

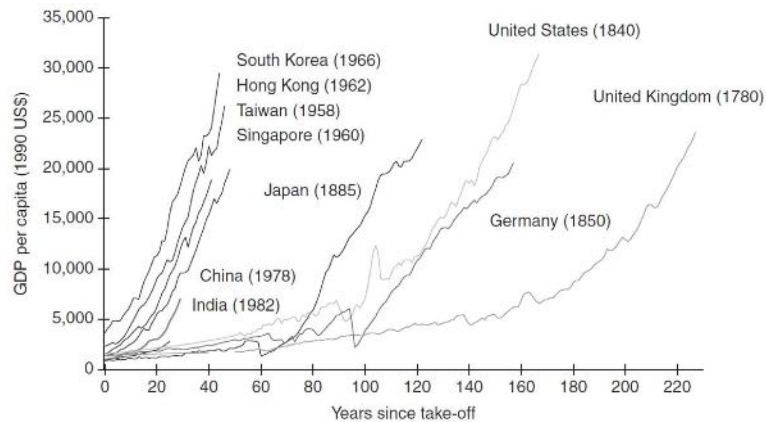
COURSE PLAN	
2.10.2024	Introduction
9.10.2024	Civil society and social movements
16.10.2024	<i>Workshop/Discussion 1</i>
23.10.2024	<i>Workshop/Course assignment</i>
30.10.2024	Industrialisation and urbanisation in South Korea
6.11.2024	Democratisation and civil society in South Korea
13.11.2024	Local communities and community movements in Seoul
20.11.2024	Documentary screening: Dancing Forrest
27.11.2024	<i>Discussion 2</i>
4.12.2024	<i>Discussion 2</i>
11.12.2024	Conclusion
25.12.2024	—
1.1.2025	—
8.1.2025	<i>Final presentation (2h)</i>
15.12.2025	<i>Final presentation (2h)</i>

Blaž Križnik: Democratisation and civil society in South Korea, 6-11-2024



ECONOMIC GROWTH TRAJECTORIES SINCE TAKE-OFF

Source: M. Dunford and G. Yeung, 2011



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“Compressed modernity is a civilisational condition in which economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system.”

Kyung-Sup Chang, 2010. The Second Modern Condition? Compressed Modernity as Internalised Reflexive Cosmopolitisation.

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SOURCE: 김마선마을위원회, 2009

“In contrast to Western individualism, Korean culture has bequeathed unique forms of collective emotional vitality in *shinmyong* and *han*, and they remain central to Koreans’ self-understanding. Korean social movements spontaneously reproduce moments of *shinmyong* in their eruptions, and people grasp the emotional and erotic core of activism.”

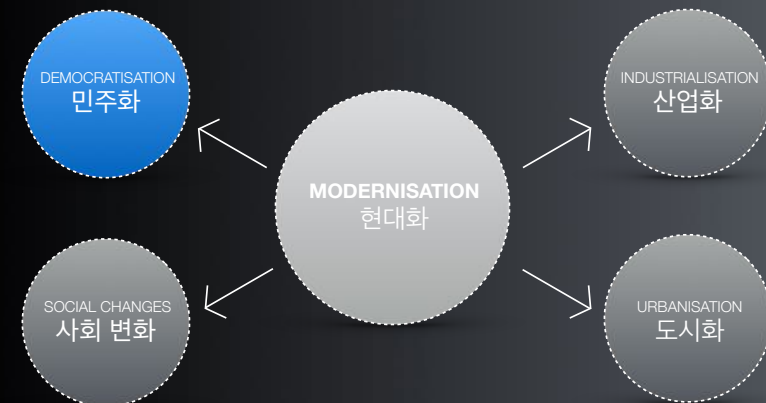
George Katsiaficas. 2012. Asia's Unknown Uprisings: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century.

- WHAT IS DEMOCRATISATION?
- WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRATISATION IN SOUTH KOREA?
- HOW HAS CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTH KOREA HISTORICALLY EVOLVED?

“Democratization is the introduction and extension of citizenship rights and the creation of a democratic state.”

Jean Grugel. 2002. Democratization : A Critical Introduction.

CONSEQUENCES OF MODERNISATION ON WESTERN SOCIETIES



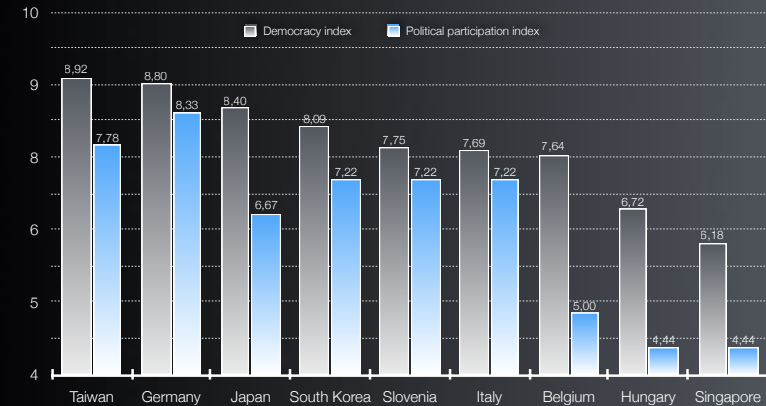
DEMOCRATISATION IN SOUTH KOREA

- Democratisation in South Korea was late, compared to the West, where it took place alongside industrialisation and urbanisation.
- Early industrialisation and urbanisation in Korea took place under the Japanese colonial state, which repressed Korean society (no democracy, 1905-1945).
- Rapid economic and urban growth occurred under the authoritarian nationalistic state, which repressed South Korean society to implement its developmental agenda and boost its legitimacy (formal democracy with rigged elections, 1961-1987).
- In response, strong pro-democracy social movements emerged in South Korea forcing democratisation and gradual demise of the authoritarian state (after 1987).
- Today, South Korea is among the strongest democracies, surpassing some Western countries.

