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Popular Movement and the Construction of Citizenship Education: ¹

Jung OK LEE

(Professor of Sociology, Catholic University of Daegu, s. Korea)

1. Globalization of Democracy and 1987

The June Uprising of 1987 is an event commemorated annually by the Korea Democracy Foundation. A concept called "1987 regime" was formulated to extensively reflect on theories explaining the achievements and limitations of institutional democratization, mainly focused on the Constitution adopted in 1987. Democratization process is an endless process analogous to the life phenomenon of a living organism, which keeps its life by getting nutrients and water and some sunlights. Like Henri Bergson's 'élan vital', when energy is built up inside, it takes a leap and produces a qualitative shift. This expression is also utilized when we talk about 'realization' in spiritual historic development. We celebrate the moment that saw an explosive growth spurred by a specific time or phase in democratic development. The aim is to lay the foundation to take a leap for

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the betterment, enabled by making reflections on such leap and takeoff. Turning the birthplace of pro-democracy movement into a park and establishing a memorial hall there is one of the means we use to continuously promote democratization. All the nations that built a nation state develop a theme that acts as the essence of democratic value and spirit, be it a figure on a coin or a note, a statue in the plaza, a museum or a memorial hall. There is no contemporary leader shown on Korean coins or banknotes. Figures like Shin Saimdang, Lee Hwang, King Sejong are from premodern times. These figures in our money symbolize incomplete modern era. Crowd and people that filled the streets of the June Uprising are, by themselves, the protagonists of democratization. I sometimes think why it is not possible for them to appear on our coins and notes. They made appearance at the Donghak Peasantry Movement, the March 1st Independence Movement, the April 19th Revolution, and the May 18th Pro-democracy Movement. In that sense, it may be rather a relief that these movements have not ended up as a story of a certain person's heroism.

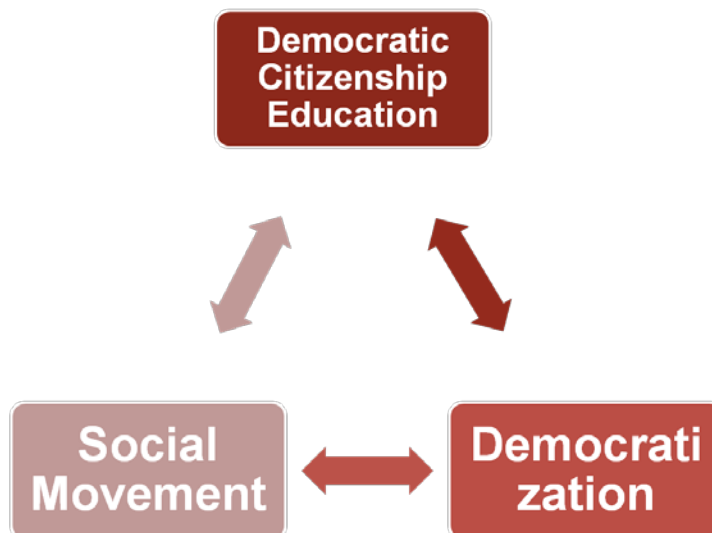
Why 1987? Before then, sacrifice and dedication to the democratization movement had strenuously continued behind the scenes. All our participants remember the severe and harsh times before pro-democracy movement was brought to the surface. They extended their hands in such rigorous moments and contributed to bringing huge results for democratization. Nevertheless, why it all erupted in 1987 though we also had made extensive efforts before? There could be numerous

interpretations. I want to say that the uprising happened because we seized the opportunity afforded to us by the changing world system. We can learn that the late 1980s is the period of pro-democracy movement in the world. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, we are living in a world connected with the world system. In this system, there are central nations, semi-periphery countries and periphery countries. He argued that we have to capture the opportunity in the world system flow to make a shift in this three-tier model. Seen from this perspective, 1987 can be seen as a year when the flow of the world system and the internal momentum for pro-democracy movement created a synergy effect. If we put too much emphasis on the external factor then we can become passive. If we stress on the internal element too much, on the other hand, we may run the risk of not seeing the forest for the trees. External change is also critical in the modern order where we are part of the world system. In that sense, 'Spring in Seoul' failed to lead to democratization because the external conditions were not there even though internal capabilities were in place. But analyzing the causes of a success or a failure of the already-happened event necessarily contains imagination, and vision and determination about the future. Viewed from this angle, memory is a memory of will. Going back to Wallerstein's world system theory, 'the Colonial Rivalries' emerged in the flow of world history and the newly independent states emerged from this wave too. Of course, analysis of the world system is a post-event approach. It is the ability of a state to develop a state-

