Pakistan Economic and Social Review
Volume 60, No. 1 (Summer 2022), pp. 23-44

EDUCATION AS AN AGENT OF ECONOMIC CHANGE: THE CASE OF SOUTH KOREA AND PAKISTAN, BETWEEN 1960 AND 1980

YUNGHEE CHUN AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL CHAWLA *

Abstract. This study explores, investigates and analyzes the educational development of Korea and Pakistan in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, the two countries' economic policies and political conditions were similar. Until 1965, Pakistan's economic growth rate was higher than that of Korea, but since the mid-1960s, Korea's economic growth has surpassed that of Pakistan. Therefore, to understand the socio-economic development of these countries, it is crucial to historicize the two countries comparatively and dig into how Korea achieved economic growth faster than Pakistan. A critical feature of Korea's education policy in those days was that it was generally designed to provide human resources suitable for the stage of economic growth. The underlying hypothesis is that the expansion of education in Korea progressed sequentially from primary to secondary and higher education. Accordingly, it was possible to supply a workforce suitable for the stage of its industrial development. However, Pakistan did not prioritize the education policy and focused on higher education rather than primary education. The study argues that investment that prioritizes basic education serves as an engine of socio-economic change and can positively affect economic growth and accommodate innovation in the industrial sector.

Keywords: Korea, Pakistan, Education Policy, Education Expenditure, Economic Growth

---

*The authors are respectively Ph.D. Scholar and former Dean of Arts & Humanities / Director Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore – Pakistan.
Corresponding author's e-mail: joice415@gmail.com

Note: This article is mainly derived from PhD thesis of the author under the supervision of the co-author.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s, the economic policies and political conditions of South Korea[1] and Pakistan were similar, and the economic growth rate of Pakistan was higher than that of Korea by 1965. However, there were some differences in education policies between the two countries in the early days.

Education is the engine of change in many respects, including socio-cultural, political and economic spheres, but this study focuses on economic development. The development of education and human capital contributed to economic growth in Korea. In the early 1950s, the Korean government invested heavily in primary education and successfully launched a national campaign to eradicate illiteracy. In Korea, as compulsory primary education reached the completion stage in the 1970s, investment in primary education decreased, and investment in secondary education began to increase gradually. However, in Pakistan, as the government's investment focused on higher education rather than primary education, the growth of primary education was slow.

Mostly, education has been recognized as a critical tool for economic and social development. Schultz (1961) argued that productivity is bound to increase when humans acquire new knowledge and skills through education. It is the core driving force for economic development. The raising of educational standards increases the productivity of the entire economy and national income.

The UNESCO (1974) report explains that the enthusiasm for education in Korea is a significant factor driving Korea's modernization. This report said that the phenomenal and rapid economic growth seen in Korea is based on human capital, and education has contributed to the production of intelligent and hardworking people.

Kim (1997) argues that education contributed to Korea's economic growth. The expansion of education showed a pattern corresponding to the change in Korea's industrialization strategy, making it possible to adequately supply the type of workforce required for each period of

[1] South Korea is officially known as the Republic of Korea. In this article, Korea refers to the Republic of Korea.

industrialization. In Korea, compared to other developing countries, the expansion of secondary and higher education was relatively restrained in the early stages of industrialization, and primary education expanded very rapidly. It not only provided a simple labour force but also contributed to increasing the productivity of the agricultural and informal sector labour force.

Papageorgiou (2003) conducted a cross-country regression of 80 countries to investigate the effect of human capital accumulation on economic growth. In this analysis, it is argued that primary education usually contributes to the production of final products, whereas post-primary education mainly contributes to innovation and imitation of technology.

McMahon (1998) argues that, in an analysis to understand the high economic growth of East Asian countries, an early expansion of secondary education is essential for achieving high investment rates and high economic growth rates, premising on receiving a universal primary education.

Birdsall, Ross, and Sabot (1993) analyzed the relationship between education and economic growth in Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Korea, suggesting that education investment has social and economic benefits and contributes to economic growth.

The underlying hypothesis of the study is that in Korea, sustainability in the education policy most probably enabled it to pursue economic policies, and thus the education policy became an agent of economic growth in the country. Therefore, it is crucial to find the satisfactory answer to the queries: education policies in Korea and Pakistan, how Korea took the lead, and why Pakistan lags. The study is historical, descriptive and analytical. As there are multi-dimensions of the causes and consequences of education developments, the study will use a holistic approach to get clear answers to the queries.