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COMPARING CIVIL SOCIETY IN EUROPE AND EAST ASIA

Source: The Economist Democracy Index, 2022



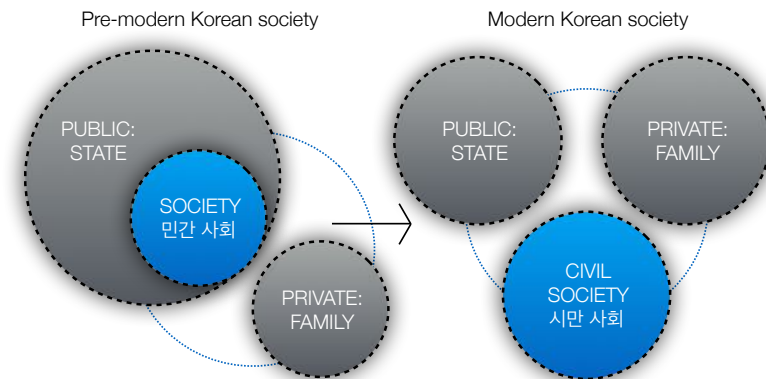
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“Civil society is crucial for democracy because it is the space between the public and private spheres where civic [collective] action takes place. Organizations and individuals from within civil society can hold the state accountable.”

Jean Grugel, 2002. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*.

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TRANSFORMATION OF KOREAN SOCIETY



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“Following the transition to democracy, civil society [in South Korea] became more autonomous, civil society organizations began to occupy a separate legal space, and a framework of associations created through voluntary civic engagement began to develop.”

Sunmi Kim. 2015. The Civic Movement in South Korea: Growth and Change .

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CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTH KOREA

- Civil society in South Korea differs from the West due different modernisation paths (authoritarian state, late democratisation) and cultural differences (compressed mod.).
- Korea affected by Neo-Confucian ethics and cultural values where individuals were expected to follow collectives and the state (rather than struggle against the state).
- Historically, Korean society could not acquire much autonomy from the state.
- However, the state supported “civil society organisations” such as FKTU, KEF, FKI, or tolerated non-political like YMCA, churches, etc.
- Civil society in South Korea a result of grassroots struggles and social movements:
 - 1894-1895 Donghak peasants revolution (to reform the state, against colonialism);
 - 1919 March 1st movement (against Japanese colonial rule);
 - 1948-1949 Jeju and Yeosu uprisings (against the nation's division, state violence);
 - 1960 April 19th movement (against the Rhee Syngman dictatorship);
 - 1980 Gwangju people's uprising (against the Chun Doo-hwan dictatorship);
 - 1987 June uprising (for democracy, free elections);
 - 1997 general strike (against neoliberalism, IMF crisis);
 - 2002/2008 candlelight protests (against U.S. military/FTA, government);
 - 2016-2017 impeachment movement (to impeach president Park Geun-hye).

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Civil society in South Korea as a result of grassroots struggles and social movements, 1980 Gwangju Uprising

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PHOTO: 나경택 전 전남매일신문 기자, 1980.



Are state-supported social movements also a part of civil society? Saemaeul Movement in 1970s

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SOURCE: SEOUL PHOTO ARCHIVES

“[C]ivil society is almost invariably defined in terms of its relation to the state. Civil society is separate from and often in conflict with the state.”

Kim Sunhyuk. 2011. Democratization and Social Movements in South Korea: A Civil Society Perspective.

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- WHAT ARE CHARACTERISTICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH KOREA?
- HOW DO CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH KOREA COMPARE TO SLOVENIA?

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**Civil societies in Slovenia and South Korea
as a result of historical grassroots
struggles and social movements**

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CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH KOREA

- Historical grassroots struggles and social movements resulted in a formation of diverse, well-organised and resilient civil society in South Korea.
- Pro-democracy *minjung* movements (민중운동, people's movement) were based on social classes, like labour movements, student movements, farmer movements, etc.
- After democratisation, social movements become legalised; at the same time new *simin* movements (시민운동, civil society movements) emerged.
- *Simin* movements had different and diverse aims (environmental protection, economic democratisation, education, human rights, community restoration, etc.), actors (middle class, communities), forms, repertoires of action (non-violent), etc.
- Many become institutionalised as civil society organisations (CSOs), such as 경실련/CCEJ (1989), 환경운동연합/KFEM (1993), 참여연대/PSPD (1994), etc.
- Instead of conflicts, civil society movements/CSOs work with the state, while the state co-opts CSOs, their agendas, members, etc. ('hollowing' of civil society)
- CSOs collaborate and build coalitions, but also compete (funding, members, etc.)

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Minjung movements focused on political democratisation, Seoul in 1987

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SOURCE: KOREA DEMOCRACY FOUNDATION



Simin movements tend to focus on everyday life issues, Seoul, 2008

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New repertoires of actions: Candlelight protests for impeachment of president Park Geun Hye, Seoul in 2016/7

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SOURCE: 이석우 경향신문 2016



Community movements are one of the most common forms of civil society movements in South Korea, Jangsu Maeul

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SOURCE: JANGSUMAEUL.COM



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“[I]n interacting with the state, South Korean civil society is slowly moving from the norm of violent resistance to the norm of nonviolent check and balance [where] avoiding violence and engaging the state is becoming a new rule. The issue now is how to control, constrain, and influence the government by formulating, organizing, and representing various social interests.

Kim Sunhyuk, 2011. Democratization and Social Movements in South Korea: A Civil Society Perspective.

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