

DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTH KOREA

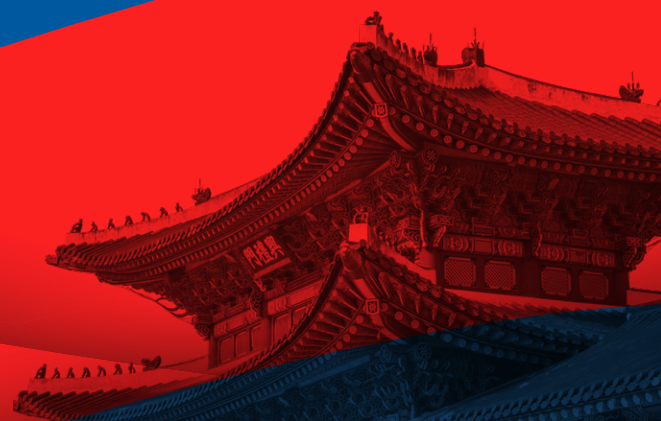


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This four-lesson learning module is intended to address four key areas of South Korean democratic development. The approach is chronological. The lessons are structured using the ‘Minds On, Action, and Consolidation’ model. A ‘Minds On’ activity is a reasonably brief activity intended to engage students and set the stage for learning. The ‘Action’ piece is a longer period of learning during which students read, write, research, engage in conversation to facilitate learning of key objectives. The ‘Consolidation’ component is intended to help students synthesize and clarify learning. Assessment opportunities have been incorporated into each lesson. These lessons may be used as a series of lessons as a case study for politics or world history classes. Alternately, the lessons may be used independently. The module **Democratization in South Korea** uses guiding questions to focus each lesson.

Lesson 1 What did early Korean governing structures look like before democratization?

The goal of the first lesson is to introduce students to South Korean government institutions and practices prior to democratization. It will also establish students’ understanding of the general historical context of South Korea immediately after the Korean War.

Lesson 2 Was Korea ready for democracy?

The second lesson will focus on the characteristics or indicators of democracy. Students will assess South Korea’s readiness for democracy through an investigation of a series of events that occurred between 1960 and 1980. Students will consider the roles played by different stakeholders: government, corporations, citizens, and the various factors that influenced democratic growth in that period.

Lesson 3 What contributed to the success of the 1987 June Democracy Movement?

The third lesson will develop students’ understanding of the importance of the 1987 June Democracy Movement as it was a defining moment in the process of democratization.

Lesson 4 What does democracy in South Korea look like today?

The final lesson will provide the framework for students to examine the current democratic status of South Korea and consider the overall changes that have occurred in the post-war period.

Curriculum Connections:

These lessons are designed for the Ontario course **World History Since the Fifteenth Century CHY4C and CHY4U**. The overall and specific expectations can be found in each lesson. To access the Grade 11 & 12 Canadian and World Studies Curriculum, please refer to the [Ministry of Education](#) document.

These lessons could also be adapted or modified for additional Ontario courses including:

- Civics and Citizenship CHV20
- Politics in Action CHP30
- Canadian and International Politics CPW4U
- World History Since 1900 CHT30
- Adventures in World History CHM4E



Curriculum Connections across Canada

Curriculum Connections across Canada

The lessons could be adapted or modified for use in various courses throughout the country including the following:

British Columbia

- Explorations in Social Studies 11
- Asian Studies 12
- Twentieth Century World History 12
- Political Studies 12

Alberta

- Social Studies 20
- International Politics 30

Saskatchewan

- History 20

Manitoba

- Grade 12 Global Issues - Citizenship and Sustainability

Nova Scotia

- Global History 12
- Global Politics 12

New Brunswick

- World Issues

Newfoundland

- World History 3201

LESSON ONE

WHAT DID EARLY KOREAN GOVERNING STRUCTURES LOOK LIKE BEFORE DEMOCRATIZATION?



Key Questions

- What did early Korean governing and political structures look like, before democratization?
- Who were the main opponents to democracy? What was their rationale? What methods did they employ to repel democratic movements?



Assessment Opportunities

Assessment for learning:

- Observations of student group work
- Conversations between students and their peers about the primary source photos
- Self-assessment for students of their learning progress
- Product - student questions about South Korean politics

Before the Activity:

- Teachers should review the introduction and the historical overview in “[Electoral Politics in South Korea](#)” pages 233 to 242.
- Teachers should assign [Appendix 1.1 the political terms quizlet](#) to students prior to this lesson.
- Teachers may choose to enlarge the photographs from [Appendix 1.2: Photographs for Snapshots in South Korean Political History Activity](#) and print them for the primary source photo stations or make them available electronically.
- Teachers should print and/or provide access to lesson materials: [Appendix 1.3: I see, I think, I wonder note-taking](#)
[Appendix 1.4: 3-2-1 Note-taking](#)
[Appendix 1.5: Historical Significance note-taking](#)
- Students should be familiar with historical thinking concepts and the inquiry process.

Curriculum Connections

CHY4U

- A1.** Historical Inquiry: use the historical inquiry process and the concepts of historical thinking when investigating aspects of world history since the fifteenth century;
- E1.** Social, Economic, and Political Context: analyze the significance of various social, economic, and political policies, developments, and ideas in various regions of the world since 1900.
- E1.4** Describe forms of government in various countries during this period (e.g., democracy, theocracy, monarchy, autocracy, dictatorship, military junta), and explain the political beliefs and/or ideologies that underpinned them (e.g., anarchism, conservatism, fascism, Nazism, Marxist-Leninism, Maoism, nationalism, neoliberalism, secularism).
- E2.** Communities, Conflict, and Cooperation: analyze interactions between various groups since 1900 and how key individuals and social, economic, and political forces have affected those interactions.
- E2.3** Explain how the actions of some significant individuals and groups contributed to conflicts within and between various countries during this period.
- E2.5** Analyze some significant developments related to colonization, decolonization, and globalization during this period, including their impact on different groups in various regions of the world.

ACTIVITY OUTLINE

Minds On

Activity #1 - Key Political Terminology

- For homework, students will have reviewed the terms on the Appendix 1.1 [quizlet](#) (terms: Authoritarian, Bicameral Parliament, Communism, Constitution, Coup d'Etat, Democracy, Direct Presidential Election, Electoral College, Left Wing, Military Junta, Nationalist, National Assembly, One-man-rule, Opposition, Referendum, Right-wing).
- As a 'Minds On', students will play a game of "[quizlet live](#)" to review the terms that will come up in the lesson.

Action

Activity #2 - Snapshots in South Korean Political History

- Using Image #1 the teacher will introduce the 'See, Think, Wonder' strategy by modeling the process for analyzing images (see [Appendix 1.2](#)). The teacher is encouraged to share the intent of the exercise. The goal is to generate curiosity and to pose, and identify questions that will need to be answered throughout their study of the Korean political landscape. There are seven images provided. The first is to be used to model the activity for students; the remaining 6 are for the student activity stations.
- In groups of 4, students will walk around to a total of six stations. Each station will have one primary source image for students to view. Each is from South Korea's political history during the period 1948 - 1980 (see [Appendix 1.2](#)). For each image, students will jot down point form notes using the 'I see, I think, I wonder' strategy (see [Appendix 1.3](#)), just from looking at the image itself, not the caption (which should be printed on the back). For more information on the note-taking strategy, teachers can review https://pz.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/See%20Think%20Wonder_2.pdf
- After reviewing the image, taking notes, and sharing their responses with their other group members, students can flip over the image and read the caption. After reading the caption, the group will write one question they have about South Korean politics, based on this image, on the back of the page (around the caption, if centered or under it, if top-aligned). Each group will then rotate. The process will repeat until each group has seen each picture, and has written one question on the back of the photo. Students can also add to the questions of previous groups to make a more complex question. Teachers are encouraged to remind students of the historical thinking concepts as they pose their questions.
- Once each group has reached their last station/image, that group will share the questions about South Korean politics written on the back of the image their group has just looked at. The teacher will record the student questions either on the whiteboard, chart paper, a google doc, or as a post on google classroom and the questions will remain to be answered at the end of the lesson.

Activity #3 - Documentary viewing overview of South Korean politics from 1948 to 1960

- Students will watch the first 16 minutes of a [documentary](#) from the [National Museum of Korean Contemporary History's Education](#) called "The establishment of democracy in The Republic of Korea." This section of the documentary starts with the end of WWII, and the Japanese Occupation of Korea, and ends with the 19th April Revolution in 1960. While viewing, students will complete the 3-2-1 note organizer to find examples of the influences of democracy, authoritarianism, and communism in South Korean politics (see [Appendix 1.4](#)). After viewing the film, students will share their responses in a whole-class discussion. To learn more about the 3-2-1 note-taking strategy, teachers can view: <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/3-2-1>

Activity #4 - Teacher lecture to focus on past Presidents of South Korea from 1948-1987

- The teacher will guide students through a [*google slides presentation](#) ("[Backgrounder: Politics in South Korea](#)"), which provides an overview of South Korean Politics from 1948 to 1987 through an examination of three South Korean Presidents: Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-hee, and Chun Doo-hwan. Students will take notes based on the historical significance of each of these authoritarian leaders in Korean politics (see [Appendix 1.5](#)). For more information on Historical Significance see <https://tc2.ca/en/creative-collaborative-critical-thinking/resources/thinking-about-history/>

*Google Slides link: https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1c7x9kOVrs_M7FZULmPctIQ8MtsXm3NNxy_fs1cZNWRk/edit?usp=sharing

Consolidation**Activity #5** - Small group discussion to review learning from Activities #3 and #4

- Have the students re-assemble into the groups that they made in the first photo analysis activity. Together, the group will examine the questions from Activity #1 and consider if they can answer any of the questions using their notes from the documentary and/or the google slides presentation. Teachers might ask: Which questions have been answered? What more do we need to learn? Alternately, the teacher may choose to assign any questions that were not answered to students as inquiry questions for further research.

