moral issues on the basis of strong moral principles and moral ideals. It requires them to have a strong self-strength to overcome various harmful temptations and moral laziness.

The new "6th Revised National Curricula on Moral Education" attempted to work out some problems surrounding moral education as a separate subject matter (Chung, 1992a; 1992b). The importance of moral virtues, values, and behaviors which was often belittled in cognitive developmental approach was revisited. The basic question among moral educators was how to transmit the values of the Korean heritage to the next generation while supporting the autonomous moral development of youth. As a result, while the formation of good etiquettes/manners and desirable moral habits cherished among Koreans were reinforced in elementary schools, autonomous moral judgments were placed at the center of moral education in secondary schools.²

The objectives and content of moral education in each school level can be summarized as follows (MOE, 1992a; 1992b; 1992c):

1. "Right Life" in Elementary schools

1. Objectives:

- "The formation of basic etiquette and courtesy"
- "The formation of moral habits"

2. Content: "Five life areas"

- Personal Life: Correct posture, respecting parents and the elderly, daily reflection, cleanup, keeping time and promise, safety, savings, self-esteem, and independence.
- Family & Neighborhood Life: Caring for brothers and sisters, etiquette for eating, filial piety, etiquette for visitors, relatives, and neighbors, and etiquette for visiting.
- School Life: Courtesy for teachers, adaptation to schools, respecting one's friends, making good friends, respecting school regulations, correct usage of school facilities, and love of one's school.
- Social Life: Law-observance, correct usage of public facilities, cooperation, environmental preservation, helping poor people, doing one's duty, and keeping one's order.
- National Life: Love of nation & state, patriotism, correct postures toward the national flag & the national anthem, desire for unification, brotherly love, and heartfelt thanks to the patriots of old.

2. "Morals" in elementary schools

1. Objectives

- "Building basic etiquette & moral habits"
- "Internalizing basic moral virtues"
- "Increasing moral reasoning ability"

2. Content: "Four life area"

- Personal life:
 - 3rd grade: Protecting animals & plants, practicing good conducts, valuing & telling the truth, and conserving things.
 - 4th grade: Healthy life, thinking & acting independently, keeping promises, and saving time.
 - 5th grade: Importance of human life, creative attitudes, diligent life, and planning & reflecting.
 - 6th grade: Planning one's future, doing one's best, material values versus spiritual values, and belief & practice.
- Family, neighborhood, & school life:

- 3rd grade: Showing respectful behaviors in family, moral reflection on school life, friendship and confidence, and being thankful for others who give us help.
- 4th grade: Comity for relatives, taking pride in one's school, forgiveness, and empathy.
- 5th grade: Traditional comity, respecting neighbors, kindness and concession, helping people who are in trouble.
- 6th grade: Spirits & forms of comity, cooperation for community development, love and charity, and love and respect.
- Social life:
 - 3rd grade: Observing public morality, participating in service activities, assisting others, do not discriminating against other people, and respecting other's viewpoints.
 - 4th grade: Respecting other's interests, competition & cooperation, environmental preservation, justice and bravery, and proper attitudes in meetings.
 - 5th grade: Law-observance, cooperation in civil society, ethics in economy, respecting other's rights, and rational problem solving.
 - 6th grade: Comprehending spirits of laws, sense of community & participation, private interests versus public interests, making just society, and due process & respect for the results.
- National life:
 - 3rd grade: patriotism, keeping cultural heritage, comprehension of the divided conditions and the need for eventual unification, friendly attitudes toward foreigners.
 - 4th grade: cooperation for national development, proper attitudes for national cultures, the future of unified Korea, and people who contributed to the world peace.
 - 5th grade: Country and the individual, Korean people who are living abroad & their patriotism, the methods of peaceful unification, and international exchange of cultures.
 - 6th grade: Good country, national pride & duties, efforts for unification, and world peace and mutual prosperity.

