

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH KOREA (1950s -1987)

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จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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การศึกษาและการพัฒนาประชาธิปไตยในเกาหลีใต้ (1950s -1987)

นางสาวปณิตา กุญชร ณ อยุธยา



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

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ปณิตา กุญชร ณ อยุธยา : การศึกษาและการพัฒนาประชาธิปไตยในเกาหลีใต้ (1950s - 1987) (EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH KOREA (1950s -1987)) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ศ. ดร. ไชยวัฒน์ คำชู, 72 หน้า.

การวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ 1) เพื่อศึกษาเป้าหมายและเนื้อหาของการศึกษาในเกาหลีใต้ 2) เพื่อวิเคราะห์ว่าการศึกษามีผลต่อการพัฒนาประชาธิปไตยในเกาหลีใต้อย่างไร โดยใช้การวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพโดยการศึกษาผ่านเอกสารชั้นรอง ได้แก่ หนังสือ บทความ วารสาร งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้อง และข้อมูลจากอินเทอร์เน็ตที่เชื่อถือได้

ผลการวิจัยพบว่า หลังเกาหลีถูกแบ่งออกเป็นสองส่วน เกาหลีใต้ได้รับแนวคิดประชาธิปไตยจากสหรัฐอเมริกาซึ่งเป็นประเทศที่ปกครองเกาหลีใต้ในขณะนั้น ภายหลังจากเกิดสงครามเกาหลี เป้าหมายด้านการศึกษาของเกาหลีใต้จึงให้ความสำคัญกับการศึกษาเพื่อพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจ ทั้งนี้ ผลจากการขยายตัวทางเศรษฐกิจ ทำให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางโครงสร้างทางสังคม มีการขยายตัวทางการศึกษา ก่อให้เกิดกลุ่มชนชั้นกลาง แม้เศรษฐกิจจะขยายตัว แต่เกาหลีใต้ยังอยู่ภายใต้การปกครองระบอบเผด็จการ ทำให้เกิดความไม่พอใจรัฐบาลเผด็จการ โดยเฉพาะการแพร่ไปยังสถานศึกษา ส่งผลให้เกิดความเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองที่มีนักศึกษาเป็นแกนอย่างต่อเนื่อง โดยมูลเหตุที่ทำให้ขบวนการนักศึกษามีผลช่วยให้เกิดความเป็นประชาธิปไตยคือ แนวคิดหัวก้าวหน้าและขบวนการนักศึกษาเป็นการจุดประกายในการเรียกร้องประชาธิปไตยในสังคมเกาหลีใต้ ในที่สุดในปี 1987 รัฐบาลเผด็จการก็ไม่อาจต้านทานพลังเรียกร้องประชาธิปไตยจากประชาชนได้ จึงถือเป็นอันสิ้นสุดระบอบการปกครองเผด็จการอำนาจนิยมที่ยาวนานของเกาหลีใต้

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This research aimed 1) to examine the objectives and content of the education in South Korea 2) to analyze how the education has effected democratic development. Most of the data in this research is descriptive secondary academic data. Therefore, the research includes information from books, previous studies, journals, information from the Internet with reliable sources and statistical data. After, Korean peninsula was divided into two parts, South Korea was under the control of The U.S. This is the significant factor that influenced the different ideology of North and South Korea in politics. After Korean War the goal of the educational program at that time was to provide an educated workforce in the economy. Economic growth caused social changes, expanding of education, and middle class. Even economy at that time was growing, South Korea was still under dictatorial government which created dissatisfaction especially among educated people. This resulted in political movement that led by students. The formation of student movement had propelled South Korea to become democratic country with the following reasons. Firstly, the progressive ideas of the students. Secondly, the student movement sparked the demand for the democracy in South Korea. In 1987, military government could not resist people's power crying for democracy and this brought the end of long last dictatorial government in South Korea.

Field of Study: Korean Studies

Student's Signature

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Advisor's Signature

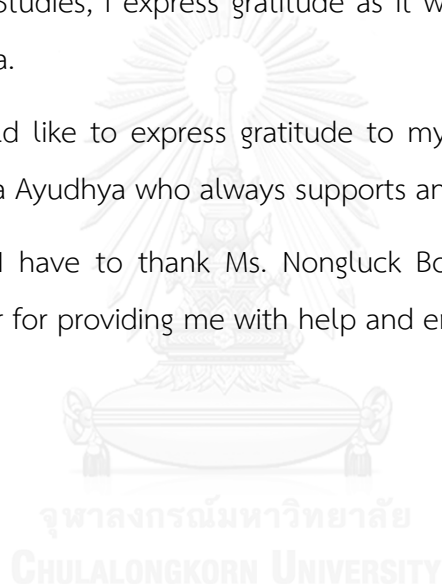
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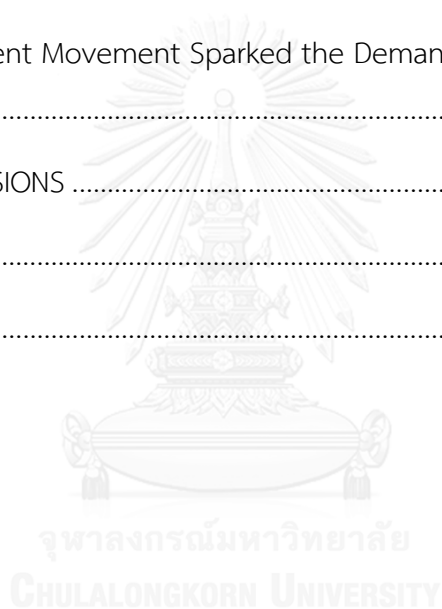
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

Education is one of the most significant factors for the development of any country; it is a process that can directly influence and improve human resources. South Korea is an example of a country that has high quality education. This has been an important factor in the change from a poor nation to the advanced economy that it boasts today. South Korea had a similar economic status to Thailand during the 1960s, manufacturing low-quality products and undergoing political turmoil, like many other countries in the region. Nowadays it has overcome these obstacles and both industry and economy have developed rapidly.

The country was colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945. The Korean Peninsula was then divided, with the north controlled by the Soviet Union and the south by the United States. This significant factor influenced the different political ideologies of North and South Korea, affecting economics, society, and education. Education in North Korea held fast to communism and resisted capitalism. In contrast, South Korea was taught to resist communism, as education here was influenced by the United States. The Korean War (1950-1953) was one of the worst periods of Korean history, and disastrous for the Korean Peninsula. People of the same nationality fought against

each other. The effects of war ravaged both North and South Korea; they were ranked the poorest countries in the world, as they only had limited natural resources. Education became the only option that could resurrect South Korean status. Fortunately, Korean people are very willing to learn; education has had precedence since ancient times, following an ethical and philosophical system known as Confucianism. Koreans have an enthusiasm for education as they believe that knowledge can raise their status in society. This belief has caused the present day 'Education Fever' in South Korea. The popularity of education has created vast human resources, and this has not only promoted the development of the economy, but also contributed to the democratic birth of the country.

The United States encouraged South Korea to pursue the path of democracy. However, the first President Rhee Syng-man did not strictly follow democratic procedures. There was a constitutional amendment that allowed the President to remain in power for as long as he wished, or could. Attempts were made to eliminate political rivals. The population became increasingly dissatisfied with the government, and this led to civil unrest. The government rigged the Vice-Presidential elections in March 1960, and a student led revolution in April resulted in the resignation of President Rhee. However, dictatorship did not disappear. After the overthrow of the Rhee administration, a civil government was installed by Prime Minister Chang Myon

but this did not last long. On 16th May 1961, a military coup was staged by General Park Chung-Hee who seized power.

During the Park Chung-hee regime, the economy grew steadily, especially in heavy industry. There was another constitutional amendment, which allowed the leaders to stay in power. This caused unrest among the political opposition, students, and citizens, however Park Chung-hee followed through with his plan. The Yushin Constitution, adopted in October 1972 gave total power to the President. It also abolished the current Constitution, announcing an Emergency Decree. Park became caretaker President with no fixed term. He dissolved the National Assembly and other political parties, prohibited any political activities, and suppressed freedom of expression. President Park Chung-hee was assassinated on 26th October 1979 by his own Security Chief after 18 years in power. The South Korean people hoped that their country would be free from dictatorship. Unfortunately, their hope was ill-founded, and dashed when Chun Doo-hwan staged another military coup in December 1979. This caused the students to lead a protest movement in Gwangju. In May 1980, Chun Doo-hwan announced Martial Law, and sent crack military troops with tanks and helicopter gunships to close down Gwangju and brutally suppress the protest. Several hundred activists were killed and many people were reported as lost. The oppressive government of President Chun Doo-hwan continued until June 1987, when it was faced with a massive uprising by the students, citizens, labor movements, and opposition

parties such as the New Korea Democratic Party. Chun Doo-hwan could not resist the protestors' demands, and the Constitution was amended with the election of a President for one five year term only.