RESOURCES

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Bruns, Gabriele, Aurel Croissant, and Marei John. 2002. *Electoral politics in Southeast & East Asia*. Singapore: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. (233-241).

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"Electoral College." Merriam-Webster. [https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/electoral college](https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/electoral%20college).

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Kim Soo-yeon. "(Yonhap Feature) Calls Mount for Electoral Reform to Boost Political Diversity." Yonhap News Agency. August 23, 2018. <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20180822001700315#none>

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“Page Title.” History Museum of Korea. https://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9.

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“REFERENDUM: Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary.” Cambridge Dictionary. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/referendum>.

“Right-wing Definition and Meaning: Collins English Dictionary.” Right-wing Definition and Meaning | Collins English Dictionary. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/right-wing>.

“See, Think, Wonder.” See, Think, Wonder | Project Zero. <https://pz.harvard.edu/resources/see-think-wonder>.

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TERMS FOR QUIZLET ACTIVITY

<https://quizlet.com/en-gb>

Authoritarian	any political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small elite
Bicameral Parliament	a system of government in which the legislature comprises two houses
Communism	a theory or system of social organization based on the holding of all property in common, actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the state.
Constitution	the basic principles and laws of a nation that determine the powers and duties of the government and guarantee certain rights to the people in it
Coup d'état	the violent overthrow or alteration of an existing government by a small group
Democracy	power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving free elections
Direct Presidential Election	the vote of all a country's voters, as opposed to that of a particular group such as an electoral college, or parliament
Electoral College	a body of electors especially one that elects the President
Left-wing	supporting the political left; relating to the belief that wealth and power should be shared between all parts of society
Military Junta	a group of military officers who rule a country after seizing power
National Assembly	an assembly composed of the representatives of a nation
Nationalist	a person who strongly believes their country is better than others
One-man-rule	a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute dictator (not restricted by a constitution or laws or opposition
Opposition	the political parties or groups that are opposed to a government
Referendum	a vote in which all the people in a country are asked to give their opinion about or decide an important political question
Right-wing	person or group has conservative or capitalist views

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR SNAPSHOTS IN SOUTH KOREAN POLITICAL HISTORY ACTIVITY



Image 1

This photo, provided by the National Election Commission, shows South Koreans voting in the country's first general election held on May 10th, 1948.

Source:

Kim Soo-yeon. "(Yonhap Feature) Calls Mount for Electoral Reform to Boost Political Diversity." Yonhap News Agency. August 23, 2018. <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20180822001700315#none>.



Image 2

High school girls carry a 12-foot high portrait of Rhee Syngman, South Korean president, in a mass ceremony in celebration of his 84th birthday in Seoul, March 26th, 1959. AP Photo

Source:

The Division Of Korea." Wisconsin Public Radio. July 16, 2019. <https://www.wpr.org/syngman-rhee-and-division-korea>.



Image 3

Officers that took part in the May 16th Coup pose on May 21st, 1961. General Park Chung-hee (the shorter one in height) is standing, hands behind his back, next to the tall and sunglasses-wearing General Chang Do-Young, in front center.

Source:

“Post-53: May 16th, 1961, “The Finest Thing to Happen to Korea in a Thousand Years.” Yuletide. http://www.yule-tide.com/yuletide-blog/post-53-may-16th-1961-the-finest-thing-to-happen-to-korea-in-a-thousand-years.

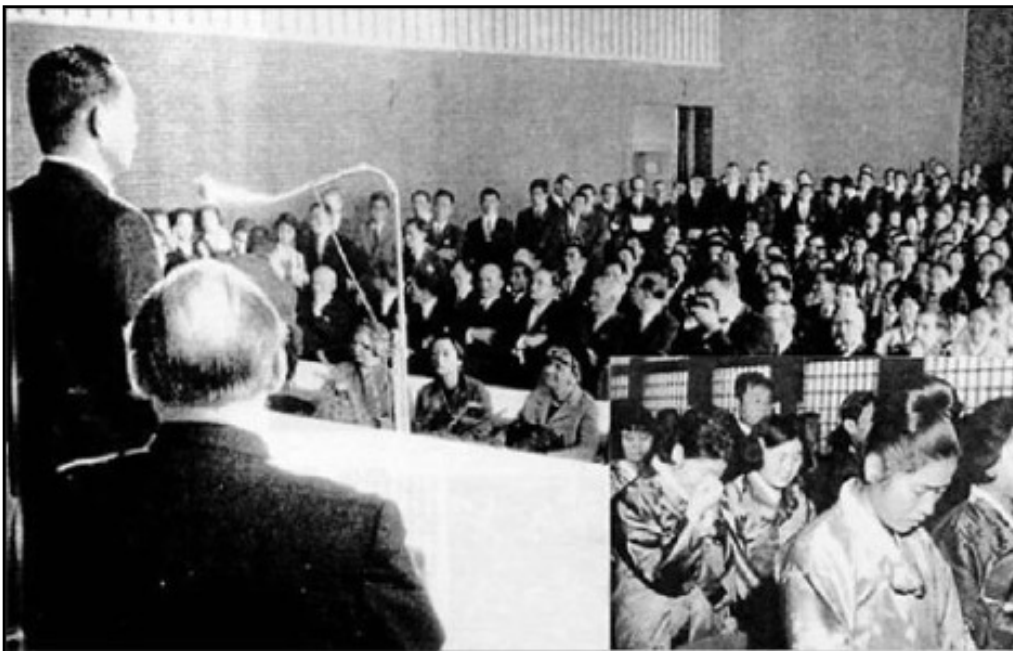


Image 4

The late President Park Chung-hee delivers a speech at a community center in the German city of Duisburg Prof. Kwon Yi-chong on Dec. 10th, 1964, in this file photo./ Courtesy of Association of Korean Miners and Nurses sent to Germany

Source:

“When Park Spoke, Everybody Cried.” Koreatimes. December 08, 2013. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/newsnation/2013/12/116_147609.html.



Image 5

On October 31st, 1966, US President Lyndon B. Johnson arrived in South Korea to meet with the South Korean strongman, Park Chung-hee. This was the first time that President Johnson had traveled to South Korea and President Park was eager to make an impression. Crowds estimated at 250,000 people greeted US President Johnson.

Source:

ChickenHead. "DMZ Flashpoints: The Deadly 1966 DMZ Ambush." ROK Drop. August 10, 2015. <https://www.rokdrop.net/2015/07/dmz-flashpoints-the-1966-dmz-ambush-near-libby-bridge/>.

"Rip-roaring ROK crowd welcomes Johnson," <https://www.stripes.com/news/rip-roaring-rok-crowd-welcomes-johnson-1.19315>



Image 6

The seventh presidential election in 1971 when the Republican Party candidate, Park Chung-hee, clashed with the New Democratic Party candidate, Kim Dae-jung.

Source:

"Feature on the 70th Anniversary of National Liberation: Let's Break Away from the Seven Major Vices The Wall of Regionalism Containing South Korea Should Be Torn down with Electoral System Reforms an." http://english.khan.co.kr/khan_art_view.html?artid=201508101856437&code=710100.



Image 7

This image portrays pro-democracy protesters confronting armed troops on the main street of Gwangju in May 1980. This photo again drew attention in 2013 “as a new history textbook authored by conservative scholars [was] criticized by progressive groups for misrepresenting the Gwangju Democratic Movement (May 18 Memorial Foundation).”

Source:

“New history textbook stirs ideological debate” in Korea Herald. June 12, 2013 <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20130612001037&mod=skb>.

PHOTOGRAPH ANALYSIS: I SEE, I THINK, I WONDER

Student Instructions:

You will examine six photographs that serve as snapshots of events and/or individuals in South Korean politics between the years 1948 to 1980. First, look at each picture. Ask yourself: What do I see? What do I think is happening? What do I wonder? Use the organizer provided to record your thinking. Next, share your observations with the other members of your group. After you have had a conversation with your group, flip the photograph to the back and read the caption to read a description of the photograph. After reading the caption with your group, discuss one question about South Korean politics that you have after viewing this photo. Have someone record your question on the back of the photograph. Move to the next station and complete the same process with each of the photographs.

Image 1

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

Image 2

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

Image 3

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

Image 4

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

Image 5

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

Image 6

What do you see
(people, activities, objects)?

What do you think
is happening?

What does this make
you wonder

3-2-1 NOTE-TAKING DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM AND COMMUNISM IN SOUTH KOREA

Student Instructions:

In the documentary “The establishment of democracy in The Republic of Korea”, you will see that different political ideologies have influenced the Republic of Korea, and its leader, Rhee Syngman, from 1948 to 1960. Even though the United States had helped establish democracy in the Republic of Korea, you will see that this new democracy is tested in its first twelve years. As you watch, note the following:

3 - Instances of South Koreans engaging in democracy

1

2

3

2 - Examples of authoritarianism

1

2

1 - Influence of Communism on South Korean politics

1

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PAST SOUTH KOREAN PRESIDENTS

*Use the slideshow to discover past presidents of South Korea

https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1c7x9kOVrs_M7FZULmPctIQ8MtsXm3NNxy_fs1cZNWRk/edit?usp=sharing

Rhee Syngman

To what notable events in South Korean History is Rhee Syngman connected?

What were the lasting consequences of Rhee Syngman's rule?

What observations can you make about issues in South Korean politics during Rhee Syngman's rule?

Park Chung-hee

To what notable events in South Korean History is Park Chung-hee connected?

What were the lasting consequences of Park Chung-hee's rule?

What observations can you make about issues in South Korean politics during Park Chung-hee's rule?

Chun Doo-hwan

To what notable events in South Korean History is Chun Doo-hwan connected?

What were the lasting consequences of Chun Doo-hwan's rule?

What observations can you make about issues in South Korean politics during Chun Doo-hwan's rule?

LESSON TWO

WAS KOREA READY FOR DEMOCRACY?