This study consists of five sections. Section II examines the characteristics of education that expanded along with economic growth during the reign of Park Chung-hee in Korea. Section III discusses the significant features of education policy during the Ayub and Z. A. Bhutto period in Pakistan. Section IV compares and reviews, based on UNESCO

data (1977 and 1989), the literacy rate, school enrollment rate, and government expenditure on education in both countries in the 1960s and 1970s. In conclusion, based on the comparison between the two countries, we examine the factors for education expansion in Korea and the slowdown in education growth in Pakistan.

II. MAJOR FEATURES OF KOREAN EDUCATION (1961-79)

KOREAN EDUCATION AND ORIENTATION

The modern education system in Korean society was introduced by the Japanese colonial administration. During the occupation of the Korean peninsula (1910-45), the colonial regime developed a modern education system with a focus on basic education, leading to a slow growth in secondary and higher education. Moreover, while creating a comprehensive system of public education in Korea, the colonial officials limited Koreans' access to upper-level education and placed them in inferior schools (Seth, 2005, p. 6).

Some studies say that Japanese colonial rule contributed to Korean education in that Japan introduced a modern education system and made efforts to expand Korea's primary education. However, it is challenging to find concrete evidence on how successfully these efforts have contributed to education in Korea (Lee, 1997).

When Korea was liberated in 1945, the foundation of its education system had become weak. Therefore, the Korean government sought to strengthen access to education. As a result, the Education Act was promulgated in 1949, and free compulsory education for elementary school (grades 1-6) was made mandatory for the citizens to obtain a minimum level of education (Lee, Kim & Byun, 2012, p. 305).

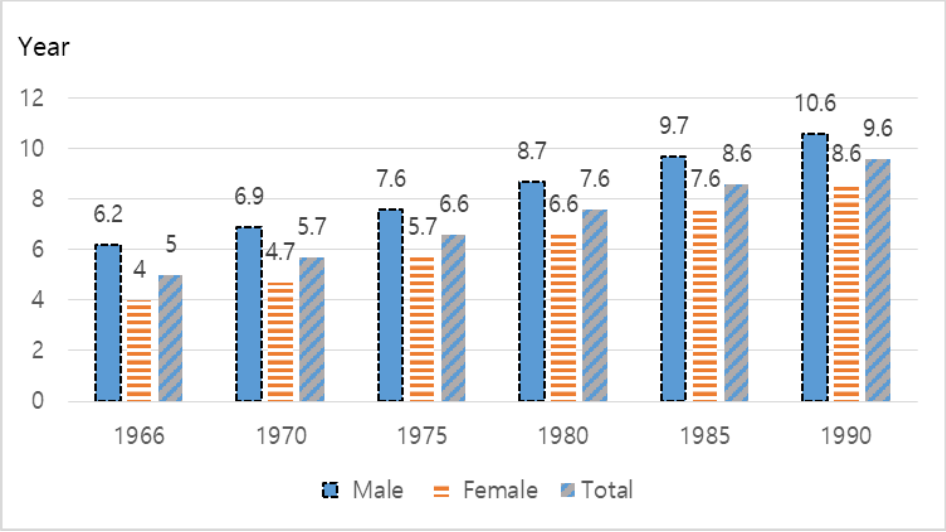
Although elementary education was made compulsory, the achievement of this goal was delayed due to the Korean War (1950-1953). Immediately after the war, the Ministry of Education launched a six-year program of compulsory enrollment in 1954 and also arranged an institutional framework to improve the quality of higher education in the late 1950s (Koh et al., 2010, p. 238). These changes sowed the seeds of a solid education system in Korea and bore fruits in the long run. Naturally then, the next decade saw more advancement in the educational sector.

A major goal of education in the 1960s was to provide an educated workforce to the economy. And the policy effort of the government has focused on spreading the opportunities for basic education to all eligible children. In addition, with the advancement of the industries in the late 1960s, it needed to increase the supply of skilled human resources, especially the vocational and technical workforce (Kim, 2002).

Accordingly, South Korea's education policy in the 1960s and 1970s focused on supplying human resources suitable for the stage of economic development. Figure 1 shows the average schooling years of education of workers. The average number of school years for males and females has risen to a similar level. The average schooling period increased by about 1.9 times between 1966 and 1990, from 5.0 to 9.6 years. It indicates that in 1975, the majority of the people completed primary school and went on to middle school.