It is the value and government support of education which creates the expansion of learning, and increases the number of students. South Korea followed the United States' model of education that creates individualism of demand in expression of thought. The focus was on human rights, the standard of living, and also the demand for a liberal democracy. The contradiction between the identification of the state with democracy, and the realities of an authoritarian government resulted in widespread discontent with the political use of education. Research has revealed that patterns of demand for involvement in politics create 'student movements', which then become a public voice and clamor for democracy. Incidents such as the April Revolution in 1960 which overthrew Rhee Syng-man, the anti-Yushin campaigns of the 1970s, the Gwangju Uprising in 1980, and the June Democratic Uprising in 1987 were all milestones and turning points in the history of South Korea and the move forward to democracy. It was a long road and hard fought bitter struggle that led eventually to the collapse of the dictatorial system.

Therefore, the researcher decided that the best period to study was between 1950 and 1987, when South Korea followed a true Democratic Constitution. How was the education in South Korea during this time? How did education affect South Korea's

democratic development? Thus, this essay looked at the Education and Democratic Development of South Korea between 1950s and 1987.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What role did education play in the democratic transition in South Korea?
2. How does education affect political movements in South Korea?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To study education and its effect on the political movement in South Korea during 1950s-1987.
2. To examine the objectives and content of the education in South Korea.
3. To analyze how the education has affected democratic development in South Korea.

1.4 Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that education is a key factor in democratic development in South Korea.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study examines how education in South Korea influenced political movements with the focus from 1950s – 1987, which was the age of President Rhee Syng-man, Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan. In 1987 was the important turning point that changed from dictatorship to democracy of South Korea.

1.6 Research Significance

To understand how education in South Korea has developed along with its effects on political development in South Korea.

1.7 Research Methodology

This research mainly used descriptive and analytical methods drawing on primary sources and secondary data from books, research, journals, internet resources, and information related to South Korean education and politics.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters as follows:

The first chapter provides a background, rationale and objectives as well as research questions, research objectives, hypotheses, scope of the study, research significance, and research methodology.

The second chapter presents information about related theories and the literature review.

The third chapter presents the characteristics of education and politics under authoritarian rule in South Korea.

The fourth chapter analyses how the student movement affected the development of democracy in South Korea.

The fifth chapter presents the conclusion which aims to address the research question.



CHAPTER II

RELATED THEORIES AND LITERATURE REVIEWS

In the study of education and democratic development in South Korea, the following conceptual framework will be employed.

2.1 Education and Democracy

History tells us that before any country can become a democracy it must first be ruled by authoritarianism (O'Donnell 1986). The transition to democratic rule is determined by many factors. Education is one of the most important attributes for developing democracy, and spreading the ideology of democratic systems. Many scholars believe that education and democracy are related; people are not born with democratic ideals, they have to be learned, analyzed, and then practiced.

One of the most widely accepted elements of an effective democratic state is its education system. Democracy is much more than merely a type of government, as aptly stated by John Dewey. Rather, democratic governance in any successful form requires its citizens to live collaboratively, while at the same time broadening their perspective about the various aspects of living, including the race, class and social status of the other members of the democracy. Dewey dictated that individuals should consider what was external to their established and cultural barriers as a requirement

of education. Further, he allowed that the universal concerns of the entire population should be intrinsically connected to individual attentions (Dewey 1916).

Education has long been seen as an essential component of the democratic state. John Dewey stated that democracy is more than just a form of government. It is “a mode of associated living”, that requires citizens to extend their definition of the group with whom they share an interest, breaking down the barriers of clan, race, and class. Dewey defined education as the requirement for people to see outside traditional and cultural barriers, and define their individual interests as tied to a broader community of concerns (Lipset 1959). Martin Lipset, perceived education as important for economic growth and the promotion of democracy. He asserted that education can change the attitudes of individuals to be open-minded and restrain from violence. Education can also increase the quality of logical decision; it enlightens people to trust in the importance of democracy and support democratic principles and activities (Lipset 1959). Lipset stated, “if we cannot say that a high level of education is a sufficient condition for democracy, the available evidence suggests that it comes close to being a necessary one.” (Acemoglu 2009)

People’s level of education is a formative factor in their capacity to consent to democracy as a just form of government while rebuffing governance in its other forms, as rationalized by Evans Geoffrey and Pauline Rose. Interference in support of the development and stability of democracy is significantly influenced by education, which

affects attitudes more so than other societal elements. Additionally, an education system has a sustaining role in reinforcing endorsement for the principles of democracy. This is accomplished to a degree by allowing improved access to media by well-informed citizens. Essential to the appearance of democratic points of view is media access and the intellectual capacity for information. (Evans 2007) Sungsoo Kim suggested that economic development encourages society to become democratic, and supports the working and middle classes. These groups stand up for their rights, and oppose government authority. Economic development changes the social structure, and the middle classes are pivotal in the push forward for democracy. Therefore, the quality of education for middle class people is an important factor in the development of democracy (Kim 2008).

Daren Acemoglu and others suggested that education is essential for democracy. In particular, higher education is essential for democracy and is a major cause of democratization. Education promotes democracy because study makes it possible to develop a culture of politics and is also the conductor of wealth (Acemoglu 2009).

Edward L. Glaser and others argued that education and democracy are highly correlated. Education teaches people to interact with each other and causes civic participation, including voting and organizing. Civic participation is more supportive to democracy than dictatorship. It increases the possibility of democratic revolution

against dictatorship and reduces the probability of a successful coup against democracy. We can see that the results of better education can be the political movement of students, as in the case of the South Korean students who gathered and overthrew the government of Rhee Syng-man in 1960. In addition, they noted that the more educated people will support democracy if democracy can be stable. Moreover, higher education indicates a change from authoritarian rule to democracy but not vice versa (Glaeser 2007)

The Albert Shanker Institute promotes discussion and sponsors research for improving the public education system. The Institute noted that democracy is the worthiest form of human governance ever conceived. They believe that liberty, self-governance, and dignity are the natural birthright of all people. The Institute stands for human dignity, freedom, equal rights, social and economic justice, the rule of law, civility and truth, tolerance of diversity, mutual assistance, personal and civic responsibility, self-restraint, and self-respect. The belief and understanding of all these ideologies must be taught and practiced (Albert Shanker Institute 2003).

There is a connection between education and the demand for involvement in politics. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba believed that education is the most important civic culture and democracy involvement. They stated, “an uneducated man or a man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education.” Education is crucial for political engagement;

it creates, spreads, and instills political ideology. The benefits gained from involvement in political activities can be seen from the results of student education, which is important in driving the democracy system in many countries. The students embrace the political atmosphere, and thereby encourage other members of society to become involved in the political movement (Almond 1989).

Students have taken a leading role in the democratic process in many countries. They are a strong voice when society breaks down, or when politicians show weak resistance to dictatorship. The factors that contribute to the student's role in political participation can be classified as follows: (Veerasaya 2008)

1. Increasing the number of universities. The number of universities has increased, and achieving higher education is now a universal condition. After finishing high school, students attend these institutions. More universities create more students. When a large number of students gather together, they create a very powerful force.

2. Increasing enrollment of students. University student bodies are much larger than they were before. Schools that were considered junior colleges are now being reclassified as universities. This leads to a breakdown in communication between the teachers and the students. The relationship is strained because of the size of the student population. Many issues stem from this strained relationship; students feel the need to rise up and protest to accomplish their agenda.

3. City location and university logistics. Most universities are positioned in cities where it is easier to find good teachers. The central location also provides an intellectual atmosphere. When universities are in close proximity to each other, the students feel the support from their communities. This causes them to become emboldened and demand change in the environment. There are many issues of concern, such as traffic congestion and the poor upkeep of the city. With high student density in such small areas, social media support networks become available to accomplish such changes.

4. Developing science and technology. Society is constantly evolving with new technological developments occurring daily. Some teachers have trouble keeping pace with this.

5. Marginalized student status. Students feel that their status in society is marginalized. They do not have rights or a voice, and this leaves them feeling powerless.

6. Psychological condition. The Ethic of Ultimate Ends is a theory expanded by Max Weber, a German sociologist at the turn of the nineteenth century. The theory of Ethic of Ultimate Ends stipulates that you always think of the vision of the future optimistically.

7. Influence from teachers. Students are influenced by their teachers to some extent. This is a common occurrence in society.

8. Influence from academic content. Humanities and social science students are inclined towards liberalism. Meanwhile, those studying pharmacology, medicine, engineering, or business are less interested in politics.

9. Influence from social background. American students who are not flushed with money often study engineering, accounting, or business management so that they can work while studying. This limits their time for extracurricular activities. Students who come from wealthy and well-respected families frequently choose to study liberal arts or social sciences; they are often inclined toward liberalism.

10. The history and tradition of university. Universities with a history of political activity often encourage new students to follow in the same tradition. This is referred to as Reference Group or Reference Point.