Key Questions

- Where/when were democratic values evident in South Korea between 1948 and 1980?
- Who/what were the roadblocks to democracy?



Assessment Opportunities

Assessment for learning:

- Student self-assessment through quiz opportunity
- Observations of student discussion and interactions in a large group setting
- Conversations between students and their peers about the assigned 'Timeline Moment'
- Product - Timeline Moment creation and presentation

Before the Activity:

- Consider prior knowledge of democracy and indicators of democracy.
- This lesson may require additional time depending upon the students' research process.
- Teachers should print or provide access to the quiz for students. See Appendix 2.1.
- Students will require access to research tools. Teacher background is available in Appendix 2.2.
- Students should be familiar with historical thinking concepts and the inquiry process.

Curriculum Connections

CHY4U

- A1.** Historical Inquiry: Use the historical inquiry process and the concepts of historical thinking when investigating aspects of world history since the fifteenth century.
- E1.** Social, Economic, and Political Context: Analyze the significance of various social, economic, and political policies, developments, and ideas in various regions of the world since 1900.
- E1.1** Analyse the impact of some key social trends and/or developments in various regions of the world during this period.
- E2.** Communities, Conflict, and Cooperation: analyze interactions between various groups since 1900 and how key individuals and social, economic, and political forces have affected those interactions.

ACTIVITY OUTLINE

Minds On

Activity #1 - Review key learning from the previous lesson. This is an option for teachers who are working through more than one lesson of the module. To use this lesson independently of the other lessons, use step 1 in Action section activity #2 as the Minds On.

- Review key details about South Korea's previous leaders studied in yesterday's lesson (Syngman Rhee, Park Chung-hee, and Chun Doo-hwan) through a short quiz (see [Appendix 2.1](#) for questions). The quiz can be delivered verbally, through a [google form quiz](#), or using an online quiz game like [Kahoot](#). (**Quiz Responses:** #1 D, #2 B, #3 D, #4 D, #5 D).

Action

Activity #2 - What Does a Healthy Democracy Look Like?/How Do We Get There?

- This brief activity (10-15 minutes) will help students create criteria to assess the journey of Korean democracy between 1960 and 1980. The teacher should ask the question, "What does a healthy democracy look like?" and track students' responses (blackboard, digital document, etc.).
- Create a class definition of democracy and list the indicators in a short formal note. Teachers are encouraged to refer to sources such as [Democracy Indicators](#) created by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs or [Democratic Principles](#) created by CIVIX.
- After the initial brainstorming session, the teacher should ask the students, "How do we achieve democracy?" This question is designed to have students consider what steps/processes might have to occur before the criteria of a healthy democracy are achieved. The table below provides a list of students' probable responses to both questions; it also includes a few historical references that students may have learned, and thus might help students refine their thinking; teachers can also use this table to supplement students' responses:

Likely Answers to "What does a healthy democracy look like?"	Likely answers to "How do we get there?"	Useful historical references (based on topics students may have already studied/known)*	* Teachers are encouraged to include events that would allow the discussion of events that are not straightforward or are controversial in nature. The conversation would allow thinking about the choice to use violence, the idea of the rule of law and the use of (or failure to use) established democratic processes that have checks and balances.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free elections Peaceful elections Freedoms (speech, etc.) Election results are trusted Stable governments Established political parties Free press Healthy arts Effective representation Accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust in the people A trustworthy government Good laws People need to believe in/understand democracy An educated population A belief in institutions Responsibility to each other Domestic peace/stability Can't silence opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> French Revolution The October Crisis Civil Rights Movement Storming of US Capitol Building Trust/Distrust of the Press in North America 	

- Once the students have several criteria that address the two questions, the teacher should explain that the students are going to examine Korean democracy between 1960 and 1980. Their goal is to learn about key moments between 1960 and 1980 and understand their significance in the road to Korean democracy.

Activity #3 - Human Timeline Moment Creation

- Students will be placed into small groups of two or three depending upon class size (there are 11 events in total). Each group will be given an event in South Korean History between 1960 and 1980 to research. The teacher may want to assign more straightforward or more challenging events to different groups based on the students' strengths and weaknesses. Each group will investigate their specific event and evaluate whether the event demonstrated that South Korea was ready for democratic change.
- These are the events to assign:
 1. April 19th, 1960 April Revolution
 2. August 23rd, 1960 Establishment of the Second Republic
 3. May 16th, 1961 - Park Chung-hee's Military Coup
 4. June 19th, 1961 - Creation of the Korean Central Intelligence Office (KCIA)
 5. October 15th, 1963 Election of Park Chung-hee as President
 6. October 17th, 1969 Third Term amendment to the Constitution
 7. April 27th, 1971 General Park Chung-hee Becomes President for a Third Term
 8. 1972 - 1978 Yushin Constitution and its aftermath
 9. October 16th - 20th, 1979 Bu-Ma (also known as Pu-Ma) Democratic Protests
 10. October to December 1979 Assassination of Park Chung-hee and the 12-12 Incident
 11. May 18th - 27th, 1980 Gwangju Democracy Movement
- Students will be asked to create a 'Timeline moment'. Each group of three will be provided with a piece of chart paper, markers, and technology to research their event. At the top of the chart paper, students will write the title and date(s) of the event. After conducting research on the event, the students will use a combination of words and visuals to outline the key points of the event. Students could be told to illustrate the who, what, where, when, why, and how on this date. Teachers may wish to encourage students to demonstrate their understanding graphically or with illustrations in addition to words.
- Prior to starting, teachers will need to remind students of the need to ensure their sources are reputable and accurate. A key component of this task is using critical thinking skills to determine the validity of their sources. YouTube videos from [McMaster](#) or [Western University](#) can help facilitate this conversation. There are many checklists that are available to empower students to confirm the credibility of their sources. Students should be directed to sources that are in the resource list in addition to ones such as Britannica or peer-reviewed articles from available databases that are specific to school libraries. The website [Centre for International Affairs](#) may be helpful. Please see Appendix 2.2 for Teacher Reference and possible resources. Note the numbers 1-11 accompany the students' topics. Numbers 12-18 are later events should teachers require more group topics for the activity.
- At the back of the chart paper, the students can consider the question "Based on your understanding of this event, do you think it demonstrates that South Korea was ready for democracy?" Students are to use the democratic indicators created during Activity 2 to support their decision.

Consolidation

Activity #4 - Human Timeline Creation

- Once each group has completed their ‘timeline moment’ illustrations on their chart paper and answered the question, each group will assemble into a ‘human timeline.’ Please see ‘Facing History’ for an explanation of this [teaching strategy](#).
- Students will line up in the chronological order of events (it is recommended for this line to look more like a u-shape so that the students can see each other’s timeline pieces), and present their event to the class, explaining what happened, using the visuals or graphics they created. They will also explain whether they thought their event showed South Korea’s readiness for democracy.
- Consolidate students’ understanding through a class discussion and ask students to draw conclusions based on the events examined. The teacher will help students identify which indicators were present or have had emerged by 1980.

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FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA REVIEW QUIZ

1. Which leader(s) came to power through a military coup d'état?

- A. Syngman Rhee
- B. Park Chung-hee
- C. Chun Doo-hwan
- D. Both B and C

2. Which leader(s) held a referendum to change the country's constitution?

- A. Syngman Rhee
- B. Park Chung-hee
- C. Chun Doo-hwan
- D. Both B and C

3. Which leader(s) fell from power due to pro-democracy protests?

- A. Syngman Rhee
- B. Park Chung-hee
- C. Chun Doo-hwan
- D. Both A and C

4. Which leader(s) sought to be President for Life?

- A. Syngman Rhee
- B. Park Chung-hee
- C. Chun Doo-hwan
- D. Both A and B

5. Which leader(s) had authoritarian characteristics during one or more points during residency?

- A. Syngman Rhee
- B. Park Chung-hee
- C. Chun Doo-hwan
- D. All of the above

TEACHER BACKGROUNDER AND SOURCES

1. 19th April 1960 April Revolution

The 1960 election victory of President Syngman Rhee was widely regarded as fraudulent. It prompted protests by students and erupted into violence. It was also fueled by ongoing frustrations regarding corruption, economic inequalities, and the use of force by the government. The protests persisted until they forced the resignation of President Rhee on April 26th.

Source:

"April Student Revolt, Korea 1960," Washington State University Libraries' Films. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAIasNrcCho>

"South Korean students force dictator to resign, new elections, 1960," Global Nonviolent Action Database <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-korean-students-force-dictator-resign-new-elections-1960>

2. 23rd August 1960 Establishment of the Second Republic

Following the student protests of early 1960, the Second Republic was formed under the leadership of the Democratic Party. The Republic was short lived despite the government's efforts to rid police and government ranks of those thought to be anti-democratic. Continuing protests as well as economic problems compounded the instability and a coup d'état led by Major General Park Chung-hee on May 16, 1961, and brought the Second Republic to an end.

Source:

"History of South Korea". New World Encyclopedia. https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/History_of_South_Korea#Second_Republic

3. 16th May 1961 - Park Chung-hee's Military Coup

In response to the social upheaval and instability in South Korea following the April 19th Movement, Maj. Gen. Park Chung-hee and his Military Revolution Committee launched a coup against South Korea's fragile democracy. Park Chung-hee and his supporters gained control of all major cities in South Korea in a matter of hours. He then imposed martial law and dissolved the democratic constitution. Park Chung-hee then formed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction to govern the country and quickly started imposing reforms.

Source:

"Cable from Qiao Xiaoguang, 'The South Korean Military Coup Situation,'" May 16, 1961, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 106-00581-03, 19-20. Translated by Anna Beth Keim. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/111303>

"Coup Brought Park Chunfi Hee to Power in 1961." The New York Times. October 27, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/10/27/archives/coup-brought-park-chung-hee-to-power-in-1961.html>

Yu, Woo-ik, and Young Ick Lew. "History." Encyclopædia Britannica. August 06, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Korea/History#ref411515>.