FIGURE 1

Average Years of Schooling, 1966-90



Source: KEDI (1997) Educational indicators in Korea, 7; Ke-Young Chu (2010), 390

The Korean government emphasized primary education over secondary education to universalize basic education in the early days. However, Korea operated large classes due to a lack of educational facilities in those days (Lee & Kim, 2009, p. 42). This system was

intended to increase investment efficiency in teaching and accommodate school-age children as much as possible. These efforts made it possible to reduce the average number of students per class in primary schools from about 70 students in 1945 to about 59 students in 1960, as seen in Table 1.

In middle schools, during 1960-70, the number of students per class kept at 40-43. During the same period, in the high schools, the number of students per class kept at around 27-30. It means that education in Korea had not yet spread to secondary education in this period.

TABLE 1

Number of Student per Teacher

Type of School	1945	1952	1956	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Primary	69.3	66.5	61.2	58.6	62.4	56.9	51.8	47.5	38.3	35.6
Middle		37.4	44.8	40.7	39.3	42.3	43.2			
High	25.9	27.3	38.1	27.2	30.2	29.8	31.4	33.9	31.6	25.4
College	5.2	26.7	32.5	25.7	20.8	19.4	10.5			

Source: McGinn (1980), 51; Chu (2010), 391.

Education has played a critical role in Korea's rapid and sustainable economic growth, and the accumulation of human capital is one of the significant factors that have achieved fast economic growth. In the 1950s, educational facilities in Korea showed remarkable growth and enrollment in the formal education system increased rapidly at all levels (Suh, 1986).

The United States greatly influenced the rapid expansion of primary education in Korea. After liberation in 1945, the U.S. Military Government ruled South Korea and made great efforts to implement compulsory education, such as expanding facilities and securing financial resources. In addition, the Government believed that education was the most critical issue to building a democratic society in Korea. Therefore, the Government decided to implement compulsory primary education in public schools in September 1946 to consider the policy aspect of establishing Korea's democratic ideology as soon as possible. Since then, the number of students in public schools has increased dramatically, with 75 per cent of children attending public schools by the end of the U.S. military rule (Kim et al., 1980, pp. 110-111).

Another feature of U.S. education support is that technical assistance accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the FOA[2] investment during 1954-61, which was overwhelmingly higher than investment in equipment, facilities, and materials. At that time, the priority of the U.S. military government was to help Korea's economic development by strengthening higher education and secondary vocational education and supporting the establishment of research institutes (Kim & Kim, 2013, pp. 48-52).

After liberation, US aid and technical assistance played a decisive role in rapidly expanding Korea's primary and secondary education opportunities. In the early years of the government, 1945-1950, education expenditures were concentrated on the primary education sector. In the 1950s, the Korean economy was mainly self-sufficient based on agriculture and fisheries, and most of the labour demand was resource-based industries that elementary-educated workers could do. Therefore, education policy was an essential element of the reconstruction project to prepare for economic growth.

THE EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

The expansion of primary education in the 1950s was closely related to the country's economic development during the 1960s and 1970s. The rapid universalization of primary education in the 1950s provided an abundance of low-skilled workers for the labour-intensive industries of the 1960s, corresponding to the take-off stage of the Korean economy.

As the export-led development strategy in the Korean government was coming up rose, the foundation for high growth and rapid industrialization was laid. The basic direction of education policy at this period emphasized the quality of education and sought quantitative expansion of education, and the government made systematic efforts to fill the human resources required for industrial development through education. The efficiency of education investment, that is, the efficiency of a development strategy based on intermediate technology and human resources, became the basic guideline for the education budget (Woo & Lee, 1999, p. 8).

---

[2] In June 1955, the FOA (Foreign Operation Administration) was renamed the ICA (the International Cooperation Administration).

In the 1960s, the government increased the number of enrolled students and schools for educational development. Many vocational high schools were established to provide skilled technicians for the labour-intensive light industry. Korea allowed significant capital accumulation and investment in the education sector in this period. These investments played a substantial role in improving the Korean industry's ability to produce products using more sophisticated technologies (Suh & Chen, 2007, p. 7).

In the early 1970s, the Korean government shifted its industrial strategy from the existing export-led policy to the heavy and chemical industrialization (HCI) policy. However, in the 1970s, the Korean economy faced many difficulties due to two oil shocks and security concerns caused by North Korean provocations. Despite the negative impact on the HCI drive, the Korean economy maintained high growth momentum. During the implementation of the HCI, it began to demand more and more skilled workers and intermediate technicians.