11. Personality in relation to the political awareness of students.

2.2 Literature Reviews

In Daniel Tudor's book, "Korea The Impossible Country", he explained about the "miracle on the Han River". The miracle is divided into two parts which are the success of economic development and the ability to change the political system

during a period complicated by the controversial issues between North Korea, the growth of China, and the influence of Japanese culture. South Korea had never been as prominent in the world as they are at the present. However, in terms of politics, South Korea can be a role model for other Asian countries because there are many countries enjoying economic success which are ruled by a dictatorship. Singapore and China are just two examples (Tudor 2012).

He stated that the reason why South Korea has a strong democracy is that they have their own Korean characteristics and history. Korean people have a great passion for education and they also produced the Hangul alphabet. This resulted in the better reading and writing skills of the Korean population. This also creates the opportunity for the general public to express their thoughts, and produces a culture of revolution and protest.

In terms of education and literacy, after the establishment of South Korea in 1945, only 5 percent of the population were high school graduates. Nonetheless, this number was increased to 90 percent by the 1990s. Every government has regarded education as an important key for national development. They have managed the educational equality policy, focusing on the importance of education starting with Confucianism. In the previous time, the Korean people used the Hanja alphabet which is complicated; only Yangban could study this kind of alphabet. Then in the beginning of the Choson period, Sejong the Great invented the Hangul alphabet to enable Korean

people to be able to read and write. The Hangul alphabet was also used to create religious books, and allow the dissemination of Christianity. Christianity promotes the belief that all humans are equal in God's eyes, differentiating itself from Confucianism which instills in people the belief in realizing their own status. Nowadays, the illiteracy rate of Korean people is zero. The people in society are interested in politics, are able to express their thoughts, and gain benefits from their educational system. They are educated to understand the duties of the regular citizen, such as the theory of politics, political history, and public management.

Gwang-Jo Kim did research on "Education Policies and Reform in South Korea". He presented the development, the change of policy, and the reformation to expand educational opportunities in South Korea focusing from the 1960s onwards, a period of rapid economic growth in South Korea. South Korea's education policy consists of free compulsory education, expansion of secondary education, vocational and technical education, and expansion of higher education. Kim divided the duration of education policy for the expansion of educational opportunities into two periods: the early 1960s until the mid-1970s, and then the mid-1970s to the early 1980s. The first goal of the educational program in the earlier period was to provide an educated workforce in the economy. The policy needed to evenly spread education to all eligible children. When the economy became more industrialized, the link between education and economic planning became more important. Educational programmes

then focused on science and technology. During the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, there was strong competition in higher education in order to enroll in universities. Therefore, educational reform during that time attempted to reduce stress, private tutoring and the cost of living, and add more subjects to the curriculum. Finally, the early 1990s the focus switched to the supply of quality manpower and excellence of education (Kim 2007).

Michael Seth, Professor of history at James Madison University, Virginia, USA, wrote a paper in 2012 entitled, 'Education Zeal, State Control and Citizenship in South Korea'. He stated that 'education fever' has assumed great importance in the advancement of society and the desire for a dynamic national contribution and involvement in public affairs. Prior to 1987 South Korea was ruled by authoritarianism, now however the politics can be compared with the western democracies of Europe and the USA. South Korea has always maintained close relationships with the USA in the areas of economics, politics, and education. These endeavors neglected to achieve backing and support for the authenticity of the Rhee administration, or the military juntas that succeeded it. However they did promote dependability for the state as a genuine beneficiary to the nation's national legacy, and to the beliefs of fairness and democracy (Seth 2012).

Before the establishment of the South Korean state in 1948, many of these goals were already being followed. However, public recognition, with the inclusion of

these ideologies in the national curricula, has generated universal acceptance. For most of its history the Republic of Korea has imposed political will over students. However the imperviousness of the scholars, teachers and the general public to dictatorship, opened the gates to a huge expansion in democratic participation. South Korea has become a radical, exuberant, and sometimes contentious society.

Education has developed political awareness among the working class, and enhanced the nations' industrial and urban development. Increased knowledge has paved the way for the energetic, robust, pluralist society, with active political engagement that we see in South Korea today.

Wichian Intasri conducted research on "Two Decades of Democracy Development in South Korea: Factors that Support and Hinder the Authoritarian Government." South Korea has been frequently referred to as a country in which democracy has been sustainably developed and remains stable. Its democracy started concretely in 1987 when the country was being ruled by the authoritarian government. The political leader suppressed the activist groups fighting for democracy as well as using dirty tricks to pass the constitutional amendment to maintain their power. However, the leader could not resist the public power, and therefore surrendered to the public demand for democratic reform during the big uprising in June 1987. After changing to democracy, democratic development of South Korea has been progressing

sustainably and would not return to authoritarianism. The factors fostering this development have been explained in this study (Intasi 2012).

Thanks to the continuous activities conducted by the public movement or Civil Society, the political leader could not resist pressure to change the policy in accordance with the public demand. Although the Civil Society was considered as the key figure in fighting for democracy in this country, it cannot be denied that economic and social changes have influenced the quantitative and qualitative growth of the Civil Society. This could be seen from the economic situation during Park Chung-hee's government which fostered the emergence of many fields of professionals. Some of them have been granted educational opportunity and became the middle class people while others lacked then opportunity to study and became laborers. However, both groups had a common standpoint which was to see the political change. They believed that authoritarianism could not solve any problems since the public were blocked from participating in political activities and ignored by the government. In addition, the success in economic development in South Korea resulted in better income and quality of life of the public. These are key factors supporting democratic development in this country.

Thus, from the above-mentioned, previous research relating to the study of education and democratic development has mostly concentrated only on the importance of education to democracy. No studies have examined the connection

between education and the development of South Korea. Therefore, this research shows that the value of democracy concept inherited in education of South Korea. The authoritarianism government also ignited the political movement, particularly those among well educated college students, which later led to disruptive change in the South Korean politics history.



CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN SOUTH KOREA

Education has played an important role in terms of the change of South Korea from being the poorest country in the world after the Korean War to becoming a leading industrial country, due to the support of the development of human resources in order to reform the country and to develop the standard of the country to be able to catch up with the developed countries. Because of this, the education of South Korea has faced a lot of changes and has been developed according to the prevailing governmental policy in each period, by which the government would determine the direction of the country's education in terms of quality and quantity.



3.1 The Effects of Confucianism on Education and Politics in South Korea

Confucianism, taking root in China, has played an important role in the politics, economy and society in South Korea for more than 500 years. During the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910), Confucianism was the concept underlying the guidelines for ruling the people and managing the education. It can be said that Confucianism flourished the most during the Choson Dynasty. Focusing on ethics and morale, honesty, loyalty and righteousness, Confucianism was instilled in the commoners. This doctrine, in particular, stresses the importance of education. It encourages people to be

academically inquisitive because it believes that education is similar to a ladder to social success – moving to a better position and acquiring social power (Ministry of Education Republic of Korea 1984). This social value is considered a cultural heritage that has stemmed “Education Fever” (Lee 2006), a unique characteristic of South Korean society. This fever was a key that helped revive this country after the Korean War and upgrade South Korea to be a leading industrial country.

During the Choson Dynasty, an examination was thought to be the tool for social progress but in fact the family – i.e. social background – of each test taker determined his/her success. If the test takers passed the examination, they would be a Yangban, or a noble class. Although there was not a rule saying that only the Yangban could take the test, only the Yangban could do so to be government officials. The commoners rarely had a chance to pass the test. Only the elite descendants could take advantage of this because they were sent to a good school and their family background was good; as a result, most of those who passed the test were the Yangban. It seems that the examination was reserved for the Yangban only. The commoners could upgrade themselves only to the local administrative if they could pass the test but only a few could. The test was a mechanism to assign positions for civil servants and to prepare those who would like to take the test. The elite families devoted everything to the ‘education fever’. The ‘education fever’ during that time represented the desire to preserve the political privileges of the Yangban and their

family honor. After the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910, the Yangban system was weakened but the importance of education and examination has been passed on and at present the opportunity to have access to education is not limited only to the elite due to a change in politics, the economy and society. Education has also improved the people's living and career success; as a result, everyone strives for education to better their standard of living.

In addition to education, Confucianism puts emphasis on social unity based on five social relationships – ruler and subject, father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and between friends. The first three kinds of relationships are vertical ones that are strict and the expression of loyalty varies. They indicate gratefulness and respect to each other (Oh 2004) especially the relationship between ruler and subject. The subjects have to obey and be loyal to the ruler, in addition to serving and paying respect to the ruler. These relationships are hierarchically structured, thus creating inequality. At this point, it seems that Confucianism contradicts democracy because the former puts emphasis on the privileged, resists changes and fosters the social hierarchical relationships. Confucianism is the foundation of political culture in Korea, which supports authoritarianism. Participation in political decision making by the people is limited, resulting in no support for an establishment of an opposition party in Korea. During the first period of being a republic country, South Korean people were not used to being exposed to different

political views. They, therefore, questioned the establishment of an opposition party. However, having different political opinions is a means for people to inform the government of their opinions. It can be concluded that from the early 1950s to 1960s, Confucianism influenced the South Korean people's beliefs and attitudes so much that the government did not pay attention to the public participation in politics; hence, South Korea had been under authoritarianism for a long time.