3. "Morals" in middle schools

1. Objectives

- "Comprehending moral norms, courtesy, and etiquette"
- "Increasing moral judgment ability"
- "Forming moral dispositions for practicing moral behaviors"

2. Content: "Four Life Areas" 3

■ Personal life:

- 7th grade: Human life and morality, moral man and immoral man, conscience and morality, and a study on moral persons (Weonhyo, Buddha).
- 8th grade: Aims & values of human life, diversity & conflict in human life, values choice and moral judgment, a study on moral persons (Byoung-yeon Kim, Lao-tzu).
- 9th grade: Joys of life & planned life, personality development & character building, humanistic attitudes, and a study on moral persons (Chang- ho Ahn, Helen Keller).

■ Family, neighborhood, and school life:

- 7th grade: Family life & school life, courtesy in family, relatives, and neighborhood, courtesy in school, and a study on moral persons (Yi-hwang,

Confucius).

- 8th grade: Family and moral problems, neighborhood and moral problems, school and moral problems, and a study on moral persons (King Youngjo, Rousseau).
- 9th grade: Desirable pictures of family, correct relationships among relatives and neighbors, desirable school life & career search, a study on moral persons (Saimdang Shin, Pestalozzi).
- Social life:
 - 7th grade: Modern society and public morality, modern society and traditional morality, modern society and civic ethics, and a study on moral persons (Yi-Yi, Jesus Christ).
 - 8th grade: Environmental problems in modern society, juvenile problems in modern society, the solution for sociomoral problems, and a study on moral persons (Ha-eung Lee, Nobel).
 - 9th grade: Democratic society and human dignity, democratic attitudes and ways of life, welfare society and ethics in economy, a study on moral persons (Yak-yong Chung, Franklin).
- National community life:
 - 7th grade: National development & cultural development, patriotism and love of one's nation, correct ways of life as a member of the Korean national community, and a study on moral persons (Il-yeon, Gandhi).
 - 8th grade: The causes and backgrounds of the divided Korea, realities of North Korea, various efforts for the unification of Korea & problems, and a study on moral persons (Gaesomun Yeon, Napoleon).
 - 9th grade: Prosperity of Korean national community, realization of the unified Korea, Korean people in the world, and a study on moral persons (Sun- sin Lee, Son Mun).

4. "Ethics" in high schools

1. Objectives

- "Developing desirable ethical and ideological senses"
- "Forming autonomous moral character traits"
- "Forming a sound value system"

2. Content: "Five areas"

- Human beings and ethics: Human life and ethics, self- realization and character building, and characteristics of Adolescence.
- Society and ethics: Ethical situations in modern society, modern society and life ethics, and current social problems and ethics.
- Nation and ethics: National ideology and development, nationalism and democracy, and global ethics.
- Ethical thoughts: Oriental ethical thoughts, Western ethical thoughts, and Korean ethical thoughts.
- Tasks for national unification: problems facing national unification, conditions and processes for the realization of the Korean unification, and the expected pictures after the unification (Chung, Chu, Cha, Kim, & Lee, 1994).

Teaching and evaluation methods

On the premise that there is no universally applicable methodology in moral education, the teaching methods of the moral education consider students' levels of cognitive and moral development in order to enhance the effectiveness of learning in moral education (Chung, 1984). Teachers are encouraged to use

a combination of methods so as to make a class meaningful, effective, and enjoyable to students as well as to stimulate and develop the thinking abilities of students. Recently, the inquiry mode, dilemma discussion, and student-centered instruction are strongly recommended in a moral education class in order to avoid indoctrinating students. However, most classes are teacher-oriented instruction, and thus such traditional methods as explanation, story-telling, modeling, and small group discussion are still broadly used in Korea (Chu & Park, 1996).

The methods which are generally used in a moral education class are as follows:

1. Explanations designed to inculcate moral virtues
2. Presenting good moral behaviors through literature and history
3. Reading a textbook and finding moral lessons from it
4. Presenting a moral dilemma followed by a small group discussion
5. Moral dialogue by questions and answers
6. Case studies
7. Role playing and simulation games
8. Use of audiovisual materials
9. Making students write moral essay
10. Making students write value-oriented journals, and
11. Small group activities & projects.