level development strategy in the context of world system flow. As illustrations, there are some countries that never engaged in the Colonial Rivalries of the Western powers. There are some states that experienced 'Hot War' during the Cold War. There are some nations that have turned a blind eye to the pro-democracy trend. A condition can turn into a reality only when we actively embrace it.

2. The Necessities of Citizenship Education

. The relationship between democratization movements and civic education is mutually reinforced one and also symbiotic one. (Park, 2010: 55; Huh Joon, 2010: 77). The relationship among the democratization process, the social movements and the democratic citizenship education could be drafted as follows;



Paulo Freire stated that social activism should accompany social awakening to escape from the oppressive society which imposes the

culture of silence. Social movement works as a ground for educational textbook based on their participatory experiences

1) The basic concepts on democracy should be explained

The term 'Democracy' is the coined term, demo+crazy, which means the governing by the demos. (or by the people, of the people and for the people). (Lee Jung Ok & Kaufmann Bruno, (eds), 2009) However Korean translation of democracy is MINJUJUI (民主主義, 민주주의), which is interpreted as 'ism' (主義). (Lee, 2008a:11) The translation of the term does not exactly represent the original meaning. The term citizen has different connotations. The superficial meaning of citizen is city dwellers like bourgeoisie. The city and Bourgeoisie implies the historical meaning of 'struggle for freedom, escaping from slavery and feudal blood line based status in the context of French revolution etc. With this brief review, we realize the necessity of the further explanation and interpretation on this simple and basic terminology including 'nation state,' 'constitution,' 'republic "freedom' 'liberty' 'equality' 'equity' 'justice' 'human right' and political party etc, notwithstanding 'freedom', and 'liberty' even after the basic school education. Those are the concepts constructed through social movements and historical process. The meaning has been de-constructed and re-constructed.

2) 'The social' sector was called widely

Recently, 'the Social' has globally been brought across the

sectors. The social state, social capital, social enterprise and social media, etc became everyday terminology. The meaning of 'social' connotes different implications. 'The social' covers all the residual parts of state and market. 'The social' means the civic or public. We have witnessed the failure of the state with over-bureaucracy in 1989. The failure of free market became real scene in 1997 and 2008 through financial crisis. State regulation has been replaced by the deregulation in the belief of 'invisible hand'. Both state regulation and deregulation have been proved to be insufficient. In this context the social regulation has been searched as viable alternatives.

State, Market and Civil Society have been regarded as major three timbers to sustain the whole society. However these days civil society was recalled as a key facilitator for the other two sectors. State sectors have invited the social (civilian) sectors under the name of good governance system, participatory administration. Not only administrative governing system but also political party, and judiciary system have adopted the social ingredients. The social production, ethical/social consumption and corporate social responsibility became common understandings.

3) Democracy should be nurtured with citizenship education

The recall of the social sector has stimulated the institutionalization of citizenship education. Council of Europe has launched the EDC project (Project on education for democratic citizenship) from 1997 to

2000. (Hong, 2009: 360). ² The EDC project was promoted by the requests of member states to cope with the limitations of market, globalization, democratization and learning society. (Hong, 2009: 360-372). The emphasis on the citizenship education has been related with the analysis on the limitations of democracy, which contains inter contradictions such as inclusion vs. exclusion/ market vs. state/ promoting welfare vs. increasing poverty/ network vs. ego/universality vs. locality/production vs. environment/ modernity vs. post modernity/ national vs. cosmopolitan citizenship/ top-down vs. bottom up globalization. (Hong, 2009: 374) Democracy itself implies the gap between ideal (the value) and realities (a way of governing), which should be filled with culture and education. (Hong, 2009: 374-375)