3.2 The Education of South Korea

After the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the government committed to develop the country as soon as possible. Therefore, the Korean administration began to build strong human resources by making education a priority because education would have an important role in overcoming the crises faced by the country (Shin 2011). Moreover, education has been a significant factor for the country's development after the war, especially for economic development. The government invested more than 10% of their budget in education as they thought that it would be a crucial part of restoring the nation (Kim 2010). The education reformation, which targeted revival, defence and the antagonization of communism, was initiated under the “Wartime Education Policy”. In addition, they started to use the anti-communist education slogan, “Improvement in Anti-communism Education Contents and Simplification of Lifestyle” (Yoon 2014). The government gave people equality in education, and tried their best

to reduce the numbers of uneducated people in order to improve the citizenry and ignite a common ideology among people.

The administration began the mass education system by implementing compulsory education for the six primary education years. The expansion of education opportunities for secondary and higher education also increased the number of schools, universities and teacher's colleges. Such opportunity was a dream comes true for the Korean people since their long period of Japanese colonization. The government managed to hold the national entrance examination for junior high school in 1953 (Sorensen 1994). The period was considered very effective and successful for compulsory education. In the year 1960, the rate of educated people was 70%, which was 3 times greater than in the year 1945 (Robinson 2007). The increasing rate of education in the population also guaranteed the increase of political consciousness in society as well. Moreover, the government established the national state university system which was used in many colleges including Seoul National University, Yonsei University, Korea University, and Ewha University. These universities were established after the Korean War and became the top national universities. The universities clustered in Seoul intensified the political ideology of the people and students.

Later on in Park Chung-hee's administration, his aim to make South Korea an industrial society was driven by the Modernization Theory. The government changed their development strategy from import-substitution to an export-oriented strategy,

and emphasized industry more than agriculture. President Park Chung-hee's export-oriented policy brought about an expansion of economic growth, per capita income, standard of living, and education opportunities. Skilled labourers who graduated from higher education were attracted to the industrial sector and to the cities. To comply with the economic development policy, the government made an effort to harmonize educational and economic strategies together in order to achieve the targeted education growth in terms of quantity. In the 1950s to 1960s, the Republic of Korea efficiently developed human resources by proceeding gradually to improve secondary and higher education. The private sector also played a significant role in planning the higher education curriculum to guarantee the quality of skilled labour that would enter the workforce in the future.

An outstanding characteristic of Korean education development in the beginning of the 1960s is the remarkable expansion of every education level (Jones 2013). In particular, the government pushed for higher education development as much as for industrial support as both sectors are important factor for any nation's growth. The Korean administration established at least one university for each province nationwide (Yoon 2014). The national entrance examination for junior high school was cancelled, and that raised the number of schools rapidly. In the period of the 1960s – 1970s, South Korea focused on export products which were produced by the labour force and developed into products by using the country's growing technological

knowledge. Such production contributed to the increasing employment levels and higher wage rates. The government's economic policy required a well educated and qualified labour force. Therefore, the government implemented a human resources development policy into the education policy. The education policy of Park Chung-hee's administration emphasized three things; Independence, Productivity and Practicability. There was also an education reform for vocational and technical education to become compliant with the demand for skilled workers from the chemical and heavy industries. The purpose and content of Korea's education development under Park Chung-hee focused on economic development as we can see from the slogans used at the time: "education for economic development" and "education that contributes to modernization" (Kim 1987).

By the later part of the last century, the student population had grown considerably, as a consequence of three factors. First, the baby boom immediately following the end of the Korean War caused significant overall population growth. Second, the national literacy rate reached 98%, and third, over 30% of all students graduating from high school continued into further education. The period from 1965 – 1985 saw young Koreans granted ever increasing opportunities to enter the formal education system, and the rate of those taking up this opportunity soared from 35% in 1965 to 90% by 1985. The major cities, especially Seoul, were at the forefront of this educational revolution (Katsiaticas 2012).

Figure 1: College Students in South Korea, 1945-1993

Year	Number
1945	7,800
1952	34,000
1971	195,000
1986	1,242,000
1993	2,100,000

Source : George Katsiaficas, 2012: 258

In the 1970s, education contributed not only to economic development. After Park Chung-hee's declaration of the Yushin Constitution, the courses and textbooks were controlled by the government. All contents would support the military government's righteousness, especially for subjects relating to social studies in primary and secondary school. The government claimed that the reason for this level of control was to ensure effectiveness in the education system, economy, and anti-communism. Moreover, there was also an additional military training course required for everyone. The course was conducted by soldiers sent from the administration to the colleges. Many students opposed the policy because it obstructed democratic

consciousness (Lee 2012). The government responded by sending troops to these schools. Later in 1974 – 1975, Park Chung-hee issued a decree to control the anti-military demonstrations, and sent troops to be stationed in Seoul and to the universities. The Ministry of Education at that time expelled students who led the political movement and sent them to military bases for conscription. The government closed down the universities and arrested students who were linked to anti-government activities. The right to express their ideas was severely limited; universities' rally activities were also prohibited, and the arrested students were tortured to force them to admit their crimes. There was a policy by the Minister of Education to verify the new students before accepting them. Those actions from the military government raised frustration among both university students and the general public.

3.3 Political Indoctrination

After Korea was divided into two countries, the southern part was controlled by the US (The United States Army Military Government - USAMGIK) during 1945 – 1948. That period is considered a crucial period for South Korea's history. In addition, at that time during the cold war between the US and the USSR, the two powerful nations wanted Korea to uphold their own political ideology. Therefore, the US spread its democratic ideology to society, and built up the anti-communist state in South Korea in order to set it apart from the Soviet communist ideology. Such political

ideology did affect the Korean education system as the US democratic education model was used to adjust the Korean education system (Lee 2002). The education policy at that time was aimed at supporting democracy and anti-communism by giving all people the right to an education, and by implementing the policies of compulsory education and adult education (Yoon 2014).

The significance and fascination with education considered by the majority of Korean families offered the government the opportunity to implement ideological training and secure its dominance of society, a feat accomplished only because universal primary education had for the most part been realized by the end of the 1950s. Following the formation of a Student Defense Corps (Hakto Hoguktan) in 1949, all secondary education students were provided military and ideological training, with hours expended every week on drills and “moral education” lessons. The national standard curriculum at all levels included moral education. Americans eliminated moral education from South Korean curricula in the years after the war. However, 1950s moral education was used to establish a common ideology of nationalism and anti-communism in addition to teaching ethical conduct. Political premises were stressed in social science texts (Kim 2012).

Anti-Communism developed into a fundamental theme of moral education as well as social science and history texts. The notion that the younger generations, as respectful citizens, should contribute to the good of the nation by acting appropriately

in the various aspects of social life was often stressed in the school texts of the 1950s. The Ministry of Education stressed to students in its schools and education materials that young citizens should endeavor to function as “stalwarts of the nation”. Textbook histories printed after the Korean War and liberation situated South Korea together with the “free world” nations. This was in particularly complete resistance to non-democratic social unions of the past as well as the present. This ideological enclosing policy coexisted in schoolbooks after the war with a small amount of democratic information, which was intended to justify the South Korean nation-state.

Banalities exploiting basic ideals and concepts, such as freedom, rights, and equality are often existent in classes on democracy employing schoolbooks made after the war. Conceptual hypothetical discussions defining the key expressions of democracy are discussed in more advanced lessons. These connect students with the previously mentioned statist blueprint. By dedicating systematic exposure to topics including fashionable sovereignty, the separation of powers, and the electoral process, chapters on democratic establishments and processes can provide a better understanding of the liberal-democratic system.

Judged in this view, the inviolability of meritocracy, gender and status impartiality, as well as political and religious freedoms in democratic societies are highlighted by an explanation in High School Morality III specifying the many injustices, inequalities, and preventions under feudal rule. This same work also provides an

assessment of despotism that seeks out disproportionate power, government imposition in people's lives, and the "eradication of individual freedoms and rights". What is more, High School Morality III provides that the liberties of citizens "obtain important meaning when exercised to assert claims for escaping situations wherein the ruler or the state violates rights to the point of impeding personal growth".

Discriminatory allocation, abusive apportionment of labor, and the restriction of personal freedoms are identified in Middle School Morality II, which illustrates the truth about life under communism and obliges common citizens to "live no differently than slaves". Textbooks tend to offer democracies in a constructive and romanticized way, which is contrary to the overstated negative portrayals of nondemocratic systems. High School Moral I emphasizes "the loftiest and noblest of beings", meaning that democratic life is dependent on the essential decorum of people. High School Moral II puts together the importance of individualism and intelligence in democracies adjacent to the determinism and disparagement for individual freedoms in nations with communist rule.