The reinforcement of vocational education was significant in the education policy of the 1970s. During this time, a technical college was established to supply technicians for HCI. With the growing importance of junior colleges in higher education, programs were diversifying to meet the needs of the industry. Fostering and upgrading the existing education system has been one of the main directions of government policy (Woo & Lee, 1999, p. 14).

III. KEY FEATURES OF EDUCATION POLICY IN PAKISTAN (1958-1977)

EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

During British rule in India, the area of present-day Pakistan was relatively poor in education and infrastructure. At the time of independence, only 15 per cent of Pakistan's population was literate, and literacy rates were much lower in more backward regions such as Baluchistan. Primary school enrollment in West Pakistan was 600,000, almost half of East Pakistan. Moreover, only 5-6 per cent of school-age girls attended primary school. Pakistan had been facing poor conditions

since the early days of independence. Therefore, education was the most critical and indispensable part of developing a new country (Pakistan History and Background).

Early in gaining independence from British India, Pakistan promoted the light industry at the expense of rural populations in Punjab, East Bengal and Sindh (Belokrenitsky, 1991, pp. 295-296). During this period, the growth of the light industry sector centred on cotton began. However, the illiteracy rate in Pakistan was very high; in particular, adult illiteracy rates are very high compared to other developing countries. Adult literacy rates in Pakistan in 1960 and 1974 were 16 and 21 per cent, while average literacy rates in low-income countries were 29 and 38 per cent, respectively; that is, Pakistan is below the average of low-income countries. On the other hand, the adult literacy rate in Korea improved from 71 to 93 per cent in the same period (World Bank, 1978, p. 111).

In Pakistan, the literacy gap between males and females is enormous, as shown in Table 2. For example, in 1961, the literacy rate for females was 8.2 per cent, while the literacy rate for males was overwhelmingly high at 26.9 per cent.

TABLE 2

Literacy Rates in Pakistan: 1951-1981

Year	Total	Male	Female
1951	13.2	17.0	8.6
1961	18.4	26.9	8.2
1972	21.7	30.2	11.6
1981	26.2	35.0	16.0

Source: Banuri, Tariq et al. 'Human Resource Development' in Banuri, Tariq (ed), Just adjustment: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth (Islamabad, UNICEF, 1992); Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Economic Survey (Islamabad, various issues).

MAJOR EDUCATION POLICIES

Pakistan also recognized the importance of education and held the All-Pakistan Education Conference in Karachi between November 27 and December 1, 1947, right after independence. The conference proposed a variety of educational policies, including in the areas of

primary education and literacy. They considered literacy to be the most significant task of the state as well as suggested that education should be based on Islamic concepts. It should be mandatory for students to learn the basic principles of their religion, and there should be adequate integration of spiritual, social and professional elements in education (Siddiqui, 2021, p. 27).

During Ayub's reign, his government implemented business-friendly policies, emphasizing entrepreneurs as "engines of growth." Due to this effect, Pakistan achieved an average growth rate of 6-7 per cent (Wilcox, 1969, 87-93). Those days, although the Ayub regime came up with a new education policy, the most vulnerable part during the decade of this development was the education sector.

The Commission on National Education, launched by the Ayub regime in 1959, suggested the following recommendations; character development through compulsory religious education, second providing compulsory education for children aged 6 and 11 within ten years, and those aged 11 and 14 within 15 years. Third, the introduction of secondary-level technical and vocational subjects and the diversification of the curriculum to reinforce secondary-level technical education were emphasized. Accordingly, the government adopted the recommendations in the Second Plan (1960-65), especially on primary and technical education. The plan achieved about 96 per cent of the planned investment. However, there is still a long way to go to achieve the goals of primary and technical education (Khan & Mahmood, 1997).

After that, the Bhutto government recognized the functional inequality caused by the industrial policy of the Ayub government and announced a nationalization policy that pursued distributive justice. In addition, the government turned its attention to heavy industry rather than agriculture or consumer goods. However, as a result of the new policy, the GDP growth rate fell from 6.8 per cent in the 1960s to 4.8 per cent in the 1970s (Saeed, 2013, p. 54).

The Bhutto government nationalized the industries as well as many private educational institutions. In this period, Pakistan's education policy took a new turn. The characteristics of the 1972 education policy were consideration for the weak and the underprivileged. It also stated that the 1972 education policy aimed to eradicate illiteracy as soon as possible

through the universalization of primary education and large-scale adult literacy programs. For the universalization of primary education, a policy was proposed to provide free universal education to all children up to 10th grade in public and private schools (Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1970, p. 7).