. The civil society and good citizen were taken as never-dried, natural well. However, it should be nurtured with care. (Park, 2010: 57-58)

3. Gap between System and Values: Reverse Cultural Lag in Non-Western countries

Not only democracy is wrongly translated. The thought and the institution comprising democratic political system are often in discrepancy. In non-Western countries, they were transplanted through 'import and infusion' of modernization. Consequently, they have selective understanding of this concept. A bureaucratic

² Democratic citizenship education was undertaken by many institutions such as UNESCO, EU, OSCE, OECD, IEA, CIVITAS, IBE, CIDREE. (Hong, 2008: 378-380). Soros Foundation, World Bank, Council of Europe, USAID has also adopted the DCE (democratic Citizenship Education. (Hong, 2008: 381)

authoritarian state, which accepts economic modernization but believes political modernization, democratization, is something optional, has been tolerated in these regions. Cultural opening in the form of Zhongtixiyong 中體西用, a concept that allows introduction of Western technology while retaining the Chinese spirit, has also helped trigger reverse cultural lag. Generally, cultural evolution takes the course of the emergence of idea, followed by institution and tools necessary for that thought. Cultural lag naturally occurs in the process of the creation of idea first and then institution. However, reverse cultural lag means the reverse of conventional cultural lag. It indicates a phenomenon where tools come first, then succeeded by institution and lastly value and thought, once a culture is imported. It also denotes this value and thought being distorted in the process. This reverse cultural lag is especially noticeable in the aspect of political value and ideology. It is typical to find the gap between institution and value or distorted understanding of value, where its tools are embraced but not its value. Also relevant to this phenomenon is the existence of a political system but with unclear political ideology. Another example could be that Constitutional value's failure to draw a consensus although it is stated in the provisions of the Constitution. Democratization process is where we can most evidently see the distorted value related to reverse cultural lag. Let me offer some brief examples:

<Distortion of Concept>

Concept Distortion of concept

Democracy (people's ruling) Democracy

Modernization Westernization
Individualism Egoism
Liberalism Market freedom, deregulation
Tradition Nepotism, patriarchy

This phenomenon is witnessed not only in Korea but also in many other non-Western nations.

4. Synchronism of Asynchronism of Democratization

Democratization process is a matter of a global dimension. Challenges to democracy faced by Korea and the other non-Western world contain both challenges of the Western world and exogenous globalization issues. In Korea, in particular, colonial issues, Cold War issues and post-Cold War issues are existing in accumulation. These past social issues do not pass but remain, engendering 'lag' in another sense of the word. This lag produces non-integrated and fragmented group of stances raising colonial issues, Cold War issues, and post-Cold War issues, even if they all live in the same era. This phenomenon can be conceptualized as synchronism of asynchronism.

The problem is that a chronological approach of colonialism cannot resolve past issues in a timely manner. It is instead swamped with new challenges. East Asian nations, including Korea, have failed to address the issues from the Second World War and seeing the repetitions of the issues like 'comfort women (sex slaves for Japanese forces)' and territorial disputes over Dokdo Islet. Discourse on the colonial period

is swayed by groups representing conflicting political sentiments like colonial exploitation and colonial modernization. On the issue of the Cold War, the Korean Peninsula is the only remaining Cold War frontier in the world, making it not the suitable candidate for using the term 'post-Cold War'. Post-modern era takes the form of (1) the end of the Cold War, (2) the emergence of human rights, peace and sustainable development, which are global citizen values transcending nation states, and (3) neoliberalism that widens the free movement of money and goods and is accompanied by the waves of privatization, individualization, consumerism and deregulation. As post-modern times have such multiple aspects, it is confusing when we decide what to take and what to give. The feature (2) encourages civic movements in the post-modern epoch. Then, should we accept feature (3) too as its companion? What is the limitation in the case of Korea where feature (2) is promoted without feature (1)? These are some of the new questions that can be raised. Each time has different challenges. But because a new period imposes new issues with the challenges of previous times remaining unresolved, we are busy dealing with these social problems individually.