South Korean education also accentuated the nation as a member of the "free world", making ideological training a basic incongruity because it identified powerfully with the moderate self-governing policies of the US and Western Europe while conducting ideological training. Despite democracy being imprecise at times to underscore allegiance and responsibility to the nation over human rights, the latter

were educated as well. Often acquired straight from American textbooks were the theories of citizenship and democracy. Replicated in textbooks and the common discussion on education were American principles of individuality, free will of expression and non-interventionist democratic government. Clear to students and teachers, as well as the progressively more educated population, were the inconsistencies between western values and the actuality of South Korean politics (Seth 2012).

3.4 Authoritarianism and Public Discontent

Rhee Syng-man, ruling the country during 1948 – 1960, was the first president of South Korea. He was supported by the United States of America whose purpose was to encourage South Korea to resist communism. Democratic institutions were established and national elections were arranged for people to fully exercise their rights, as well as establishing a national constitution adapted from the US Constitution which sought to establish a democratic government and guarantee the public rights and freedom. The presidents were appointed by the National Assembly and served in office for 4 years (Intasi 2013). Despite this great attempt by the United States to cultivate a democratic ideology in South Korea, the goal has never been achieved. Abuse of official functions has been found in the South Korean governments, and politicians have committed all kinds of misconduct to maintain their administrative

power (Kim 1987). President Rhee Syng-man claimed that the country had been facing instability after the Korean War; therefore, a strong and powerful government had to be established to enforce the law and create national stability. However, the use of power for that purpose was so attractive for the holders that they did not want to lose it. In addition, anti-communism was strongly cultivated in South Korea since the end of the Korean War. The war left a deep wound in the hearts of the North and South Koreans, provoking hatred between the two Koreas. President Rhee Syng-man exploited this situation to centralize all ruling power, claiming that he was trying to strengthen anti-communism in the country. Furthermore, his opponents had gradually been eliminated as a result of accusations of being pro-communist (Bedeski 1994).

When his presidential term was coming to an end, Rhee Syng-man tried to foster an amendment of the national constitution in which direct elections were promoted. The public were equipped with the right to vote for the president in place of the Congress members. The reason behind this plan was that Rhee Syng-man was afraid of not being re-elected by the Congress. The constitutional amendment, however, required the approval from two-thirds of the Congress members. He took advantage of the Korean War to declare martial law, as well as forcing the Congress to pass the amendment to the constitution which allowed the general presidential election. At the same time, he established the Liberal Party to run in the election.

Upon the approval of the constitutional amendment, Rhee Syng-man announced his candidacy for president of South Korea and was elected on 5 August 1952.

Although Rhee Syng-man was able to stay in office for a second term, he could not avoid complying with the constitutional obligation of a two-term limit on the presidency. In 1954, Rhee Syng-man employed dirty tricks to extend his presidential term. This doubtful election, as well as the forceful examination arrangement on Sunday to prevent students from participating in the opposition's speech (Lee 2012), encouraged students in Daegu to start protesting against the government as they considered the actions of the government to be an intervention restricting the schools' freedom of management.

The end of Rhee Syng-man's era had finally come. The public could no longer tolerate the government's misconduct as well as the corruption and the lack of efficiency in management. During the election on 15 March 1960, the Liberal Party still nominated Rhee Syng-man as their representative to run for election. Despite the death of the opposition's representative, which automatically allowed Rhee Syng-man to be the president for another term, the Liberal Party could not rest assured that he would win the election. Again, dirty tricks, including cemetery votes and threats against the opposition's supporters, were used. The results came out that Rhee Syng-man won with a high proportion of a high voter turnout, which led to criticisms from the public and the opposition that the election was not transparent. A protest against the

government arose in Masan. On 11 April, the dead body of a high-school student named Kim Ju-yeol, who had been killed by the police, was found. This aroused widespread public resentment and the protest was expanded to Seoul, resulting in the “April 19 Revolution”. The protest was led by students who marched to the presidential residence. Blocked and shot by the police, a number of students were injured and killed. The government was compelled to resign to compensate for this violence. Rhee Syng-man, frightened of losing his power, declared martial law to disband the demonstrators, but the soldiers resisted his order. Eventually, Rhee Syng-man resigned from his position on 26 April 1960 before seeking asylum in the United States. After the political asylum in the US, the government managed by Prime Minister Chang-myon had to face turmoil owing to public demands for unlimited exercise of their democratic rights which had been suppressed for a long time. On 16 May 1961, General Park Chung-hee staged a coup d’état and held ruling power over the nation. He claimed the legitimacy of the coup by stating that his goal was to get rid of communism and political corruption and stabilize national politics and the economy. As a result of this, anti-communism legislation was enacted, and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was established in June 1961.

After the coup, General Park Chung-hee announced that a general election would be held, through which power would be transferred to a civil government. A draft of a new constitution was made and proposed in December 1962, of which the

focus included the statement that the president had to be elected by the public and would serve in office for a 4-year term. Upon the proclamation of the 1962 constitution, Park Chung-hee established the Democratic Republican Party of which he became the leader and was elected as president in 1962. President Park Chung-hee realized the importance of economic stability with an emphasis on an export-oriented strategy in place of import-substitution. His goal was to drive South Korea up to the same level as other developed countries (Koo 1993). Upon the termination of his 4-year term, President Park Chung-hee was re-elected as president and held office for another term until 1967.

1971 was the time for another presidential election. Prior to that, a constitutional amendment was made to enable the president to be re-elected to serve a third term. Park Chung-hee announced his third candidacy, but his government had to face criticisms from those who objected to the amendment of the constitution in favour of his presidency. As a result, Kim Dae-jung, the opposition's representative, received a large share of the vote though he could not win over Park Chung-hee. Later in 1971, President Park Chung-hee declared a State of Emergency, stopped enforcing the existing constitution, disbanded the National Assembly and political parties, prohibited political activities, and restricted the public rights and freedoms. The major amendment of the constitution was made in 1972, which resulted in the establishment of the Yushin Constitution, facilitating Park Chung-hee to fully exercise his ruling power.

Moreover, it was specified in the new constitution that the presidency could be held by a single person until his death. This constitution obviously restricted the human and political rights of the citizens, which led to protests and uprisings by students, especially those from Seoul National, Korea and Yonsei Universities.

After the proclamation of the Yushin Constitution, continuous protests from students and the public arose against the government. President Park Chung-hee declared a State of Emergency to disband the protestors and ordered the KCIA to monitor the movements of anti-government people. Despite the declaration of the State of Emergency, many groups which had developed as a result of economic and social growth were still fighting for their rights to participate in political activities.

Political tension became worse after the protest disbandment at Y.H. Industrial Company in August 1979. A female worker was killed and many people were injured (Robinson 2007). The crackdown on female workers expressing non-violent resistance clearly illustrated the cruelty of the Yushin system and aroused public hatred. Worse political crises followed, resulting in more student uprisings to force Park Chung-hee to revoke the State of Emergency and the Yushin Constitution as well as renouncing his presidency. There were several protests in Pusan and Masan, which jeopardized the power of the government. On 26 October 1979, President Park Chung-hee was assassinated by Kim Jae-gyu, Chief of the KCIA, bringing to an end 18 years of government under Park Chung-hee's rule.

3.5 From Authoritarianism to Democracy

During his period of government, in which the South Korean economy had been developed, Park Chung-hee stated, “Food comes before politics. Only with a full stomach can one enjoy the arts and talk about social development” (Armstrong 2007). However, before the economic expansion, there had been examples of political movements against the government, such as the students’ protest against Rhee Syng-man. In the 1950s to 1960s, there were only small groups of anti-government people since most of the protestors demonstrating against the authoritarian government were students who had been taught in a democratic education system, and their number was limited at that time. By the 1980s, the situation had changed. The national economy had grown and South Korea had become an industrialized country, which contributed to the change in social structure. Urbanization enabled the public to have opportunities in higher education. The graduates entered into various professional fields. They became journalists, scholars and white-collar workers, all of whom were middle-class people who played an important role in political movements in the 1980s. The democratic notion was expanded. People were concerned less about their material living due to the better economic situation, so they focused more on their quality of life, including human rights and political freedom. Also, they desired to take a greater part in political activities.

After the assassination of Park Chung-hee, Choi Kyu-ha, who was the Prime Minister, was appointed to be the President Ad Interim. He announced that a general election would be arranged soon and that he would not run for the presidency so as to avoid public criticisms and doubts about his authoritative power. It seemed that the South Korean people could expect that they would be freed from dictatorship, but their hopes were completely destroyed when General Chun Doo-hwan staged a coup d'état in December 1979.