In 1972, the government nationalized private schools under a new policy. Z. A. Bhutto had the simple view that private schools fostered elitism in society (Burki, 2005). The nationalization of private universities and schools took about two years. In the first phase, all private universities and nearly 3700 schools in Punjab and Sindh were nationalized by March 1974 (Pakistan Economic Survey 1973-74, p. 18).

Before his reign, the private school sector had increased in major urban centres in response to the needs of the middle class. However, the government did not compensate schools and school owners when the policy was implemented. Traditionally missionary-run institutions had maintained high academic standards and were opposed to concerns that financial support would not be sufficient. Deteriorating education standards were a factor in the urban middle class' opposition to the Bhutto government in 1977 (Talbot, 2009, p. 383).

Primary school enrollment declined to 5 per cent per year between 1965 and 1970, and this rate did not recover during the Bhutto period. The momentum of primary education lost in the mid-1960s has not been fully recovered. Significant responsibility for Pakistan's failure in primary education can be traced back to the 1972 education policy of the Bhutto government, which nationalized educational institutions. The management capabilities of the socialist government were excessively expanded, and as a result of the nationalization policy of the education sector, the financial resources of the education sector were distributed favourably to cities and higher education. Although this policy did not affect primary schools, it hindered the rapid development of basic education and literacy (Hassan, 2011, p. 383).

IV. EXPANSION OF EDUCATION AND EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES

In low-income countries where basic education is not universal, investment in primary education is generally preferred over higher education. Table 3 shows the primary and secondary education enrollment and economic growth rates in Pakistan and Korea for 1960-85. Pakistan's performance in primary education opportunities is much weaker than that of Korea. In the 1950s, Pakistan was already far behind Korea's enrollment rate, as shown in Table 3. Perhaps, compared with Korea, Pakistan's higher enrollment rate in secondary schools than in primary schools means fewer supply constraints in terms of teachers, which was a short-term advantage of Pakistan's early days (Birdsall, Ross & Sabot, 1993, p. 458).

The low primary education enrollment rate in Pakistan has to be something to the low spending on primary education in total education expenditure, as shown in Table 4. In Pakistan, the ratio of education expenditure in secondary schools was higher than that of Korea; however, the secondary enrollment rate is considerably lower than in Korea. It suggests that the allocation of education expenditure in Pakistan is not being done efficiently.

In Pakistan, the primary school enrollment rate increased from 30 per cent in 1960 to 53 per cent in 1985, and the secondary school enrollment rate increased from 11 per cent to 24 per cent during the same period (Table 3).

TABLE 3

Enrolment Rates, GDP per Capita and GDP per Capita Growth
(Pakistan and South Korea)

	Year	Pakistan	South Korea
	1950	16%	53%
Primary Enrollment rates	1960	30%	94%
	1970	44%	105%
	1985	53%	94%
	1960	11%	27%
Secondary Enrollment rates	1970	14%	42%

	Year	Pakistan	South Korea
	1985	24%	95%
	1960	$558	$690
Real GDP per capita	1980	$989	$2,369
	1985	$1,153	$3,056
Growth of per capita GDP	1960-1985	2.90%	6.10%
	1980-1985	3.10%	5.20%

Source: Birdsall, Ross, and Sabot (1993), 455.

In the case of Korea, almost 70 per cent of the total education spending was invested in primary education, and in 1960, the primary school enrollment rate reached 94 per cent. Although the government's expenditure rate for secondary education in Korea was lower than in Pakistan, the secondary education enrollment rate was higher than in Pakistan. In 1960, the secondary school enrollment rate in Korea was 27 per cent, but in 1985 it reached 95 per cent.

As shown in Table 4, Pakistan invested 30.3 per cent of its total education expenditure in primary education in 1965 and about 40 per cent in 1970. Since 1970, spending on primary education has maintained about 40 per cent of the total education expenditure. Interestingly, except for the middle school investment ratio in 1980 and 85, Pakistan's middle and high school spending ratios were higher than Korea's. For instance, in 1970 and 1975, spending on middle school education was 23.1 and 25.5 per cent in Korea, and 32.5 and 31 per cent in Pakistan, respectively.

On the other hand, Pakistan's spending on high school education is more than double that of South Korea. Expenditure on high school education in 1970 and 1975 was 8.3 and 7.3 per cent in Korea, whereas 16.4 and 17.3 per cent in Pakistan, respectively. Pakistan allocated more education expenses to high education than Korea. It may be due to differences in the basic concepts of education policies in the two countries.