4. June 19, 1961 - Creation of the Korean Central Intelligence Office (KCIA)

Park Chung-hee's government quickly established the KCIA to prevent a counter-coup and any dissent. The KCIA had sweeping powers and was almost like a combination of the CIA and FBI in the United States. According to the Federation of American Scientists website, the KCIA had "practically unlimited power to investigate and to detain any person accused of antistate behavior... The frequent questioning, detention, or even prosecution of dissidents, opposition figures, and reporters seriously jeopardized basic freedoms and created an atmosphere of political repression" in South Korea.

Source:

National Intelligence Service." National Intelligence Service - South Korea Intelligence & Security Agencies. <https://fas.org/irp/world/rok/nis.htm>.

5. October 15th, 1963 Election of Park Chung-hee as President

On March 16th, 1963, General Park declared that his military rule should continue for 4 more years in order to establish "stability" in South Korea. The United States, who South Korea still depended on for support, insisted that an election be called to see if the people would support 4 more years under Park. Park ran for President as a member of the Democratic-Republican Party. On October 15th, 1963, Park won the election, but only by a slight majority. Park received 47% of the vote, when his main opposition received 45%. Park also won the next Presidential election in 1967 and thus from 1963 to 1972, there technically was a "democratic" government in South Korea, but Park's rule was authoritarian and any opposition was quashed by the military.

Source:

C. I. Eugene Kim. "Significance of the 1963 Korean Elections." *Asian Survey* 4, no. 3 (1964): 765-73. Accessed August 7, 2020. doi:10.2307/3023564.

Brazinky, Gregg A. "Park Chung Hee (1917-1979)." Wilson Center Digital Archive. History and Public Policy Program Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, n.d. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/resource/modern-korean-history-portal/park-chung-hee>.

6. October 17th, 1969 Third Term amendment to the Constitution

On September 14th, 1969, the ruling Democratic-Republican Party passed a bill to amend(change) the constitution. The change would allow Park Chung-hee to run for a third term as President. This issue was brought to the public in a referendum on October 17th, 1969. The referendum result showed 65% in support of the amendment, but the legitimacy of the vote was questionable. Park's government spent 60 million during the campaign while the opposition could only raise 300 000. The government also censored the newspapers leading up to the referendum and silenced student groups who protested by shutting down schools.

Source:

Y. C. Han. "The 1969 Constitutional Revision and Party Politics in South Korea." *Pacific Affairs* 44, no. 2 (1971): 242-58. Accessed August 7, 2020. doi:10.2307/2755380.

7. April 27th, 1971 General Park Chung-hee Becomes President for a Third Term

Park Chung-hee won the election with 51.2% of the popular vote. Park's major opposition in that election was Kim Dae-jung of the New Democratic Party. Kim Dae-jung earned 43.6% of the total votes cast. However, Park's party lost many seats in the subsequent National Assembly election. For example, out of 19 seats in Seoul, Park's Democratic-Republican Party only secured 1 seat, while the opposition, The New Democratic Party won 18. The National Assembly election showed that Koreans were starting to be unhappy with the Park government, although they were not completely fed up with Park as President.

Source:

I. EuC.I. Eugene Kim. "The Meaning of the 1971 Korean Elections: A Pattern of Political Development." *Asian Survey* 12, no. 3 (1972): 213-24. Accessed August 12, 2020. doi:10.2307/2642874.

8. 1972 - 1978 Yushin Constitution and its aftermath

Fearing the strength of North Korea, Park Chung-hee called a state of emergency, suspended the constitution, and used the military to enforce martial law. In November 1972, Park held a referendum on his newly created Yushin (Revitalizing Reform) Constitution. This constitution would basically allow Park to become a dictator and appoint his allies to the National Assembly. The Yushin Constitution was approved in a rigged referendum. The Yushin Constitution allowed Park to issue emergency decrees if he believed there was a crisis. In January 1974, he outlawed any opposition to his government including spoken disagreement. In addition, long hair and guitars (symbols of the youth opposition) were also outlawed. If anyone was found to oppose the government, they could be imprisoned for up to 15 years. It is thus no surprise that Park was re-elected unopposed twice more during the 1970s.

Source:

Breen, Michael. "Park Got Dictatorial Powers with Yushin Constitution in 1972." *koreatimes*, October 31, 2010. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2010/10/116_75537.html

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9. October 16th - 20th, 1979 Bu-Ma (also known as Pu-Ma) Democratic Protests

Student groups began protesting at Busan(Pusan) National University on October 16th, against the Yushin Constitution and Park's dictatorship. Fed up with the dictatorship of Park who, according to the author Sunwoo Nam, was "above the law" and "ruled with an iron hand." The fact that Park "could not be bothered by a free press" and used the Korean Central Intelligence Agency for "interrogation" and "well placed torture methods" to oppress any opposition made him very unpopular with student groups who longed for democracy. By the end of the first day of protest, there were over 50 000 people protesting at the Busan City Hall. The protests later spilled over to Kyungnam University in Masan, where 10 000 gathered to protest. To quash the protests on October 20th, Park invoked the Garrison Act and used the military to arrest protest leaders.

Source:

"Park Chung-Hee." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, August 4, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Park_Chung-hee.

"Bu-Ma Democratic Protests." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, September 15, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bu-Ma_Democratic_Protests.

Quotations:

Nam, S. (1980). The Korean Press After Park. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 26(4), 259–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001654928002600403> (259).

10. October to December 1979 Assassination of Park Chung-hee and the 12-12 Incident

Park Chung-hee was not satisfied with the KCIA's handling of the student protests. During a heated disagreement, Kim Chaegyu, the director of the KCIA, pulled out his gun and shot Park and Park's bodyguard. After the assassination, the military put General Chun Doo-hwan in charge of the investigation into Park Chung-hee's murder. On December 12th, General Chun Doo-hwan arrested the Army Chief of Staff, falsely accusing him of being a part of Park's assassination. With the support of the military, Chun Doo-hwan became the new Chief of Staff, and took over the KCIA, essentially making himself the new military dictator of South Korea. This incident became known as the 12-12 coup.

Source:

Brazinky, Gregg A. "Park Chung Hee (1917-1979)." Wilson Center Digital Archive. History and Public Policy Program Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, n.d. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/resource/modern-korean-history-portal/park-chung-hee>.

Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. *South Korea since 1980*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. (29)

How Much Do You Know about the Gwangju Uprising & Ex-President Chun Doo-Hwan. *KoreaNow*. Yonhap News Agency. All Rights Reserved, 2019. <https://koreanow.com>.

Lew, Young Ick, and Woo-ik Yu. "The Yushin Order (Fourth Republic)." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., August 13, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Korea/The-Yushin-order-Fourth-Republic>.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. "Chun Doo Hwan." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., January 14, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Chun-Doo-Hwan>.

11. May 18th - 27th, 1980 Gwangju Uprising

After Park Chung-hee's assassination, there was hope that South Korea would move from a dictatorship to a democracy. Student groups that wanted Chun Doo-hwan removed from power, started demonstrations in various Korean cities, including around 100 000 students in Seoul on May 15th. On May 17th, Chun moved to arrest 26 opposition leaders, including the popular politician from Gwangju, Kim Dae-jung. On May 18th, students at Chonnam University in Gwangju gathered to protest Chun's actions. As the students started to march downtown, other citizens joined them. Chun Doo-hwan sent in the military to quash the protest. What resulted was 10 days of violence in the streets of Gwangju as more and more citizens, outraged by army brutality, joined the protest and armed themselves by raiding military supply stores. The Gwangju citizens also provided medical care for each other and cooked communal meals. Eventually, on May 27th, 20 000 army troops took back control of the city. The Chun government tried to hide the true number of civilians killed, saying that only 144 citizens had died, however, according to a city census 2000 Gwangju citizens were missing after the incident. Some refer to this as South Korea's Tiananmen.

Source:

Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. *South Korea since 1980*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. (32)

Szczepanski, Kallie. "The Gwangju Massacre, 1980." ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-gwangju-massacre-1980-195726> (accessed August 12, 2020).

The following is included should teachers need to add additional group topics.

12. February 12th, 1986 New Korea Democratic Party's circulation of pro-democracy petition

Following the Gwangju Massacre, Chun Doo-hwan's regime arrested anyone who opposed his military rule. This made Chun so unpopular that by 1983, he decided to loosen restrictions. He released some political dissidents from jail, allowed pro-democracy academics back into universities as well as expelled students. He also allowed opposition parties. In 1985, labour unions and students groups joined together to form a group called The People's Movement Coalition for Democracy and Reunification (PMCDR), and that same year, a pro-democracy political party called the New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP) was formed. In February 1986, the NKDP started a petition to change the constitution of South Korea to allow for a direct Presidential election. This petition helped prompt many pro-democracy protests against the Chun government throughout 1986.

Source:

Lahey, George. "South Koreans Win Mass Campaign for Democracy, 1986-87." Edited by Max Rennebohm. Global Nonviolent Action Database. Swarthmore College, June 7, 2011. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-win-mass-campaign-democracy-1986-87>.

Title of the page : National Museum of Korean Contemporary History(대한민국 역사박물관) http://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9

13. January 14th, 1987 Death of Student Protestor Park Jong- Chul

21-year-old Seoul National University student Park Jong-chul suffocated after being tortured by police. The student was brought in for questioning as police were trying to locate another "radical" student protestor. The "questioning tactics" involved dunking Park's head into a tub of water repeatedly. When Park Jong-chul stopped breathing, Doctor Oh Yeon-sang was called in to perform CPR, but Park Jong-chul was dead - his throat had been crushed. The next day, Doctor Oh Yeon-sang told reporters what he had witnessed. Once Park Jong-chul's torture was made public, protests increased across all of South Korea and drew support from many ordinary citizens who had previously not been involved in the pro-democracy movement.