In April 1980, General Chun Doo-hwan was in the position of Director of the KCIA, which allowed him to monitor the movements of any anti-government groups. This new occurrence of military authoritarianism discouraged students and the public who had hoped that the country could see the light of democracy after the end of the Park Chung-hee period. Demonstrations forcing the government to revoke the Yushin Constitution and martial law as well as asking for immediate political reform arose. However, the military leader found the constitutional amendment problematic for military power control; hence, they tried to get rid of the movement of the students and public by declaring martial law again in May. The National Assembly was dissolved. All universities were closed to prevent political gatherings. All political activities and strikes were prohibited. The opposition's politicians, such as Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-pil, were arrested while Kim Yong-sam was confined. This aroused widespread demonstrations, such as the Gwangju protest led by students, forcing the government

to revoke martial law, stop military political intervention and return political freedom to the public.

An important incident happened in May 1980. Chun Doo-hwan declared martial law and ordered the Special Forces to close Gwangju and cruelly disband the protestors. Many students and members of the public were injured and killed. After these events, the military leader seized political power by taking control of the government and the media. Colleges and universities were closed to prevent student gatherings and movements which could hinder the power control of the military. In addition, Chun Doo-hwan's Committee took control of social activities by employing purge and purification methods over government officers, journalists and workers. The "30 July Educational Reform" measure was issued, by which the university entrance examination conducted by the universities was cancelled and replaced by a quota system. Thousands of students and professors were expelled or fired from the universities (Lee 2012). Later, on 16 August, Choi Kyu-ha resigned from his position and Chun Doo-hwan was elected as president on 27 August.

Upon the decrease of political tension, Chun Doo-hwan's government reduced its aggressiveness partly because of the US resentment of the protest disbandment in Gwangju. The government gradually withdrew the soldiers from the universities, returned the student status to those who had been expelled, and permitted the closed universities to open for teaching and learning as usual.

In June 1987, a huge protest of students, people, workers and members of the New Korea Democratic Party took place. The protest seemed prolonged. Despite the attempts of the government to stop the protestors, the movement was irresistible. Finally, Chun Doo-hwan's government had to accept the public demands. Representatives from the government and the opposition collaboratively appointed a committee to take care of constitutional amendments. The essence of the amendments was that the president must be elected by the public and remain in office for 5 years. After the termination of term, he or she would not be permitted to return to the presidency (Intasi 2013). The constitutional amendment in 1987 marked the end of the authoritarianism which had dominated South Korea for decades.

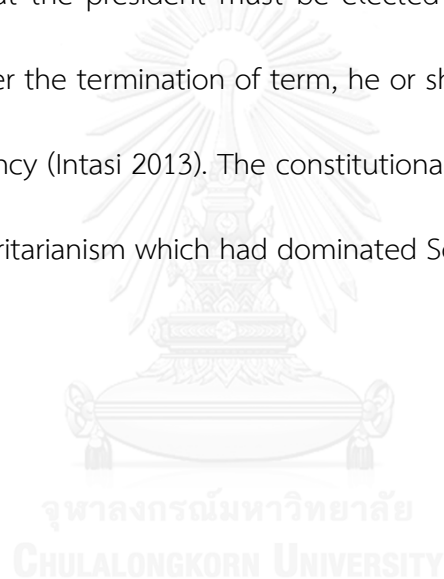


Figure 2: Political development in South Korea

	1945 - 1970s	1980 - 1987
Political context	- The Korean Peninsula was divided (1945)	- The Gwangju protest led by students (1980)
Main Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Election were held; Rhee Syng-man was elected president (1948) -The election fraud; Rhee Syng-man was overthrown (1960) - General Park Chung-hee staged a coup d'état (1961) - The establishment of the Yushin Constitution (1972) - Park Chung-hee was assassinated (1979) - General Chun Doo-hwan staged a coup d'état (1979) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The June Uprising won a return to direct elections (1987) - Democratic transition

CHAPTER IV

STUDENT MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH KOREA

For South Korea, 1987 marked an important historical turning point since it was the end of authoritarianism and the start of transition to a true democracy because the movement for democracy had been strengthened considerably from the past due to many fights for democracy, and therefore it could be said that South Korea's democracy came from the movement. This led to a big assembly on 29 June, and as a result the government had to accede to the people's demands to amend the constitution in order to comply with democratic practices after being under authoritarianism for so long. This achievement was obtained through a powerful combination of students, workers, religious groups and the people. These democratic movements were developed considerably by the painful lessons of the past in the struggle against authoritative governments and were molded into a strong and high quality democratic movement.

However, the success of democracy in South Korea did not occur until the democratic movement had been fighting for a long time, and those who had a significant role in the struggle for democracy and the overthrow of the authoritative leader were students. This started from the revolution in April which ousted President

Rhee Syng-man, ending with his resignation from his position, but the role of the student movement did not stop there. The student movement still had a major role in the leadership of political movements, including the movement against the Yushin regime, the movement in Gwangju and a large assembly in June 1987.

It can be said that the result of the educational expansion was an increased number of students. In addition, education served as an important tool to foster theoretical knowledge and political ideology as well as the path of democracy. Due to a change in values and political ideology according to the social changes taking place, these students wanted the right and freedom to express their opinions and wanted to get involved in politics without just accepting the authority of their leader as they had in the past. Therefore, the student movement represented a powerful desire to change their society when the civil society movement was not strong and when the public did not yet have a voice and did not understand democracy well enough. Even when compared to people across the country, the students were still considered a minority, but this minority had enough potential to challenge the authoritarian leaders and to call for democracy and legitimacy in society on behalf of the general population. This was necessary in order to bring their country to be liberated from the domination of successive authoritarian regimes.

The movement of the students may have resulted from feeling frustrated or not accepting the traditional practices from the older generation with an aim of calling

for legitimacy in society. Members of this student movement had a confidence born of being young intellectuals who had an important mission to perform because the older generation and other people in society had failed or did not dare to perform such a mission. Although not every fight to call for democracy or to oust the authoritative leader was achieved, and there were clashes with authorities resulting in injuries and deaths, it was considered a spark to the public and people in other occupations to rise up against authoritarianism because the student movement alone would not be enough to bring about the end of authoritarianism.

4.1 Student Movement

Throughout the 1950s-1987, the students served as an important social group that played the role of political activists and brought change to the politics and society of South Korea. The formation of this student movement was caused by political, economic, social and educational changes. In particular, during the 1960s, an era of economic and industrial development, there were structural changes in the economy and society: modernization, urbanization, and educational expansion. This student movement was formed under a political context in which Korea was faced with authoritarianism and corruption, in which its leaders refused to step down from power, did whatever they could to stay in their positions as long as possible, and misused the political mechanism to benefit themselves. The absence of freedom for universities

due to the domination of the government and the suppression of individuals with different opinions formed this student movement that subsequently expanded across the country. This also raised the level of demands from political issues to other social problems. This student movement then became a group with the power to challenge the authoritarian government. Therefore, society expected these students to act as its representative to claim or express their disagreement with the government when the civil society movement was not strong enough to come out against authoritarianism.

In the 1980s, the student movement in Korea achieved legendary status as college activists stood at the forefront of the movement attempting to bring about political reform and democracy. They were admired and respected as the bearers of the message of democracy, and were able to spread this message among the country's urban and rural workers. In many ways, the course of events was similar to that in other countries where students had led the movements to overthrow authoritarian governments and bring about political reform and societal change.

Study at the university level grew dramatically because of the government's educational promotion, especially in the 1960s, to meet the economic policy requiring an educated workforce. At least one university was set up in every province across the country and this certainly increased the number of students and also their activities, which led to the "critical public multitudes" (Lee 2012) and became a force to challenge the government. The universities took on a vital research and development

role to support South Korea's rapid industrialization, in addition to providing the human resources required by the developing economy. However, these increasing numbers of students were thus able to mingle freely on college campuses, where ideas could be discussed to a greater extent than might have been the case outside the university domain. The result was that students were ideally placed to formulate the ideas that might drive the political reform movement, especially since the respect for academics which a Confucian society promotes places those students in a position where their sense of duty motivates them to act in the best interests of their country.

Unable to withstand the illegitimate abuse of power, the students formed an organization to request and pressure the government to follow democratic practices. As a result, this student movement expanded throughout the country. The student movement during the 1950s to 1987 continuously conducted activities to expel the government and to call for democracy because they believed that the construction of a liberal democracy could be achieved by their efforts.

However, since this student movement played a critical role in requesting democracy and causing serious trouble to the government, the government watched them very closely. After President Park Chung-hee had announced the enforcement of the Yushin Constitution, the fights against the government were conducted relentlessly to terminate the enforcement of this constitution. The government thus issued measures to counter these opposition groups. Political criticism was prohibited

and no political activity could be carried out. The student movement's leaders who gathered themselves as the Student Alliance, which was prohibited, faced potential punishment by the death penalty. The educational establishments of these students could be closed down. The efforts of the students in order to establish their nationwide network were therefore suppressed by the government who used the national security laws to suppress the student organizations at an extreme level. The power of this student movement was reduced under the Garrison Decree in 1971 by sending troops to be stationed on various campuses.