TABLE 4

Government Expenditure on Education by Level in South Korea and Pakistan (Unit %)

		1965	70	75	80	85
South Korea	Primary	66.4	64.3	62.4	48.9	46.7
	Middle	22.2	23.1	25.5	33.2	36.7
	High	11.2	8.3	7.3	8.7	10.9
Pakistan	Primary	30.3	39.7	41.8	39.4	40.2
	Middle	–	32.5	31.0	31.0	26.0
	High	–	16.4	17.3	19.7	24.4

Source: UNESCO (1977), Statistical Yearbook; UNESCO (1989), Statistical Yearbook; YoungHwa Kim (1997), 290-291.

As such, one of the significant differences in education policy between Korea and Pakistan is the distribution of education expenditures. Table 5 shows the ratio of education expenditure to GNP. During 1965-80, spending on education in both countries to GNP was lower than the average for developing countries. During the same period, the average education expenditure as a percentage of GNP in developing countries was 3-4 percent, while both countries were below the average of developing countries. Although it was lower than the average of developing countries in the case of Korea, it is believed that the rapid expansion of education was possible thanks to the proper distribution of education resources and the efficiency of education expenditure.

In addition, Korean education was able to expand at a phenomenal speed because the private sector actively participated in the establishment of schools, and students and their parents paid a considerable portion of the educational expenses (Kim, 1997, p. 293).

TABLE 5

The Ratio of Education Expenditure to GNP in South Korea and Pakistan (Unit %)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
South Korea	2.5	1.9	2.9	2.3	3.2
Pakistan	1.0	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.8
Developing countries		3.0	3.3	4.0	3.8
Developed countries		5.2	5.7	6.0	6.0

Source: UNESCO (1977) Statistical Year book; UNESCO (1989), Statistical Year book; Pakistan Economic Survey (1976-77) and (1979-80); YoungHwa Kim (1977), 282; YongBong Kim (1976), 29.

Table 6 shows the ratio of education to government expenditure. Regarding education expenditure on government expenditure, the East Asian group maintains a reasonably high level. In particular, in Japan, education expenditure accounts for more than 20 per cent of the government budget. In Hong Kong also, except for 1965, education expenditure accounts for more than 20 per cent of the government budget. In Korea, except for 13.9 per cent in 1975, it is maintained at around 16-17 per cent. Education expenses, which account for a significant portion of the Korean government's budget, increased rapidly in the late 1950s. It suggests that East Asian countries, which achieved rapid development since the 1960s, have invested heavily in education to develop human resources. Pakistan's share of education expenditure, maintained at 4-5 per cent during 1965-1975, is lower than that of Korea, which is 14-17 per cent. In addition, in the case of India, more than 10 per cent of the government budget was invested in education.

TABLE 6

The Government Expenditure on Education in South Korea and Pakistan (Unit %)

	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
(East Asian Group)					
South Korea	15.6	17.0	13.9	17.3	18.8
HongKong	14.8	22.8	20.7	25.5	23.0
Japan	22.7	20.4	22.6	–	–
(South Asian Group)					
Pakistan	5.3	4.2	5.2	–	–
India	9.2	10.7	11.6	-	13.0

Source: UNESCO (1977), Statistical Yearbook; UNESCO (1989), Statistical Yearbook; YoungHwa Kim (1997), 290-291.

Table 7 shows the ratio of public education expenditure to GNP in East Asian and South Asian groups. In 1965, public education expenditure on GNP in both countries was about 1.8 per cent, ranking 81st out of 90 countries (Chung, 1994, p. 215), which was very low compared to other developing countries. Overall, Korea was slightly higher than Pakistan but lower than the average for the East Asian group. It was not until 1980 that Korea became more elevated than the average of the East Asian group. On the other hand, Pakistan's public education spending has consistently been lower than Korea's. In 1970 and 1980, Korea's public education expenditure as a percentage of GNP remained relatively constant at 3.7 and 3.2 per cent, and in Pakistan at 1.7 and 1.5 per cent.