Source:

Haberman, Clyde. "SEOUL STUDENT'S TORTURE DEATH CHANGES POLITICAL LANDSCAPE." The New York Times. The New York Times, January 31, 1987. <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/31/world/seoul-student-s-torture-death-changes-political-landscape.html>.

Lahey, George. "South Koreans Win Mass Campaign for Democracy, 1986-87." Edited by Max Rennebohm. Global Nonviolent Action Database. Swarthmore College, June 7, 2011. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-win-mass-campaign-democracy-1986-87>.

Sungeun, Lee. "30 Years on, Son's Murder Still Haunts Family." Korea JoongAng Daily. Korea JoongAng Daily, January 12, 2017. <https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2017/01/12/socialAffairs/30-years-on-sons-murder-still-haunts-family/3028599.html>.

14. April 13th, 1987 Chun Doo-hwan announces the safeguarding of the constitution

Due to mounting political pressure, in mid-1986, Chun Doo-hwan created a government group to meet with opposition leaders and discuss changes to the constitution to allow for direct presidential elections. Talks had been ongoing throughout the previous year, however, on April 13th, 1987, Chun announced that constitutional talks were to be suspended until after the 1988 Olympics. This showed that Chun had no intention of restoring democratic elections before the 1987 Presidential Election. This announcement led many groups in South Korean society, including religious leaders, students, activists, and labourers to form the National Movement Headquarters for Democratic Constitution (NMHDC).

Source:

Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. *South Korea since 1980*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. (37)

Lahey, George. "South Koreans Win Mass Campaign for Democracy, 1986-87." Edited by Max Rennebohm. Global Nonviolent Action Database. Swarthmore College, June 7, 2011. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-win-mass-campaign-democracy-1986-87>.

15. June 10th - 29th 1987 June Democratic Struggle or the June Democracy Movement

Chun announced that his friend General Roh Tae-woo would be the next President under the unchanged, undemocratic constitution. In response, rallies were organized across the country on June 10th to demand direct presidential elections. Protests continued in the days that followed and grew after a student was killed when police launched tear gas bombs at the protestors and one cracked his skull. The largest protest occurred on June 26th that involved 37 cities across South Korea and 1.5 million participants. What made a real difference in the June protests was that student groups joined with labour unions, farmers, religious leaders, and for the first time, white-collar workers of South Korea's middle class (known as the "necktie brigade"). The immense street demonstrations could not be controlled by the police.

Source:

Chang-sup, Lee. "Revisiting June 29 in 1987." koreatimes. The Korea Times, June 28, 2012. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2015/03/298_114038.html.

Lahey, George. "South Koreans Win Mass Campaign for Democracy, 1986-87." Edited by Max Rennebohm. Global Nonviolent Action Database. Swarthmore College, June 7, 2011. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-win-mass-campaign-democracy-1986-87>.

Sung-Joo, Han. "South Korea in 1987: The Politics of Democratization." *Asian Survey* 28, no. 1 (1988): 52-61. Accessed August 17, 2020. doi:10.2307/2644872.

Title of the page : National Museum of Korean Contemporary History(대한민국 역사박물관) http://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9

16. June 29th, 1987 The 6.29 Declaration

Chun Doo-hwan's pick for the next president, Roh Tae-woo, announced that he would give in to the demands of the protestors. He promised the creation of a new democratic constitution, direct presidential elections for the upcoming election, the release of political prisoners, freedom of the press, increased human rights, and protection for all political parties. Chun Doo-hwan later endorsed Roh's proposal, and the course was set for the democratization of South Korea. Chun's decision to allow for the transition to democracy was most likely based on pressure from the United States, the International Olympics Committee (as Seoul was set to host the 1988 Olympic Games), and the fact that the large middle class of South Korea had joined the June Democracy Movement.

Source:

Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. *South Korea since 1980*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. (38-39)

17. October 27th - December 16th, 1987 Democratic Constitution and Direct Presidential Election

The government of Chun Doo-hwan met with opposition leaders to develop a new democratic constitution. It was put to a referendum on October 27th, with 93.1% of the voting population in favour. The new constitution included direct presidential elections. On December 16th, the presidential election by a direct popular vote was held (the first in 26 years). For this election, South Koreans had the choice between Roh Tae-woo (the leader of the previous government ruling party the Democratic Justice Party), or one of the leaders from the opposition parties (Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae Jung, or Kim Jong Pil). Because the opposition vote was divided by three, Roh Tae-woo won with 36.6% of the vote, with Kim Young-sam receiving 28% and Kim Dae Jung receiving 27%. Although the ruling party did win the election, the Korean people democratically elected their President, and the ruling party only had a minority government.

Source:

Sung-Joo, Han. "South Korea in 1987: The Politics of Democratization." *Asian Survey* 28, no. 1 (1988): 52-61. Accessed August 17, 2020. doi:10.2307/2644872.

Title of the page : National Museum of Korean Contemporary History(대한민국 역사박물관) http://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9.

18. 1992 Presidential Election and Kim Young-sam as President

Kim Young-sam became the first president without a military background in 1992. The election of Kim showed the growth of South Korea's democracy as it was the second direct presidential election and the second peaceful transition of power for a democratically elected government. Once in office, Kim enacted laws to help curb government corruption - anyone running for office had to disclose their personal finances and campaign financing became regulated to discourage bribery of politicians. Kim also made changes so that the civilian government had control over the military. Finally, during Kim Young-sam's time in government, the former Presidents Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo were charged with bribery and for their roles in the 12-12 coup and the Gwangju Uprising. Both were found guilty in 1996.

Source:

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Chun Doo Hwan." Encyclopædia Britannica. January 14, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Chun-Doo-Hwan>.

Yoon, Sanghyun. "South Korea's Kim Young Sam Government: Political Agendas." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 5 (1996): 511-22. Accessed August 20, 2020. doi:10.2307/2645497.

LESSON THREE

WHAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE 1987 JUNE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT?



Key Questions

- Who were the main actors pushing for democracy?
- What did they want, specifically?
- What methods did they employ to push for democracy?



Assessment Opportunities

Assessment for learning:

- Assessment of prior knowledge of social movements in Canada through Minds On brainstorm
- Venn Diagram contrasting and comparing selected social movement and June Democratic Movement of 1987 in South Korea
- Exit ticket response to a question: “What three factors do you think are most important for real societal change to occur?”

Before the Activity:

- This lesson can be used to follow the earlier timeline activity or it can be used independently.
- Teachers will require technology to enable presentation of slideshow.
- Teachers should print or provide access to handouts: Appendix 3.1, Appendix 3.2, Appendix 3.3.
- Students should be familiar with historical thinking concepts and the inquiry process.

Curriculum Connections

CHY4U

- A1.** Historical Inquiry: Use the historical inquiry process and the concepts of historical thinking when investigating aspects of world history since the fifteenth century.
- E1.** Social, Economic, and Political Context: Analyze the significance of various social, economic, and political policies, developments, and ideas in various regions of the world since 1900.
- E1.1** Analyze the impact of some key social trends and/or developments in various regions of the world during this period.
- E2.** Communities, Conflict, and Cooperation: Analyze interactions between various groups since 1900 and how key individuals and social, economic, and political forces have affected those interactions.
- E2.3** Explain how the actions of some significant individuals and groups have contributed to conflicts within and between various countries during this period.

ACTIVITY OUTLINE

Minds On

Activity #1 - Successful Social Movement Criteria Creation

- Provide students with a copy of the handout for the lesson (see Appendix 3.1).
- Prepare to present “Successful Social Movements” slideshow (see the attachment)
 - The handout accompanies the entire slideshow (activity #1, #2, #3)
- Using the slide 2, , provide students with the definition of ‘social movement’ from Wikipedia or another general source. E.g., A “Social Movement is a loosely organized effort by a large group of people to achieve a particular goal, typically a social or political one.” Students will write the definition on their handout.
- In small groups created by the teacher, students can brainstorm about social movements they already know about from Canadian History (slide 3) (i.e., Women’s Suffrage, On-to- Ottawa Trek, events during Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, Women’s Rights Caravan of 1970, “We Demand” LGBTQIA+ Rally, Idle No More).
- Students may use the provided handout to record brainstorming ideas - Appendix 3.1.
- With their prior knowledge of social movements, students will be asked to brainstorm a list of factors they think can contribute to making a social movement successful (slide 4).
- The teacher will compile students’ answers on the whiteboard (or a digital alternative like Jamboard or Padlet), and students will record all of the factors the class brainstormed on their handout.

Action

Activity #2 - Mini overview of the situation in Korea prior to 1987

- Referring to the slides (slide 5 to 8), the teacher will provide students with a brief overview of the political situation in Korea prior to the June Struggle of 1987 and directly afterward. This will serve as a review for an earlier lesson or provide context for this lesson if used independently.

Activity #3 - Documentary Clip Viewing and Analysis

- Students will watch a 10-minute clip (30:00 - 39:50) of the documentary “[The Dynamic Development of Korean Democracy](#),” which focuses on the year 1987, specifically the events that led up to the June Democracy Movement and what occurred during the struggle in June 1987. Two other videos that may be of interest to teachers include “[Looking Back on June Democratic Movement](#)” or the movie “[1987: When the Day Comes](#)” (this is the trailer only).
- As they watch, students will record what factors they think contributed to the success of the June Democratic Movement.
- The teacher will then take up the activity and compile students’ responses on the whiteboard (or digital alternatives such as Jamboard or Padlet).

Consolidation

Activity #4 - Compare and Contrast the June Democratic Movement of 1987 with a current social or democratic movement

- In small groups, students can select a social or democratic movement occurring in Canada or around the world (possibilities could include the #MeToo Movement, the Climate Movement, the Black Lives Matter movement) and using a Venn Diagram Graphic Organizer (see Appendix 3.2), compare and contrast it to the June Democratic Movement of 1987 in South Korea. Teachers may wish to do this activity with an event previously studied as a class or allow students to do research and expand options.
- Each group can share their findings with the class.
- Students will complete an exit card where they share their answer to this question “What three factors do you think are most important for real societal change to occur?”