In addition to these methods for moral education as a separate subject matter, a variety of extracurricular activities are also widely used in Korea. For example, such activities as strong school regulations, a moment of silence for meditation, regular weekly assemblies, school & class mottos, morning & afternoon announcements by homeroom teachers, class meeting, club activities, service projects, school ceremonies, and other schoolwide events are effectively used in Korea. Among these, a noteworthy activity is community service projects. Since 1994, community service projects were implemented as a required extracurricular activities in both middle and high schools. 4

In a word, the evaluation of moral education has been regarded as a permanent dilemma (Korea Educational Development Institute, 1985). Paper and pencil tests are unavoidable because teachers are required to rank-order students for grading. 5 Moral education as a subject matter is included in both the high school and the university entrance exam. 6 Even though various assessment techniques such as personal observations, interviews, check-lists, moral attitude scales, and questionnaires are recommended by the Ministry of Education, most teachers exclusively use simple written tests in order to assess students' moral knowledge. Generally speaking, most questions for the exam are so easy that students' grades in a moral education class are higher than any other subject matter.

Teacher education

Traditionally, teachers have been highly respected in Korea. 7 Koreans cherished a common belief that "the king, the father, and the teacher is one body." Teachers still have a relatively high social status in spite of their low incomes. Based on the belief that the quality of education cannot go beyond the quality of the teacher, Koreans have paid much attention to the teacher education programs. How does one become a moral education teacher? What is noteworthy in the teacher education programs?

The teacher education programs in Korea are divided into two areas, pre-service education and in-service education.

Pre-service education

In the late 1970s, "Department of Ethics Education" was established in both the Teachers College and College of Education. These departments developed systematic, well-organized teacher education programs that made it possible for moral education to be successfully implemented as a separate subject matter beginning in 1973. Thus, those who want to be a moral education teacher must enter "Department of Ethics Education." ⁸

In order for a student to get an admission to College of Education or Teachers College, he or she must pass both an interview test and an aptitude test for the teaching profession with appropriate academic test scores. The purpose of both the interview test and the aptitude test for the teaching profession is to prevent those who could have the possible negative effects on students from getting teaching licenses. Especially, the aim of the interview test is to detect a candidate's potential as a moral education teacher, and furthermore protect students from morally bad role models by way of the rejection of those who don't have good enough character traits to educate the future Korean citizen.

There is no standard curriculum for educating the prospective moral education teachers. Each "Department of Ethics Education" in the Teachers College or College of Education has its own well-organized curriculum. For example, "Department of Ethics Education" in Kyung Sung University has the following curriculum (Kyung Sung University, 1996).

First, students must earn at least 20 credit hours from the domain of the liberal arts that includes Korean literature, Foreign language, History, Philosophy and Social thoughts, and Natural sciences.

Second, students must earn at least 20 credit hours from the domain of the teaching profession that includes Introduction to pedagogy, Philosophy and history of education, Curriculum and evaluation, Educational method and engineering, Psychology of education, Sociology of education, Educational administration, Subject matter materials study, Subject matter study and teaching method, and Student teaching practice.⁹

Third, students must earn at least 54 credit hours from their major field that includes Moral education I, Moral education II, Subject matter study and teaching method, National ethics, Political science, Social science, Introduction to the study of North Korea, Social thought, Readings in ethics, Oriental ethical thought, Democratic society and citizenship, Modern theory of nation, Environment and ethics, Western ethical thought, Korean political theory, Korean social development, Environmental education, Applied ethics I (culture and women), Applied ethics II (profession and information), International politics and Korea, Study of North Korea, Study of modern democratic politics, History of Korean thought, Study on social ethics, Sex education, The unification and the relationship between South and North Korea, History of socialist movement, and Modern Korean ethics.