TABLE 7

Ratio of Public Education Expenses to GNP (Unit %)

	1965	1970	1975	1980
East Asian Group				
Korea	1.8	3.7	2.4	3.2
HongKong	2.5	2.9	3.3	2.2
Singapore	4.3	3.1	2.9	2.4

	1965	1970	1975	1980
Japan	4.3	3.9	5.5	3.9
South Asian Group				
Pakistan	1.8	1.7	2.3	1.5
India	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.7

Source: UNESCO (1977), Statistical Year book; UNESCO (1989), Statistical Year book; YoungHwa. Kim (1997), 284.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the "Human Capital" theory, this paper comparatively analyzed the educational situation of Pakistan and Korea in the 1960s and 1970s, inquiring about why Pakistan's economy lagged compared to that of Korea. It argued that the failure resulted from inconsistency in education policy and inefficiency of educational resources, while the Korean government was efficient in supplying human resources required at each stage of economic development through intensive investment in primary education and subsequent expansion of investment in secondary education. Furthermore, it showed the importance of investment in primary education to eradicate illiteracy, a prerequisite for economic development. With empirical data, it performed a historical approach to explain the correlation between economic growth and education. Moreover, it critically analyzed the Pakistan government's failure in eradicating illiteracy, although Bhutto's nationalization policies aimed for distributive justice.

After liberation in 1945, several factors stimulated the demand for education in Korean society. The most typical one is the land reform implemented in 1950. After the land reform, the traditional social class structure collapsed, and a new approach was needed. As the class structure collapsed, education was regarded as the primary key to rising social status due to Korean society's linguistic, ethnic, and cultural homogeneity. Also, in the 1950s, the government promoted an education policy focused on primary education to eradicate illiteracy. The rapid expansion of education is mainly attributable to the interplay of government education policies, development strategies, and socio-cultural factors.

What noteworthy about Korea and Pakistan's educational experiences is that there was no significant difference in economic growth rates between Korea and Pakistan in the 1960s. However, comparing the proportion of public expenditure on primary education in Korea and Pakistan to the total education expenditure, it can be seen that Korea allocates a very high percentage of education expenditure to primary education in the early stage of economic development. Therefore, low investment in education and allocation of educational expenses that do not prioritize primary education makes it challenging to expand primary education in Pakistan. In 1970, the spending of the Pakistan government on primary education was about 40 per cent, which is very low compared to 64 per cent in Korea, where primary education has already spread. One of the fundamental problems with education in Pakistan is that higher education, compared to primary education, continues to account for a large proportion of public education expenditure. The inefficient use of these resources has had a particularly negative impact on the primary education system.

Second, the government's political will is critical in expanding and developing education. Already in the 1950s, the Korean government prioritized spending on primary education. In addition, in the late 1970s, as compulsory primary education reached the stage of completion, expenditure on primary education significantly decreased. Since then, spending on secondary education has begun to increase. However, education expenditure in Pakistan was very different from that of Korea. Primary school enrollment rates rose slowly as government expenditure focused more on higher education than primary education. It suggests that investments that prioritize basic education positively affect economic growth.

Third, the timing of policy selection and efficient use of resources is also important. The emphasis of Korea's education policy shifted sequentially from primary education in the 1960s to secondary education in the 1970s and higher education in the 1980s. The government fostered low-skilled workers required for the labour-intensive export industry in the 1960s through the expansion of primary education in the 1950s. In the 1960s, as primary education became compulsory, the focus of education investment shifted to secondary education. As a result, the demand for a

technical workforce in the heavy and chemical industry was satisfied in the 1970s.

As such, Korea has maintained a highly efficient structure of education finance that utilizes limited finances efficiently compared to other developing countries. It is supported by the fact that the ratio of public education expenditure to GNP in Korea and Pakistan in 1965 was almost the same. On the other hand, it was challenging to implement systematic education policies linked to industrial growth in Pakistan because education policies changed whenever the government changed. The universalization of primary education in Pakistan is inevitably delayed because the social pressure on the expansion of primary education is low. The force of the ruling elite on the growth of higher education is higher than that of primary education.

In short, the study shows that education proved as an engine of socio-economic change in South Korea. Moreover, the hypothesis verifies that the expansion of education in Korea progressed sequentially from primary to secondary and higher education. The Korean educational policies in the 1960s and 1970s did not aim for the eradication of illiteracy but for nurturing engineers for the development of the heavy and chemical industry. In that respect, the deductive reasoning about the correlation between educational investment and decreasing illiteracy rate, therefore, educational investment plays an important role in reducing the illiteracy rate.