Activity #5 – Possible extension activity – Role of Women in Democratization Process

- Students are encouraged to read the article “Where are all the Women in South Korea’s Democracy Protests?” and respond to the questions in Appendix 3.3. This can be done together as a class with a follow-up discussion or completed independently and assessed.

RESOURCES

Brazinsky, Gregg Editor. Korea and the World: New Frontiers in Korean Studies. March 15th, 2019.

Kim, Sae-Yoon. “How The June Struggle for Democracy Ushered Democracy into Korea.” Kookmin University Press(국민대학교 신문방송사), June 1, 2020. <http://press.kookmin.ac.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=101508>

Korea Democracy Foundation (Seoul). The Dynamic Development of Korean Democracy. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUbuykLagps>

JUNE STRUGGLE 1987

*This handout is to accompany the classroom conversation & slideshow presentation (attached “Successful Social Movements”)

What is the definition of a social movement?

Brainstorm any social movements you have heard of:

-
-
-
-
-

List some factors that you think are key in making social movements successful (i.e., funding):

-
-
-
-

As you watch the clip from the documentary “The Dynamic Development of Korean Democracy,” jot down factors that you think contributed to the success of the June Democratic Movement:

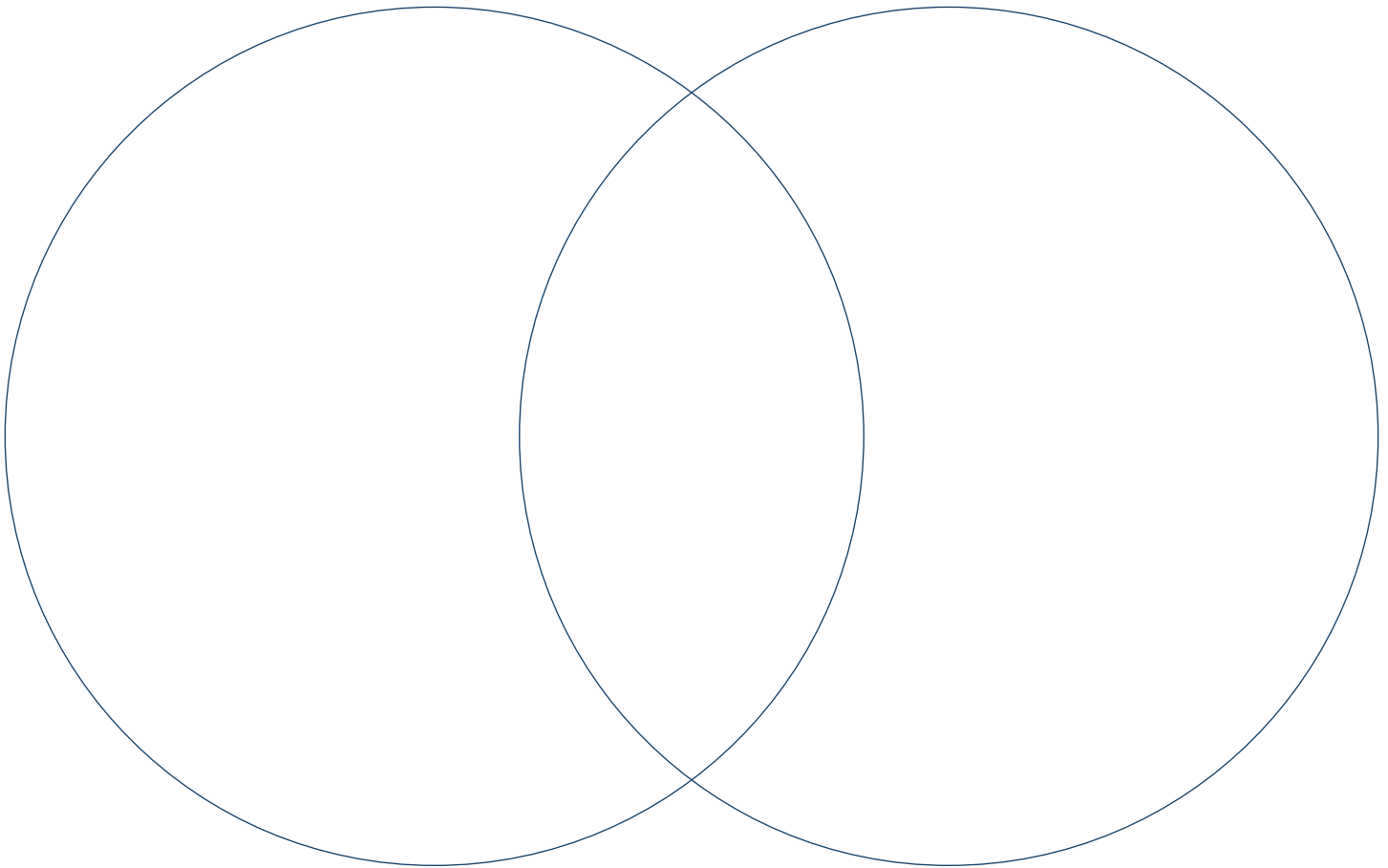
-
-
-
-

Compare with the original criteria we established for successful social movements to the factors that contributed to the success of the June Democracy Movement. What criteria would you add to your original list after having examined the example of the June Struggle in South Korea in 1987?

COMPARING & CONTRASTING

**June Democracy Movement
1987 (South Korea)**

Current Social Movement



STUDENT READING EXTENSION ACTIVITY

Social and political movements are prompted by the actions and ideas of various groups of people. Sometimes, the telling of history omits groups of people in recounting a historically significant event or change. Please read this interesting article, [“Where are all the Women in South Korea’s Democracy Protests?”](#), about the role young women played in the June Democracy Movement.

Before Reading:

There may be some new or unfamiliar terms in this article. Place the number of the description next to the appropriate word.

martyr	To destroy or put an end to	petition	A system in which people are ranked according to authority or status
entrenched	A firmly established belief	immortalize	System or society in which men have the authority and women have little power
patriarchy	Well recognized or well established	iconic	A state of great trouble or suffering
tribulations	Enduring or ongoing fame	coup	A formal written request signed by many people
hierarchy	A person who is killed because of their religion or beliefs		
eradicate	A sudden, often violent seizure of power		

After reading:

1. What were some of the roles played by women during the democracy movement?

2. What were some of the challenges faced by women?

3. What are some of the challenges faced by historians who wish to acknowledge the contributions of the many different people who participated in the movement?

LESSON FOUR

WHAT DOES DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA LOOK LIKE TODAY?



Key Questions

- What is the current state of democracy in South Korea?
- Are the democratic indicators present?
- In what ways is democracy thriving?



Assessment Opportunities

Assessment for learning:

Assessment for learning:

- Observation of student responses in Minds On discussion
- Student contributions to small group conversations in jigsaw reading activity
- Final consolidation task (e.g. paragraph, a 60-second oral summary, a tweet or single statement or exit ticket) to communicate student response to the question “What does democracy in South Korea look like today?”

Before the Activity:

- Teachers should print or provide access to Appendix 4.1 and access to readings (Appendices 4.2-4.6) for jigsaw activity in the Action section.
- Refer to prior learning about indicators of democracy if this lesson is taught independently of the other lessons.
- Teacher consideration: The online version of CHY 4U provided by the Ontario Ministry of Education starts with an activity that asks students to decide which cities in 1450 (Timbuktu, Seoul, Edo, Venice, etc.) seemed to be on the rise. **Is Korea on the Rise? Or What does democracy in South Korea look like today?** is an effective bookend to that activity. Thus, if you used the **Cities on the Rise** activity from the online course, consider reminding students of that activity before you begin this lesson.

Curriculum Connections

CHY4U

- A1.** Historical Inquiry: use the historical inquiry process and the concepts of historical thinking when investigating aspects of world history since the fifteenth century.
- E1.1** Analyse the impact of some key social trends and/or developments in various regions of the world during this period.
- E1.4** Describe forms of government in various countries during this period.
- E2.4** Analyze some significant interactions between diverse groups during this period, including those characterized by violence and/or deprivation of rights, as well as those characterized by cooperation.

ACTIVITY OUTLINE

Minds On

Activity #1 - South Korea Today

Ask students: What do you think of when you think of South Korea? Student responses may include popular culture such as K-pop or movies, connections with family or friends, and/or the response to the pandemic among many others. Take a few moments to brainstorm and discuss students' perceptions of South Korea. Teachers may wish to share a piece of music, theatre, dance, or movie clip with the students.

- As a class, read an excerpt from the article "[Democracy 30 years old and at a crossroads](#)." Model close reading and ask students if they can identify any of the indicators of democracy. Use this time to remind students of those indicators of a strong democracy, including:

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| - Free elections | - Election results are trusted | - Healthy arts |
| - Peaceful elections | - Stable governments | - Effective representation |
| - Freedoms (e.g., speech) | - Established political parties | - Accountability |

Action

Activity #2 - Jigsaw Reading Activity

- Prepare students for a jigsaw activity. Students will be assigned a reading. They will then engage in a close reading of their article, identify the indicators of democracy in their excerpt, and share their findings with their peers. Alternately, the teacher may choose to have students do a more in-depth investigation and read each of the five readings.
- Divide students into groups. There are five areas to investigate. On the top of each reading, students will see a list of the indicators of democracy. As the students read the article, they are to highlight the indicators of democracy that are evident.
 - **Democracy in South Korea Reading 1** - South Korean Military (Appendix 4.2)
 - **Democracy in South Korea Reading 2** - Hallyu: The South Korean Cultural Wave (Appendix 4.3)
 - **Democracy in South Korea Reading 3** - The South Korean Economy (Appendix 4.4)
 - **Democracy in South Korea Reading 4** - Politics and Law in South Korea (Appendix 4.5)
 - **Democracy in South Korea Reading 5** - How Do South Koreans View Their Democracy? (Appendix 4.6)

Consolidation

Activity #3 - What does democracy in South Korea look like today?