After earning all the required credit hours, students must pass the graduation exam or graduation thesis. Only then do students get their teaching licenses in moral education. The teaching license is only an official certificate guaranteeing that someone has finished all the requirements for the teaching profession. Accordingly, having a license in moral education doesn't mean that a person can teach students in public schools. He or she must meet the final, competitive requirement, the teacher employment exam.

The teacher employment exam is divided into two parts, the written test and the interview test. The written test covers general knowledge in education and specific knowledge in moral education. After passing the written test, the prospective teachers must pass the interview test. The aim of the interview test is the same as that of the entrance exam for the Teachers College or College of Education. Those

who passed the teacher employment test must take part in a beginning teacher training program. Then, they are allocated to the public schools by the Municipal Board of Education.

Teachers are regarded as public officials. Their jobs are guaranteed by law. Their monthly salaries are provided by the central government. Once someone has the teaching job in the public schools, his or her position as a teacher is very solid. The teacher in public schools has tenure from the first day of his or her service in the public schools.

In-service education

There are three kinds of in-service education programs for the moral education teacher; programs provided by educational institutions, programs provided by each school, and programs elected by individual's choice. However, programs provided by educational institutions, including each regional Board of Education, are exclusively favored by the moral education teachers because some of them are required, and in part because some of them are necessary for their promotion. At any rate, each regional Board of Education provides various in-service programs for moral education teachers. However, the current in-service education programs are not sufficient to satisfy moral education teachers' academic and practical needs, especially in the area of supplementary educational resources.

Problems of moral education in Korea

Can we conclude that moral education in Korea has been successful so far? Many Korean moral educators say that dual approaches to moral education have been effective, but there are several problems yet to be resolved. Exactly where do moral education programs in Korea go wrong?

Problems in the moral education curriculum

Many moral educators criticize the current curriculum for moral education because it generally lacks a consistency in both scope and sequence. The current curricula in both elementary and middle schools were developed on the principle of the expanding communities approach. Criticisms have been directed at the scope and sequence of the expanding communities model. It has been criticized for being too age-grade-oriented, for failing to provide for the teaching of moral issues of immediate concern to students, and for its uselessness in our information age which blurs the traditional boundaries of human life (Chu & Park, 1996).

Meanwhile, the identity of moral education as a separate subject matter seems still to be unclear (Korea Educational Development Institute, 1989). Is it a true moral education? Is it a mixture of political education, citizenship education, and moral education? The knowledge about North Korea, unification, and democratic citizenship is also a major part of social studies education in Korea. Thus, it is still unclear in what way the content in moral education as a separate subject matter is different from that of other subject matters. Moral educators emphasize that moral education as a subject matter focuses on the affective domain when it deals with those issues while other subject matters emphasize the cognitive domain. However, many educators still have doubts about the identity of moral education as a separate subject matter.

Problems in textbooks and teaching methods

Moral education textbooks are exclusively provided by the Ministry of Education. As a result all students learn the same moral messages. However, the diversity of needs and situations may not be taken

seriously in transmitting those moral messages (Moon, 1995). Another problem of the government-made textbooks is the tendency of over-reflection of pro- governmental moral messages. For example, military governments have always tried to inculcate students into accepting their political legitimacy.

As Dewey (1916) said earlier, the disharmony between textbooks and students' life-experiences creates problems with motivation and transfer of learning. Moral education continues to be criticized because stories or examples in textbooks are often irrelevant, overly abstract, and dull to students' life-experiences.

It is not easy to write textbooks which are exactly commensurate with the developmental needs of students. For example, the middle school has three different textbooks for each grade. Some contents of the textbook for 9th grade are easier than those of the textbook for 7th grade.

Other critics assert that teachers are not well prepared for moral discussion. The contents of the textbook consist mostly of normative arguments, thus teachers must reorganize the given content in the textbook in order to lead active moral discussions. However, most teachers tend to use the textbook content directly. Large class sizes, often more than forty five students, also hamper effective moral discussions.