It also provided technical education to cater to the needs of the industries. However, Pakistan failed to prioritize primary education, and neither succeeded in eradicating illiteracy nor providing solid technical education. Though Pakistan was ahead in economic progress until 1964, South Korea took the lead because of its sustainability in the educational policies that became an engine of socio-economic change in the country.

REFERENCES

Belokrenitsky, V. (1991). Capitalism in Pakistan a History of Socio-Economic Development. New Delhi: Patriot Publishers.

Burki, S. (2005). Educating the Pakistani Masses: The World Needs to Help, the testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Committee. Retrieved from https://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/congress/2005 _h/050419-burki.pdf.

Chu, KY. (2010). Economic Development and Human Capital Formation in Korea. In Sung KJ. (Eds.), Development Experience of the Korean Economy, 379-415. Seoul: Kyung Hee University Press.

Finance Division (1974). Pakistan Economic Survey 1973-74, Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

Hasan, P. (2011). Learning from the Past: A Fifty-year Perspectives on Pakistan's Development. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Khan, A. and Naushin M. (1997). Education in Pakistan: Fifty Years of Neglect, The Pakistan Development Review 36:4, 647-667.

Koh, Y., Kim SK., Kim CW., Lee Y., Kim JS., Lee SY., and Kim YO. (2010). Social Policy. In SaKong I., and Koh Y. (Eds.), The Korean Economy; Six Decades of Growth and Development, 227-310. Seoul: KDI.

Kim, JK., and Kim, KS. (2013), Impact of Foreign Aid on Korea's Development. Seoul: Korea Development Institute.

Kim, GJ. (2002). Education Policies and Reform in South Korea. Washington D.C: The World Bank. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/ viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.196.5601&rep=rep1&type=pdf.

Kim, YH. (1997). Education and National Development in Korea 1945-1995. Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute, in Korean.

Kim, YB., Kim SB., Kim KY., McGinn N. F., and Snodgrass D. R. (1980). Education and Economic Development in Korea 1945-75. Seoul: Korea Development Institute, in Korean.

Lee, CJ., and Kim, WJ. (2009). Expansion of educational opportunities and quantitative growth. In Lee CJ. (Eds.), Korean Education 60 Years, 37-57. Seoul: KICE, in Korean.

Lee, CJ., Kim Y., and Byun S. (2012). The rise of Korean education from the ashes of the Korean War, Prospects 42:3, 303–318. DOI:10.1007/s11125-012-9239-5

Lee, JW. (1997). Economic Growth and Human Development in the Republic of Korea, 1945-1992. Occasional Paper 24, New York: UNDP.

McMahon, W. W. (1998). Education and growth in East Asia, Economics of Education Review 17:2, 159-172.

Birdsall, N., Ross D., and Sabot R. (1993). Underinvestment in Education: How Much Growth has Pakistan Foregone?, The Pakistan Development Review 32:4 Part 1, 453-499.

Ministry of Education and Scientific Research (1970). The New Education Policy, Government of Pakistan, Bengali: History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan.

Pakistan History and Background, Retrieved from httpp://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1141/Pakistan-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html.

Papageorgiou, C. (2003). Distinguishing between the Effects of Primary and Post-Primary Education on Economic Growth, Review of Developing Economics 7:4, 159-172.

Saeed, K. A. (2013). The Economy of Pakistan, Karachi. Oxford University Press.

Seth, M. J. (2005). Korean Education: A Philosophical and Historical Perspective. In Kim Y., Renaud R. Grinker R., and Larsen K. W. (Eds.), Korean Education 17-45. Retrieved from https://www2.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/docs/scap/SCAP24-KoreanEd.pdf

Suh, J., and Chen, D. H., (2007). Korea as a knowledge economy; Evolutionary Process and Lessons Learned, Washington: World Bank.

Suh, S. (1986). Development Strategies: The Korean Experiences, Working paper, Korea Development Institute.

Schultz, T. W. (1961). Investment in Human Capital, The American Economic Review 51:1, 1-17.

Siddiqui, S. (2021). Education Policies in Pakistan, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Talbot, I. (2009). Pakistan a Modern History. New Delhi: Foundation Books.

UNESCO (1974), Republic of Korea: Educational Services in a Rapidly Growing Economy, 2 Vols, Paris.

Wilcox, W. (1969). Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub, Asian Survey 9:2, 87-93.

Woo, C., and Lee JH. (1999). Efficiency of Korean Education: Myth and Mission. Seoul: Korea Development Institute.

World Bank, World Development Report 1978. Retrieved from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/5961/WDR%201978%20-%20English.pdf.