The democratic movements and the rise of institutionalized democratic governments in Asia triggered in late 1980s to early 1990s. Democratic governments in Asia took a neoliberal stance in drafting their policies. This has brought confrontation between democratic movements and people's movement organizations fighting for the right to live and opposing to the spread of neo-liberalism.

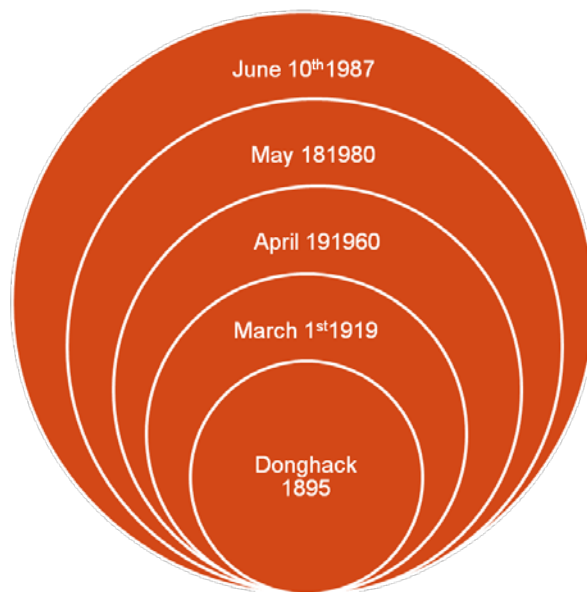
4. Popular Movement and Citizenship Education in S.Korea

In the S.Korean context, during the authoritarian period, the obedience to colonial governing body with the motivation of economic growth and modernization was institutionalized as national citizen education. The institutional education was driven by KOOKMIN education(hereafter KE 國民教育) of the authoritarian period and HWANGKOOK SHINMIN education (皇國臣民 教育, 황국 신민 교육) during the colonial rule , which have emphasized the dedication towards nation state in sacrificing the individual (滅私奉公). In contrast with the obedience education to the existing rule, there was resistance education against the existing rule practiced by the social movement organization based on the justice, anti-discrimination, right based understanding, independence and self determination. This private sectors' schooling have been flourishing with due public cause sometimes with support of religious organizations. The patriotic illumination movement (愛國啓蒙運動) in 1910s and 1920s has characterized the other part of modern schooling. The parallel schooling has been coexisted until today. Korean independence movements, and democratization movements were often initiated by the students under the initial influence of the patriotic illumination movement (愛國啓蒙運動) until today. (Shin, 2010)

<Changes of CE in Public Sectors>

Colonial Period 1910-1945	the acculturation into Japanese empire building (皇國臣民教育)
Authoritarian Period 1960-1980	national citizen education (國民教育), anti communism education (反共教育)
Democratic Governance After 1987	the democratic citizenship education

<Major Social Movements and Democratization>



<Challenges of Social Movements>

Barriers	Social Movements
Feudalism	Donghack M (1895)
Colonialism	March 1 st M(1919)
Patriarchal Authoritarianism	April 19 th (1960)
Militarism	BUMA Civilian Struggle, 1979 Kwangju Civilian Struggle, 1980 June Civilian Struggle, 1987
Cold war Division	July 4 th Declaration June 15 th Declaration
Market Consumerism	Cooperatives Act, 2012

In 1987, S, Korea could draft the democratic constitution after almost 3 decades of colonial rule and 3 decades of military rule. The oppressed public desires have been channeled into the democratic governance.

The new term NGO, NPO, CSO, and PO have been used with some confusions. In Korea, CSOs were regarded as SHIMINSAHOI DANCHE (市民社會團體) while Po was understood as MINJUNG UNDONG DANCHE (民衆運動團體). NPO (non profit organization) has covered social service delivery organizations while ngo (non government organization) includes the advocacy organizations. However the boundaries were not clear.