In 1973, the students of Seoul National University held their first protest since the announcement of the Garrison Decree. Later, there were many subsequent protests against the Yushin regime throughout the country, representing the most vigorous uprising since the protests ousting the government of Rhee Syng-man in 1960. As a result, the government of Park Chung-hee had to switch to a compromise solution by releasing the arrested students because of the growing pressure from both within and outside the country. However, the government also conducted a massive crackdown on the student movement, again under the Emergency Decree, and accused the National League of Democratic Youth and Students of being set up together with the communist group. Therefore, anyone who joined or supported such a group could face punishment up to and including death. Students who made any criticism or protest, whether inside or outside their schools or universities, could be

punished by the death penalty. Later, the government declared the Emergency Decree No. 7 by heading to the universities directly. Any gathering in the universities was strictly prohibited and they were temporarily closed down. Also, soldiers were sent into various campuses to ensure that the students could not carry out any activities. Under this strict control, the attempt to build a network across campuses across the country proved impossible.

Later, when Vietnam had surrendered to the communist government on April 30, 1975, the government of Park Chung-hee seized this opportunity to claim a threat to national security, and the movement against the Yushin regime thus experienced a temporary suspension. The government used this crisis to declare the Emergency Decree No. 9 with the key purpose of stating that any action against the Yushin Constitution was illegal and that any presentation of news relating to activities against the constitution or the protests of the students could not be broadcast if the activities were not allowed. Violators would be arrested without a court warrant. As a result, the power of the student movement was weakened because many leaders were arrested and expelled from their universities due to a number of clearances by the government for violating the Emergency Decree. Moreover, the media were tightly controlled by the government so these students were unaware of the situation at other universities. In 1974 – 1976, the student movement declined. Although the student movement could not overthrow the government of Park Chung-hee, they were the first group to

engage in a political struggle against the authoritarianism of such governments as well as playing a significant role to ignite a public assembly in the cities of Busan and Masan leading to riots in October 1979.

After Park Chung-hee had been assassinated, the students who were expelled from their universities by the Emergency Decree were given their freedom again. Democracy in schools and universities was built and a new student organization was founded. The students began to raise their requests to call for the independence of the universities, the resignation of teachers who were appointed by the former government, and transparency of the financial management of the universities. They also refused the compulsory military training. Later, General Chun Doo-hwan seized all power and the students therefore agreed to unite themselves to come out. The fight between the student movement and the government reached its breaking point in the events of Gwangju on May 18, 1980, when students from Chonnam University clashed with police. The confrontation escalated so quickly that more than a hundred people died in this incident (Shin 2007). After the massacre in Gwangju, when the political tension began to relax, the government of Chun Doo-hwan reduced its aggression in combat with pro-democracy groups, re-opened the universities, reinstated the students who had been expelled, and withdrew the police forces at various universities. At this time, the student movement revived again. The atmosphere within the university campuses became more independent. This relaxed situation provided

by the government acted as a channel that enabled students to be prepared to start up the movement again. These students set up their organization to build democracy on their campuses as well as to lead the management of their universities according to democratic practices. In 1983, some former students who had once played a role in the democracy movement founded the Youth Coalition for Democracy Movement as a liaison between students who had had a leading role in the past and the students of the present generation, as well as founding the Student Federation for Masses and Democracy (Kim, 2000: 83). In addition, in November 1984, the students from 42 colleges and universities established the National Student Coalition for Democracy Struggle, which was the first organization that gathered the students around the country since the April revolution to overthrow the government of Rhee Syng-man in 1960 (Armstrong 2007).

Finally, in 1987, the student movement bore success. The students gathered in more than 70 educational institutions nationwide. However, this time was not only for the students in the forefront of the movement, but the democracy movement had grown much more than in the past. The experience and knowledge developed created the power of the people across the country, including the labour movements, religious groups and opposition parties. It was the greatest assembly in the history of Korea and the government could no longer resist so many people. As a result, it was necessary

to accede to the demands of the people by providing a direct presidential election. It was a victorious fight for the student movement and the entire country.

Figure 3: Occupations of Political Prisoners in South Korea, 1978-1986, by Percentage

Occupation	1978	1982	1986
College Students	35.2	73.4	83.0
Worker	9.8	14.0	13.9
Others	55.0	12.6	3.1
Church Leaders	44.5	3.1	
Writers and Journalists	4.3	0	
Politicians	3.6	0.4	
Professors	2.6	3.6	
Unemployed	0	5.5	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number of Cases	778	417	978

Source : George Katsiaficas, 2012: 265

4.2 Reasons Why the Student Movement Affected the Development of Democracy in South Korea

4.2.1 Progressive Concept of Students

As mentioned earlier about the beliefs of Confucianism, it is well-known that in its positive aspects, Confucianism focuses on learning, education, morality and integrity. However, looking at another aspect of this concept, it can also be a cause of authoritarianism according to the doctrine about five areas of social relations; in particular the relationship between the ruler and the governed people is significant since the people need to be loyal and obedient to their ruler and focus on the hierarchy. Consequently, this concept is beneficial to those in society with political power and has become the basis of a political culture in Korea that supports the value of power which has become deeply embedded in the society for so long. The older people who once lived in the midst of war and the people who are poor and lack a good education have not yet understood and become familiar with the meaning of democracy. Indeed, the rulers can easily centralize all power into their own hands to an even greater extent. This can be seen from the leaders who typically held on to power for as long as possible. For example, President Rhee Syng-man occupied his position for twelve years and President Park Chung-hee was in his position for eighteen years.

The students, in contrast had a different perspective. After 1960, due to a change in the social environment which allowed them to grow up amidst the rapid

development of economic and social conditions, urbanization, the growth of the media, and educational expansion especially at the higher levels, these students and the new generations had more progressive ideas than other groups in society and wanted to be released from the concepts that clung to the old traditions. In particular, the older generations believed that people just had to accept and follow the actions of their rulers and could not have a role in political participation. When society began to change, these students turned their attention to political issues, needing to be part of expressing their political opinion and liberal ideas and resisting the hierarchy, and began to focus on the issues of human rights and quality of life. Together, these students were influenced by western democracy, both in theory and in practice, which was quite different to the older generations of people who were satisfied with the status of followers, disliked the changes, and followed the practice of traditional Confucianism.



4.2.2 The Student Movement Sparked the Demand for Democracy in South Korea

In 1960, both university students and high school students sparked the fight to overthrow the government of Rhee Syng-man as a natural movement. Initially, it was just a protest of high school students who objected to the intervention towards public schools and then it became a wider protest against the fraudulent election. Finally, they got to fight for democracy. When the dead body of Kim Ju-yeol, a student who was killed during the protest in Masan, was found, the protest against the government

became more aggressive and resulted in the “Revolution in April”. In the 1970s, the students served at the forefront of the struggle against Park Chung-hee. In 1979, the protests of students in Busan and Masan also shook his Yushin regime. In 1980, the students acted as the leaders in the fight against the coup d’état of Chun Doo-hwan in Gwangju, and in 1987 these students also played a leading role in a large protest that brought South Korea to the point of transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy. In addition, due to the death of Park Jong-chul, a student of Seoul National University tortured by police, these students were especially angry and prepared to take the risk of marching. As inspired by the sacrifice of these students, the people were more willing to join the protests because they were dissatisfied with the actions of the government in taking a severe approach to the protesters in addition to the general anger they felt towards the authoritarian government.

From this brutal suppression of the students, although not every anti-government movement was successful, the public recognized the illegitimacy of the power wielded by the government. In particular, the lessons of the events in Gwangju made the democracy movement stronger and helped it to become a role model for students and people in different cities to rise up against the government. Even though the result of this particular fight in Gwangju was a failure, it did not make these movements for democracy retreat or feel discouraged. Rather, democratic activists tried to raise awareness to the public and other student movements, while other

democratic movements were still standing and expanding to other locations around the country. Finally, the democracy movement was victorious over the authoritarian military when students, intellectuals, workers and citizens across the country came together as a large assembly in June 1987.

In addition, the student movement was not only a political movement, but they also began to see the social problems which were arising from economic growth. The major events awaking the students to see the misery suffered by people during the economic growth under the government of Park Chung-hee were the workers' anger towards the implementation of economic policy under the control of a government that exploited them, and also the suicide of Chun Tae-il, a labourer in a sewing factory who set fire to himself on November 13, 1970, to request the improvement of working conditions. His death made the public aware of the difficult living conditions of the workforce and therefore the South Korean students and people turned their attention to the problems of the labour movement. After his death, the students in the Faculty of Law as well as students in various departments, including religious organizations, gathered themselves to perform a protest. This showed the alertness and coordination between the various educational and religious institutions. From the evidence of these matters, the students were very interested in the issue of the misery of the poor workers and found a growing gap between classes in their society. As a result, these students were involved in the struggle of the people in the

factories and some of them provided evening classes to teach young workers who could not go to school as normal. The contents of these courses made the workers aware of the problems of capitalism as well as their rights that should be derived from the enterprises.