- Arrange the students in groups so there is one person with each of the articles. (Several approaches can work, including Kagan structures and jigsaws) Ask students to share the highlights of their reading.
- Once all groups have shared their categories, have them answer the question: "***What does democracy in South Korea look like today?***" Teachers may choose to ask students to write a short group paragraph, a 60-second oral summary, a tweet or single statement, or an exit ticket to communicate their answer.

RESOURCES

Albert, Eleanor. "South Korea's Chaebol Challenge." Council on Foreign Relations. May 4th 2018. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/south-koreas-chaebol-challenge>

Cha, Jeremiah. *Fast facts about South Koreans' views of democracy as legislative election nears*. Pew Research Center. Accessed February 26, 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/04/14/fast-facts-about-south-koreans-views-of-democracy-as-legislative-election-nears/>.

"GDP by country." Worldometers. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.worldometers.info/gdp/gdp-by-country/>

"Hamilton." Google Earth. August 26th 2020.

Hoad, Phil. "Funny, political and bone-crunchingly violent: why Korean cinema is the world's best." The Guardian. February 1st 2000. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/feb/01/from-peppermint-candy-to-parasite-korean-cinemas-new-golden-age-parasite>

Johnson, Chalmers. "The Democratization of South Korea: What Role Did Economic Development Play?" Copenhagen Papers. Last Access February 27th 2021. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/51177568.pdf>

"London." Google Earth. August 26th 2020.

"Ottawa." Google Earth. August 26th 2020.

Piexus. "K-pop fans in Warsaw, Poland, outside the Korean cultural centre." Wikipedia. August 28th 2011. Last Accessed February 27 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kpop_fans_in_poland.jpg

Ro, Christine. "BTS and EXO: The Soft power roots of K-pop." BBC. March 9th 2000. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20200309-the-soft-power-roots-of-k-pop>

"South Korea Military Strength (2021). Global Firepower. Access February 26, 2021. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=South-Korea:"Toronto." Google Earth. August 26th 2020.

DEMOCRACY 30 YEARS OLD AND AT A CROSSROADS

2017-01-01

It has been 30 years since South Korea became a democracy in 1987, ending decades of military dictatorship that had focused on defending against communist North Korea during the Cold War and spearheading the country's economic rise.

Throughout the past three decades, the country has seen the peaceful transition of power from one administration to the next. Voters chose their leaders every five years at nationwide polls and the elected presidents ranged from pro-democracy fighters to a dictator's daughter.

But the young democracy had its own issues. Every president elected since 1987 has found themselves embroiled in a corruption scandal near the end of their single five-year term. It was often linked to their family members, relatives, or close aides.

In the last two months of 2016, the country witnessed the culmination of this recurring problem.

President Park Geun-hye was once thought to be immune to corruption and nepotism since she had no family of her own. She had lost both of her parents (President Park Chung-hee and first lady Yuk Young-soo) in assassinations and was estranged from her siblings.

But she was mired in an unprecedented scandal that many said has fundamentally undermined the country's core democratic values. Amid massive protests, Park was impeached on Dec. 9th (2016).

The debacle has sparked a widespread reevaluation of the country's governance system set out in the Constitution that was written in 1987. Calls for Constitutional amendment are ripe, as the Park fiasco presents to the country a new challenge to build a more resilient democracy.

Source: Herald, The Korea. "Democracy 30 Years Old and at a Crossroads." The Korea Herald, January 1, 2017. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170101000244#>.

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA

READING 1

1. Read the following

2. Identify and highlight any of the following democratic characteristics you see present in Korea today:

- ☐ Free elections
- ☐ Peaceful elections
- ☐ Freedoms (e.g., speech)
- ☐ Election results are trusted
- ☐ Stable governments
- ☐ Established political parties
- ☐ Healthy arts
- ☐ Effective representation
- ☐ Accountability
- ☐ Other _____

South Korean Military

South Korea's military capability has always been at least partially defined by the United States. After the Korean War, US forces remained in South Korea, creating military bases throughout the Korean peninsula to thwart potential attacks from the North. This relationship still exists: there are over 20 000 US personnel in South Korea today.

While the United States is clearly a part of the South Korean defense strategy, the nation has also built a remarkable force of its own. Mandatory military service for all able-bodied men means that a staggering 41% of its population is listed as fit for service. North Korean active forces may be over 1 million—double that of South Korea—but the reserve personnel in South Korea number at over 3 million. Coupled with its highly advanced navy and ground technology, these numbers mean that South Korea has one of the most powerful militaries in the world.

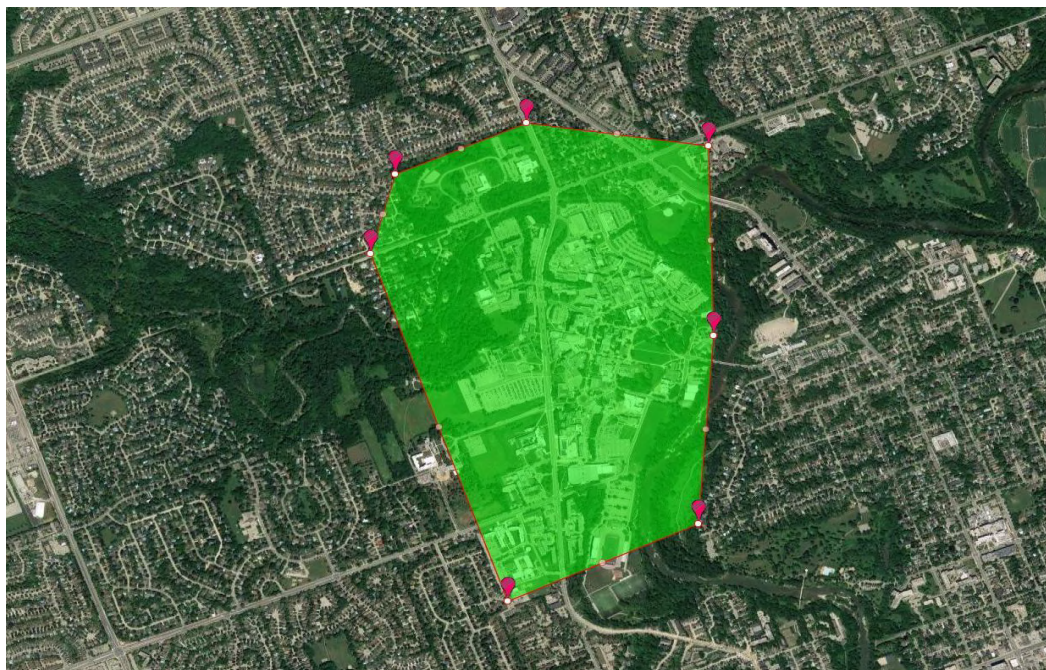
Several factors, however, still impact Korea's military influence. Four of the five nations considered to have more powerful militaries—China, Russia, Japan, and India—are also in Asia, which limits the influence the South Korean military can exert in the region. This is exacerbated by the constant threat posed by North Korea which dominates discussions of South Korean defence. South Korea's military stance is also impacted by its relationship with the United States. The US is a powerful ally, but its military presence is often a topic of debate. Some citizens wonder if South Korea still needs direct US support. Besides, the US presence requires valuable land in a country where real estate is incredibly expensive. Seoul, the capital of South Korea, is routinely ranked as one of the most expensive cities in the world; it is also home to the Yongsan Military Base, a US base that is over 600 acres. By comparison, 600 acres in Toronto would encompass the Fashion District, the Entertainment District (including the Scotiabank Centre and Rogers Centre), Old Toronto, and most of the Harbourfront. The process of returning the land utilized by American military to the South Korean government has begun although progress is complicated by economic, political, and environmental considerations. The images below show an area the size of Yongsan Military Base overlaid on various Canadian cities. What would these cities be like if these areas were replaced with military bases controlled by an ally?



Toronto: the Rogers Centre is the circular building in the middle of the map. “Toronto.” Google Earth. August 26th 2020.



Hamilton: the green area encompasses MacMaster University and several neighbourhoods. “Hamilton.” Google Earth. August 26th 2020.



London: Yongsan Base is bigger than the entire UWO campus “London.” *Google Earth.* August 26th 2020.



Ottawa: the building in the top-right corner of the green area is the Parliament Building “Ottawa.” *Google Earth.* August 26th 2020.

Sources:

“2021 South Korea Military Strength.” Global Firepower - World Military Strength, 3 Mar. 2021, www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=south-korea.

“Armed Forces and Security.” Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/place/South-Korea/Armed-forces-and-security.

Central Intelligence Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/korea-south/#military-and-security.

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA

READING 2

1. Read the following

2. Identify and highlight any of the following democratic characteristics you see present in Korea today:

- ☐ Free elections
- ☐ Peaceful elections
- ☐ Freedoms (e.g., speech)
- ☐ Election results are trusted
- ☐ Stable governments
- ☐ Established political parties
- ☐ Healthy arts
- ☐ Effective representation
- ☐ Accountability
- ☐ Other _____

Hallyu: The South Korean Cultural Wave

Hallyu, the name given to the South Korean cultural wave, is everywhere. K-Pop is wildly popular, Korean dramas are huge hits in multiple regions of the world, and Korean cinema features some of the most creative and respected directors on the planet. How did this happen? Part of the explanation is a radical shift in government policy. The dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s imposed censorship laws that stifled creativity; for example, South Korean filmmakers were not allowed to portray North Korean soldiers as compelling or nuanced characters because the South Korean government would consider such a portrayal as pro-communist. In the late 80s, however, artists were given the freedom to create; in the late 90s, the government also provided financial support to artists in an attempt to strengthen the economy and protect Korean arts. This meant that artists who had been silenced in the early 80s were actively encouraged to create their own stories with little or no restrictions.