Problems in teacher education programs

The pre-service teacher education programs in the university focused on theory at the expense of practical experience. Student teachers are information-rich, but experience-poor. The opportunities for in-service education are not enough to satisfy moral education teachers' needs. The most frequently taken programs are used by moral education teachers for career advancement. Voluntary participation in teacher education programs for the purpose of enhancing one's abilities as a specialist in moral education are not often used.

About the half of moral education teachers do not have a license for moral education as a separate subject matter. Even though there are various teacher education programs for unlicensed moral education teachers, it is hard to make them knowledgeable in moral education through relatively short period of time available in in-service teacher education programs.

Problems within schools and communities

The school climate is dominated by an exam-oriented atmosphere. Some educators often say that Korean students are living in "exam hell." The highly competitive atmospheres in both classrooms and schools divert students' attention only to academic learning. Teachers and parents also encourage students to get higher grades instead of encouraging them to cultivate moral virtues.

Parental involvement in students' moral development is very rare. Communities are not often good partners in shaping morally good students. In general, moral education is left only to the hands of the moral education teachers.

Several tasks for the future

Since Koreans have long cherished the cultivation of moral virtues through the systematic education, it can be well expected that the emphasis on moral education as a separate subject matter will remain stable in the future. However, in order to enhance the effectiveness of moral education as a separate subject matter, there are still several tasks that need to be successfully fulfilled.

First, Korean moral education must seek better integration of moral knowing, feeling, and acting. Under the influences of Kohlbergian moral education, the dominant paradigm for a moral education class has been developmental and cognitive. There has been an undoubted focus on the cognitive domain in a moral education class. Despite some attention to moral emotions, moral habits, and moral behaviors, the integration of moral knowing, feeling, and acting has not been well explored.

Thus, moral education teachers in Korea must change their intellectual dispositions so that they can understand that a moral character is a complex stable state consisting of moral knowing, feeling, and doing. The emphasis of moral education as a separate subject matter must include moral feeling and moral doing. Moral education teachers must try to arrange various opportunities which help students develop moral emotions and experience moral behaviors.

Second, moral education in schools must be implemented in a closer relationship with home and community. Parents and communities are vital supporters for moral education of the youth (Lickona, 1991). Since the adoption of our modern educational system, moral education in Korea has become limited to the sole task of schooling. Thus, moral education teachers assumed a new challenging task. They must now reactivate the help of parents and communities to help students' moral growth.

Third, for moral education in Korea to be successful, it is necessary to change the highly competitive school atmosphere so that it becomes a moral, democratic community based on cooperation, caring, and fairness. School discipline must be fair. All teachers must be moral exemplars for their students. Teachers cannot be moral bystanders. School administration must be done in a moral, democratic manner.

Fourth, for increased quality of moral education, various teacher education programs must be implemented. Especially, special programs for unlicensed moral education teachers must be enlarged so that they can acquire necessary information and experience in moral education. Furthermore, at least in pre-service education, community service activities and group dynamics must become important parts of the required curriculum for prospective moral education teachers.

Fifth, for moral education to be effective, it is necessary to build a closer relationship between teacher educators in the university and teachers in schools. Effective integrating theory and practice is a crucial factor for the improvement of moral education both as a subject matter and as a schoolwide activity.

Implications for American moral educators

After almost two decades of neglect in American public school classrooms, moral education has moved back toward the forefront of curriculum concerns being addressed by school boards and educators across the nation. Signs of this revival are found the list of recently-published books and articles, state mandated curriculum guidelines, and reawakening debates over different approaches to moral education.

America's current resurgent concern over moral education may well be fueled by phenomena such as increases in violent teenage crime or fear that undesirable attitudes and values depicted in commercial entertainment media may come to dominate the lives of most citizens in our society. Regardless of the source of these concerns, policy decisions on moral education should be informed not only by America's own prior experiences, but also by the successful instructional practices used in other nations.