When the students thought that there should be cooperation with the workers, which was useful in order to be able to fight against the government, they then asked to suspend their education and went to work in factories. Many students worked as labourers in factories and used that opportunity to instill in the other workers the democratic consciousness. As a result, they knew the problems and living conditions of workers and therefore assisted in the establishment of labour unions and labour organizations. Initially, these labourers just wanted to request better wages and benefits, but later their labour unions switched from being simply a labour movement to being a political movement. It can therefore be seen that the students played an important role in the expansion of the democracy movement that finally became a movement against the authoritarianism of Park Chung-hee.

Moreover, upon graduation and entry into the labour market, these former student activists also led to the higher number of people in the middle class. When they worked, they talked and exchanged their opinions with other colleagues so there was an exchange of ideas and ideologies. The emergence of these civil society groups was behind the various political movements of the former student activists. They

noticed the injustice of authoritarian governments and also studied democracy to improve their movements in order to create social equality. As student activists, they learnt about history, economics and philosophy within their study groups. Their experience of working in the factories also made these former students understand the issues and the lives of labourers. As a result, they understood how to take their fight to the government. Furthermore, when working as professionals in various different parts of society, they also added strength and diversity to the movements for democracy.

After the uprising of the citizens of Gwangju in 1980 was unsuccessful, the democratic activists tried to raise awareness among the general public. The event demonstrating their success was a big assembly in June 1987 when people in almost all segments of society joined forces with students, citizens and opposition politicians to expel the government. More importantly, this was a period when these democratic movements became large groups of people who held progressive ideas and who were filled with a deep understanding of democracy. Also, the industrialized society resulted in economic growth and made the people's lives better with higher incomes. This industrial growth also caused a change in values. The public's better living standards led to an interest in the issue of quality of life and therefore the importance of human rights and political freedom. The importance of political culture was also given more attention as a democracy driver creating the public power that was ready to come out

fighting and requesting basic rights, freedom and democracy. The people gathered themselves under the leadership of the National Movement Headquarters to Win a Democratic Constitution, a democratic organization with a wide mass base. This resulted in the government of Chun Doo-hwan being forced to follow the demands of the people in amending the constitution and allowing the people to have a role in political decision making.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The uprising in June 1987 which was the end of authoritarianism, and the first step into real democracy, marked an important change in South Korea. This change occurred as a result of the long, continuous fight of the democratic movement, through the April Revolution in 1960, the Gwangju Uprising of 1980, and the Great Demonstration in June 1987. The public were a key factor in driving democracy forward in South Korea.

South Korean education and anti-communism was cultured by the United States of America from 1945 to 1948. This was one of the major forces fostering democratic notions. The National Constitution, which marked the start of the democratic process, was established and implemented. The US based educational system was applied, and anti-communism and democratic education was promoted. By the end of the Korean War, South Korea was ranked as the poorest country in the world; hence, only education and efficient human resource management could help the recovery from hardship. Furthermore, the South Korean people had been taught to realize the importance of education, in accordance with Confucianism. For this reason, 'Education Fever' became a typical phenomenon in the country. There were a number of high quality educational establishments in South Korea, due to the

respect for Confucianism and the continuous government support of education since the Syng-man Rhee era. Education was always considered the most vital tool to restore the economy of the country after the destruction caused by the Korean War. The main educational emphasis was placed on the cultivation of democracy, ethics, and anti-communism among the students. Moreover, South Korean education emphasized that the country was part of the free world. South Korean people declared themselves as being liberal and democratic, similar to the United States and many other western countries.

However, the fact remained that the government merely pretended to be democratic, and authoritarianism dominated the political system. Absolute power was in the hands of the leaders, and they used all kinds of tricks to remain in office and reap the financial benefits. The population was exploited, and those who stood against the government were brutally suppressed. Widespread hatred of the government led to continuous political movements for democracy and anti-authoritarianism. The main leaders of the democracy movements were mostly students and intellectuals; products of the educational expansion and cultivation of democracy in the form of theory, political ideology, and democratic practices. The students yearned for the right of freedom of expression, as well as the opportunity to be a part of national politics. When the government refused to follow democratic practices, the students formed the 'student movement', which then spread nationwide. This movement became an

important force, and a challenge to the authoritarian government during the period when the civil society was weak.

During the 1950s and 1960s there were only small groups of democracy activists; the number of educated people and students who led protests against the government were limited. They were aroused by the general feeling of discontent with authoritarianism, and the suppression of public rights and freedom. The universities were also dominated by the dictatorial government. When the Yushin Constitution was proclaimed in October 1972, public freedom was completely restricted. Textbooks and school curricula were brought under government control. People were forced to enroll for military training, and soldiers were sent to schools. Some students protested against this policy; they considered it was an attempt by the government to block public democratic consciousness.

The 1990's saw educational expansion with government support. In accordance with the national economic policy for educated labor, at least one university was established in every province. The number of students and student activities increased, which resulted in critical public multitudes challenging government authority. The student movement demanding democracy gradually arose and expanded nationwide.

This student movement was the start of democratic change and development in South Korea. The reasons why this movement advanced democracy were, firstly, the students grew up during a period of rapid growth in the economy and changes in

society. The students, especially those highly educated were exposed to urbanization, media, and educational expansion. They had different notions and views from their parents born in the 1950s and dominated by Confucianism. In other words, the older generation still believed that the public had to be loyal followers of the leader, accepting everything that the leader did; they detached themselves from political participation. The ideals of Confucianism were against democracy, which promoted political culture in favor of authoritarianism. Furthermore, the Korean War had ravaged the South Korean economy so severely that the public focused all their attention on mere survival. The young generation however was educated in democratic principles, and now the economic and social situation had improved. Times had changed and the students turned their attentions to political problems, demanding the opportunity to take part in political activities with freedom of expression; there was no longer the need to concentrate merely on just living and surviving.

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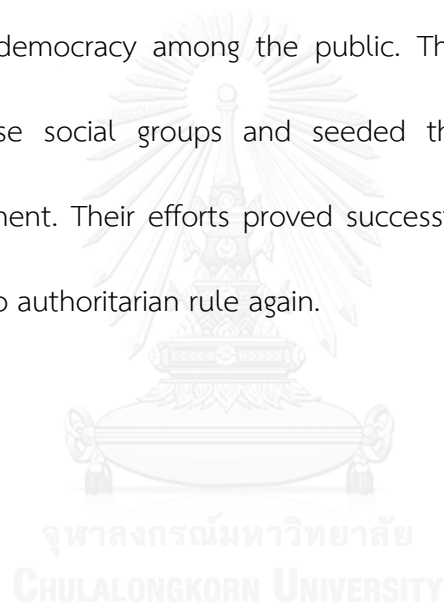
Secondly, the student movement gained support, and shed light on the demands for democracy in South Korea. Although the students had previously fought against authoritarianism and been suppressed by the government, they had never given up the battle for real democracy. Some students were injured and killed during the protests; thus, the public gradually realized the cruelty of the authoritarian government, and sympathized with the students so much that they could no longer remain silent. The public decided to join the protests with the students and demanded

that the government grant them democratic power. The student movement also played an important role in publicizing the democratic movement to other groups of people, such as the workforce to increase their power against the government. The students educated the workers on democratic consciousness. They socialized with the workers and became aware of their problems and their living conditions. The students assisted the workers in establishing labor unions and labor organizations, which then developed into strong labor movements against the government.

Things changed a lot in 1980s. Economic growth fostered South Korean industry, which brought about change in the social structure. There was a fast expansion in urbanization, and people realized the opportunities of an educational system. Graduate students, after completing their studies, worked in various professional fields including journalism. Scholars and white-collar workers from the middle classes played significant roles in political change throughout the 1980s. This facilitated the expansion of the movement for democracy. People were now concerned less about just living, and focus shifted to life quality, including human rights and political freedom. They demanded that the government provide them with the opportunity to take part in political activities. The outcome of previous insurgency was well documented. In June 1987, the students, the public, and members of the Opposition gathered together in a protest to expel the government. This public display of power was so large that Chun Doo-hwan's government could no longer resist. They

accepted the people's demand for constitutional amendment, and the right to take part in political decision-making.

Lastly, this study has shown that 'Education is a key factor in the democratic development of South Korea; it is a vital tool to create democratic ideology. Education has encouraged public gatherings, demanding democracy from authoritarian governments. Students were the major leaders and facilitated the expansion of the movement for real democracy among the public. The students gathered people together from diverse social groups and seeded the ideas of diminishing the authoritarian government. Their efforts proved successful in 1987, and South Korea would never return to authoritarian rule again.



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APPENDIX

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