The Korean film industry grew rapidly in the years that followed. Drawing inspiration from the American films that were finally allowed in Korea in the late 80s, Korean filmmakers experimented with the thriller, rom-com, and horror genres. The result was often something that was familiar and yet incredibly inventive and new. For example, several important films used the Demilitarized Zone between the Koreas to tell stories and to heighten suspense, providing layers to thrillers that were uncommon in Hollywood. In the 2000s, new Korean directors pushed storytelling even further. Lee Chang-dong's *Peppermint Candy*, for example, uses its protagonist's life as a symbol for recent Korean history; the story is told reverse-chronologically, relying on the visual cues of peppermint candy in numerous scenes to hold the story together. Another director, Bong Joon-ho, is credible for some of the most compelling films in decades. *The Host*, for example, is both a monster movie and a satire and yet features touching and insightful moments rarely seen in either genre. His most famous work, however, is *Parasite*, the first foreign film to win the Academy Award for Best Picture and perhaps the best indicator that Korean cinema is now a global force.

The short history of pop music has been dominated by the United States and Great Britain. While acts from other countries have enjoyed some international success, they were not part of a larger scene from their country, like the UK's British Invasion of the 1960s that dominated the charts. K-pop, however, is starting to change this. Acts like BTS had great success internationally, garnering fans from countries around the world. Below is a photo showing fans in Warsaw, Poland, supporting their favourite K-pop acts.



Piexus. "K-pop fans in Warsaw, Poland, outside the Korean cultural centre." Wikipedia. August 28th 2011. Last Accessed February 27 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kpop_fans_in_poland.jpg

The popularity of South Korean culture has had a significant impact on how the country is seen internationally. Before the Wave, views of South Korea were dominated by memories of the Korean War and relations with North Korea. Now, however, South Korea's cultural exports also define the world's view of the country.

Sources:

Hoad, Phil. "Funny, political and bone-crunchingly violent: why Korean cinema is the world's best." The Guardian. February 1st 2000. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/feb/01/from-peppermint-candy-to-parasite-korean-cinemas-new-golden-age-parasite>

Ro, Christine. "BTS and EXO: The Soft power roots of K-pop." BBC. March 9th 2000. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20200309-the-soft-power-roots-of-k-pop>

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA

READING 3

1. Read the following

2. Identify and highlight any of the following democratic characteristics you see present in Korea today:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Free elections | <input type="checkbox"/> Healthy arts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Peaceful elections | <input type="checkbox"/> Effective representation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Freedoms (e.g., speech) | <input type="checkbox"/> Accountability |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Election results are trusted | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stable governments | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Established political parties | |

The South Korean Economy

The Korean War (1950-1953) was disastrous for the economy of both Koreas. Both were agrarian economies, and what little industry existed had been decimated by the war. Between harvests, food was scarce; many Koreans were forced to wander the countryside in search of anything edible. In the 1950s, the per capita income of an average South Korean was on a par with the poorest nations on the planet.

Yet, in 2017, the South Korean economy is one of the strongest in the world, ranked 12th overall in GDP, just behind Canada. How did this happen? The turnaround started with what has been called the Miracle on the Han River, a period of rapid economic growth from 1961 to 1997 during which the South Korean economy grew on average 8.9% per year (in contrast, Canada's *highest* growth during that same period was 7.4%). This growth was achieved by close interactions between the government and corporations, or *chaebol*. Essentially, the government identified key sectors for growth, such as heavy industry, and helped corporations secure international loans to invest in those sectors. This cooperation protected the companies from competition, allowing them to produce goods that they knew they could sell. Corporations such as LG and Samsung dominated almost every industry in Korea; for example, Samsung, which had started as a grocery store in the 1930s, is now a world leader in textiles, ship production, hospitals, luxury hotels, and electronics.

The Miracle on the Han River made the South Korea of today possible. It did, however, have some negative consequences. The word *chaebol* actually means *rich family*; it refers to the families that owned the corporations as much as the corporations themselves. From 1961 to 1997, the power of these families grew enormously, allowing them to dominate the South Korean economy. While South Korea clearly benefited from their success, this wealth did not result in a new middle class, one of the hallmarks of a stable and prosperous economy. Another downside of the *chaebol* system is, ironically, the close interaction between the government and companies that made growth possible in the first place. Payments and backroom deals that allowed the government to dictate economic growth also increased the likelihood of corruption. South Korea is still dealing with corruption charges laid against politicians and business leaders that stem from the *chaebol* system.

Sources:

Albert, Eleanor. "South Korea's Chaebol Challenge." Council on Foreign Relations. May 4th 2018. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/south-koreas-chaebol-challenge>

"GDP by country." Worldometers. Last Accessed February 27th 2021. <https://www.worldometers.info/gdp/gdp-by-country/>

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA

READING 4

1. Read the following

2. Identify and highlight any of the following democratic characteristics you see present in Korea today:

- ☐ Free elections
- ☐ Peaceful elections
- ☐ Freedoms (e.g., speech)
- ☐ Election results are trusted
- ☐ Stable governments
- ☐ Established political parties
- ☐ Healthy arts
- ☐ Effective representation
- ☐ Accountability
- ☐ Other _____

Politics and Law in South Korea

Korean politics in the second half of the twentieth century were tumultuous. Rhee Syngman was president from 1948 to 1960; while elections were held during his rule, several were rigged. His government's view of politics relied on traditional applications of Confucist thought, meaning a stronger emphasis was placed on obligations and familial-style connections than political freedoms. His unpopularity led to his removal in 1960 and a democratically elected government. That government, however, was short-lived. The May 16th Coup of 1961, led by General Park Chung-hee, was the first in a series of military dictatorships that controlled South Korea for decades. Park's contentious rule was responsible for the Miracle on the Han River, the rapid growth of the South Korean economy after years of poverty; still, it also repressed civil liberties.

The turning point came in the form of broken promises and the Seoul Olympics in 1988. In 1986, President Chun Doo-Hwan announced that he would abide by any constitutional changes proposed by the National Assembly; given that he had no power in the Assembly, this was a strange choice. When deadlock prevented progress, Chun put the potential for changes on hold. Protests soon followed. Ironically, the Seoul Olympics, designed to bolster South Korea internationally and build identity nationally, were actually the government's undoing. Chun couldn't risk suppressing the protests when the eyes of the international community were fixed on Korea. Any attempts to stop the protests could result in Seoul losing its role as host, which would not only embarrass Korea on the international stage but also cost the country millions of dollars. In 1987, these protests culminated in the June struggle, a series of protests fueled by students and labourers. These protests finally put an end to the succession of dictators, resulting in the first democratic election in South Korea since the short-lived democracy of 1960.

Like many democracies, South Korea is not immune to problems. Several Korean presidents have faced corruption charges stemming from the payoffs and backroom deals associated with the 1980s; one, President Park Geun-hye, the daughter of former dictator Park Chung-hee, was impeached following a scandal involving bribery and abuse of power and sentenced to 24 years in prison. What does this say about Korean democracy? On the one hand, it shows that the nation is still dealing with the fallout from a system that led to rapid economic growth but relied on backroom deals between the government and corporations that make corruption more likely. On the other, few democracies have held former leaders accountable with the consistency of South Korea. As political scientist Chalmers Johnson noted, South Korean democracy is young but strong. Its National Assembly is populated by supporters of the economic growth Korea experienced in the 60s and 70s and by those who called for democratic reform in the 80s. Thus, the Assembly is a place where major players debate Korea's future. According to Johnson, "Parliament is the great school of democracy, and Korea now has a healthy one."

Source:

Johnson, Chalmers. "The Democratization of South Korea: What Role Did Economic Development Play?" Copenhagen Papers. Last Access February 27th 2021. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/51177568.pdf>

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA

READING 5

1. Read the following

2. Identify and highlight any of the following democratic characteristics you see present in Korea today:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Free elections | <input type="checkbox"/> Healthy arts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Peaceful elections | <input type="checkbox"/> Effective representation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Freedoms (e.g., speech) | <input type="checkbox"/> Accountability |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Election results are trusted | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stable governments | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Established political parties | |

How Do South Koreans View Their Democracy?

The following is from an article called *How Do South Koreans View Their Democracy?*

Written by Jeremiah Cha of the Pew Research Center.

- Although dissatisfaction with democracy rose between 2018 and 2019 in South Korea, 55% of South Koreans said they were satisfied with the state of their democracy as of last spring, while 44% were dissatisfied. At the time, Koreans ages 18 to 29 were 35 percentage points more satisfied with their democracy than those 50 and older (70% vs. 45%).
- The South Korean public was pessimistic in several regards. Roughly six-in-ten (62%) disagreed with the statement “most elected officials care what people like me think,” and about half (49%) *disagreed* with the statement “the state is run for the benefit of all the people.”
- About seven-in-ten South Koreans (68%) said they were pessimistic about the way the political system works. There were ideological divides in these views: Those on the right were 33 percentage points less optimistic about the way the political system works than those on the left (15% vs. 48%).
- About eight-in-ten South Koreans (81%) said voting gives them some say about how the government runs things. Six-in-ten said it is very important that honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties.
- Half or more South Koreans said it is very important to have democratic rights and institutions such as a fair judiciary, gender equality, regular elections, free speech, free internet, and free opposition parties. However, South Koreans were less likely to see these democratic rights as very important than the median share of adults who said this across all 34 countries surveyed.
- South Koreans were generally optimistic about the country’s culture: Three-quarters express positive sentiments. Those on the right were 20 points less likely to express optimism than those on the left (65% vs. 85%).

Sources:

Cha, Jeremiah. *Fast facts about South Koreans’ views of democracy as legislative election nears*. Pew Research Center. Accessed February 26, 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/04/14/fast-facts-about-south-koreans-views-of-democracy-as-legislative-election-nears/>.