Major NGOs- such as CCEJ (Coalition for Citizens for Economic Justice), PSPD (People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy), KWAU (Korea Women Associations United) and KFEM (Korea Federation of Environment Movements) have initiated democratic legislations. The process of legislation has provided the space for CE on economic

justice, transparency, accountability, gender equity, eco sensitiveness. In S.korea, most of activists working in ngos were involved in student movements. Their common backgrounds provided the solidarity building ground for each activity. In S.korea those sharp divisions and conflicts among different ngos were not clearly observed. (Shin, 2010)

The role of NGOs (CSOs) has focused more on democratizing the public sectors. At first, the 'privatization of the public service was accepted as guaranteeing the efficiency and transparency. However with the coalition with PO (people's organization), defending public sectors, the necessity of fair trade, democratizing the economic system, inclusive citizenship for migrants, food safety, and social regulation became common social agendas. Through deepening the democratization the focus of public discourse and main agendas of civil society movement has crossed the boundary between public and private sectors.

Through the Korean cases, the solidarity building among likeminded groups and movements sectors proved to be the basic ground for further democratization and citizenship education

<Number of CSOs by Area, 2011>

	Numbers	Ratio		Numbers	Ratio
environment	952	12%	Consumers Right	87	1%
Human Right	223	3%	Urban/family	360	5%
Peace/reunification	315	4%	Labour/Poor	339	4%
Monitoring the Power	110	1%	Foreigners	93	1%
Politics/Economy	816	10%	Funding	25	0%
Education/Research	352	4%	Voluntary Activities	622	8%
Culture/Sports	398	5%	International	114	1%
Welfare	1,406	18%	Alternative	175	2%
Children/Youth	738	9%	On-line	101	1%
Others	148	2%	Total	7,923	100%

<Founding Years of CSOs>

Founding Years	Ratio
Before 1945	0.67%
1945-1969	1.62%
1970-1979	1.21%
1980-1989	4.55%
1990-1999	14.64%
After 2000	77.31%
	100.00%

From 1987 on, democratic governance became deepened through

'ordinary people's government' (1987-1991), 'civilian government'(1992-1996), 'national citizen's government' (1997-2001), 'participatory government' (2002-2007), Lee Government (2008-2012) Park government (2013-present). Based on democratic constitution, the important democratic institutions such as national election commission, national human right commission, and constitutional court could be established. The process of building democratic institutions has stimulated the public discourse, leading to citizenship awareness building.

<Civic Values and Constitutional Base>

Civic Values	Constitutional Base	Civic Values	Constitutional base
Human Dignity Recognition	Article10	Human Right/ Right	Preamble Article 10
Protection of Privacy	Article 17	Democracy	Preamble Article 1
Freedom /Liberty	Preamble Article 37 Chapter 2 Article12-22	Peace	Preamble Article4 Article5
Equality	Preamble Article 11	Good Quality of Life	Preamble Article10 Article 34 Article35
Justice	Preamble		

(Shin, 2010)

<CEs in Administration>

Ministry	Contents of CE	Law
Ministry of Education Science and Technology	CE Life School long Education	Fundamental Education Law/ Fundamental law of Human resource development' Law on Life Long Education
Ministry of Security and Administration	Supporting CE	Law on Supporting NPOs/NGOs
Ministry of Women and Family	Gender Equality Education	Fundamental Law on Gender Equality
Ministry of Reunification	Reunification Education	Law on Supporting Reunification Education
Ministry of Health and Welfare	Elderly Education Children and Youth Education Education for the poor	
Ministry	Contents of CE	Law
Ministry of Planning Finance	Economy Education	Law on Supporting Economy Education
Ministry of Diplomacy and commerce	Overseas Korea Education	Law on Overseas korean Foundation
Ministry of Environment	Environment Education	Law on Supporting Environment Education
Ministry of Justice	Law Education	Law on Supporting Law Education
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Culture and Art Education	Law on Supporting Culture and Art Education
Committee on Sustainable Development	Sustainable Development Law	Fundamental Law on Sustainable Development

	Contents of CE	Law
National Election Commission	Voters Education	Organizing Rule of Election Training
National Commission of National Citizen's Right and Interest	Anti- Corruption Education	Practicing order on Prevention of Corruption
National Human Right Commission	Human Right Education	The Law on National Human right Commission
Broadcasting Committee	Media Education	

<CES in Parliament and Judiciaries>

	Contents of CE	Law
Parliament	Legislation Education Citizen Training of Legislation	The Rule of Parliament Office
Court, Judiciary Training Center	Ethical Education for Law related professionals Field study tour on Court	

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