Even though there are substantial differences in race, culture, and tradition between Korea and the U.S., the Korean experience in moral education has great relevance to moral education in the United States.

Instead of getting bogged down in fruitless debates over whose values or which approach to take, it's time to change our intellectual perspective and build an effective moral education program modeled Korea's success and our own current thought and research on moral education in the United States. Here is what we must do.

1. *Establish consensus on civic morality.*

Despite our great social diversity substantial agreement exists in the core beliefs that undergird our constitutional democracy and on such basic citizenship values as human rights, participation, privacy, freedom, and equality.¹⁰ This basic agreement on core values may be extended to other important moral values by going through a consensus building process similar to the one described by Kirschenbaum (1995). These values must be explicitly taught through the analysis of historic events and through literature. More importantly, however, they must be practiced in the organization of the classroom and in the administration of the entire school system.

2. *Adopt a comprehensive approach to the development of civic morality.*

Ryan and Lickona's book (1992) offers substantial theoretical and empirical support for a comprehensive/infused approach to moral education that includes a specific attention to the development of social morality. Howard Kirschenbaum (1995) also advocates a comprehensive approach to values education. According to him, an approach may be termed comprehensive when it: (1) has comprehensive content, (2) is comprehensive in methodology, (3) takes place throughout the school, and (4) involves the entire community. For the school this means that teachings centered on public morality and civic values must routinely take place within all aspects of schooling as it naturally arises out of daily study and routines. Opportunities for this type of instruction naturally arise in the lunch line, in high school biology, in sex education, and in the United States history classes, to name only a few easily-imagined examples. The comprehensive/infused approach invites the entire community to contribute to the consensus building process and it involves community members in many instructional events that will be used to develop civic morality.

3. *Formalize a program of explicit instruction targeted on the development of civic morality.*

Korea's experience with the comprehensive/infused approach should be a lesson to us: explicit instruction on civic morality is necessary if we expect substantial and enduring outcomes in this area of schooling. At a minimum this means that school should formally develop, modify, or adopt an explicit curriculum that is defined by a developmentally based scope and sequence. A good place to start deliberation is with the Korean curriculum outlined in this paper. Beyond well defined conceptual content, however, this new curriculum must be supported with an adequate supply of instructional materials. Meaningful service learning and/or community service should be a significant part of this curriculum. Finally, some individual(s) within the school faculty must be given the responsibility for implementing this new curriculum.

4. *Begin offering moral education certification programs in the U.S. colleges and universities.*

It is time to initiate programs within the U.S. colleges of education that will provide an endorsement in moral education as an add-on certification to an existing teaching license. We do not suggest that we add a new field to our colleges of education as did the Koreans. Instead, we believe that we can quickly develop certification programs in moral education that would involve, ideally, both formal instruction and practicum experiences. Formal instruction should be offered in such areas as philosophy, religion, and democratic government. Students also take a specialized curriculum and methods course that focuses specifically on education for development of civic morality and includes a closely supervised hands-on practicum. Individuals who complete this

certificate program will be prepared to lead a school's or school system's efforts at educating for civic morality. Individual communities and school boards will carefully select and monitor the work of these graduates.

Conclusion

As long as educators try to teach students moral education is an unavoidable task. It is desirable that moral education permeates all the school curricula. In addition, all teachers must be the moral role-models for their students. Moral education in Korea is an important part of every subject matter as well as a separate, required subject matter. It is also undertaken through various extra-curricular activities.

In an ideal sense, the generalized or infused approach which permeates all the school curricula is the best thing we can do in moral education. However, it didn't work very well in Korea. No one paid much attention to moral education. Thus, Korean moral educators decided to implement moral education as a separate subject back in 1973. Moral education as a separate subject matter has its own historical roots in Korea. By the early 20th century, moral education was a separate course in traditional schools.

However, moral education as a separate subject matter still has several problems to be resolved. The partnership among schools, parents, and communities is urgently needed. Teacher education programs must be enlarged for those who don't still have legitimate licenses for moral education. The moral education class must be changed so as to attract students' active involvement. The identity of moral education as a separate subject matter must be strengthened. Both classrooms and schools must be a moral, democratic community.

Even though there have been those problems to be solved, moral education as a separate subject matter has made the considerable contributions to the Korean society. It provided students with the systematic, comprehensive moral knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live in morally complex modern societies. It gave students to build the national identity & pride, patriotic attitudes, and a deep sense of community. It also gave Korean students the systemic ideological lens which enable them to choose democratic ways of life against the authoritarian, communist ways of life. Therefore, moral education as a separate subject matter has well functioned as a seedbed for generating a common moral ground among Koreans. It served as an important pathway to moral consensus in the Korean society.

The Korean experience in moral education has a great relevance to moral education in the U.S. Especially, the importance of moral consensus, a comprehensive approach to the development of civic morality, a program of explicit instruction targeted on the development of civic morality, effective teacher education programs for moral education, and the potential of service learning must be taken seriously by American moral educators.

Moral education is at once the most complex and the simplest, the most frustrating and the most rewarding, the most challenging and the easiest, task of the teacher. It is complex because of the number of conceptions (and misconceptions) of its purpose and because of the number of means to achieve the purpose that are in the field; it is simplest because there are straightforward and obvious things to that teacher can do to aid moral development. It is frustrating because the teacher is not, even in his own school, the only, or necessary the most important, influence on the child's development of character; it is rewarding because nothing can seem more important than the revelation of admirable qualities in a child that are the teacher inspired. It is challenging because the task is obviously centrally important and endlessly difficult; it is easy because the most effective procedure is to serve as a model of the sort of person the teacher would hope that the child should become (Pincoffs, 1986, p. 150).

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1. It has also a sub-textbook entitled "Guidelines to Moral Life."
2. Under the twin influences of Kohlbergian developmental theory and values clarification, moral education in Korea underscored the development of students' judgment in moral conflicts. Especially, the cognitive developmental approach to moral education had great influences on moral education as a subject-matter in Korea by the end of 1980s. Accordingly, traditional methods of moral education, such as inculcation or exposition of moral values, were severely criticized as a heritage of old times. In addition, the teaching of specific values has been disparagingly labeled as the "bag of virtues" approach, and values learned in an unreflective manner have been seen as a major source of psychological malaise among moral educators.

However, since the limits of the cognitive developmental moral education and values clarification were acknowledged among Korean moral educators, moral education was beginning to readjust itself in order to bridge a gap between moral judgment and moral behavior, and to integrate the ethics of virtue and the ethics of duty. Such approaches as the cognitive developmental approach and values clarification have been criticized for not teaching specific values directly and not transmitting cultural traditions fully across generations.

3. One unique characteristic of "Morals" in middle schools is that it includes a biographical study on moral persons.
4. In general, middle school students must meet 60 hours of community service projects before their graduation. High school students must meet 70 hours of community service projects before their graduation. Teachers grade students' service activities according to service hours, sincerity, and the quality of service activities. Each student's grade in service activity is included in his or her total scores of the entrance exam for both high schools and universities.
5. In general, teachers provide the two written exams for one academic semester, mid-term and final exam. The mid-term exam is taken during May and October, and the final exam is taken during July and December.
6. If there are several students who have the same scores, one student with the highest score in moral education among them will be accepted by high schools and universities.
7. For Koreans the process of learning begins where one seeks good teachers.
8. The limited numbers of students from other departments also have an opportunity to become a moral education teacher if and when they take the required courses in teaching profession and specialized courses for moral education.
9. Students must take part in the student teaching practice for five weeks.
10. See, for example Frymier, J. et. al. (1996). *Values on which we agree*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa International. and Butts, R. F. (1988). *The morality of democratic citizenship*. Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education.