The Korean Student Movement and Ideological Circles from the 1960s to 1980s

Jun KIM

Abstract

It would be difficult to find a country where the student movement has impacted political, social, and cultural change to the extent it has in Korea. The student movement in South Korea was one of the most important drivers of Korea's historical development. In addition, the activists produced through the student movement have advanced into various fields of society where their legacy continues to be felt to this day. The core source of ideological resources and manpower for the student movement from the 1960s to 1980s were university ideological circles or clubs called "academic societies" (hakhoe). These circles became wedges that cracked the ideological uniformity of the state. In the 1970s and early 1980s, when the state's surveillance and control of universities were particularly severe, university student councils were dismantled and the freedom of assembly and demonstration suppressed. As a result, academic societies operated secretly and produced the ideological resources and leadership of the student movement, becoming the mechanism of organization and mobilization. However, after 1983, the organization of student councils was again permitted, and as the student movement became an open mass movement, the need for an ideological circle that secretly trained small groups of students into key activists weakened. Finally, around 1986, the academic societies were dismantled in most schools by the student leadership.

Jun KIM is a senior researcher of the National Assembly Research Service, Seoul, Korea. E-mail: jkim@assembly.go.kr.

Introduction

Globally, the late 1960s and early 1970s was the heyday of student movements (Barker 2008). Korea was no exception in this regard, though the student movement in Korea has some distinct characteristics. First, the student movement in Korea was longer lasting than student movements of other countries. While it is hard to find a student movement that lasted more than a decade worldwide, the Korean student movement was highly active for about 35 years, from the late 1950s to the early 1990s.[1] Second, the Korean student movement always played a central role in the democratic movement and wider social movements. It would be hard to identify a country in which the student movement played such a central role in the democratic and social movements as it did in Korea (Choi 1991; Doh-jong Kim 1991). Third, the student movement in Korea belongs to a very unusual case in that it has a history of success; its persistent struggle has brought down authoritarian regimes three times. Fourth, it would also be difficult to find a case where the student movement has had such a wide socio-political influence as in Korea, where it has supplied ideological and human resources to almost all social movements, including the political.[2]

What factors gave the Korean student movement these characteristics? Various explanations are available. In other words, it would be reasonable to say that it was a combination of factors rather than any single one. But this paper identifies the most important cause to be the existence and role of college student ideological circles in Korea. In other words, the paper seeks to show that student ideological circles contributed to the vitality and impact of the student movement in many aspects, including the training of movement leaders, the maintenance and diffusion of organizational foundations for mobilization, the creation of solidarity for resistance, and

---

1. Jung (2013, 19) defines this period as the "era of the student movement" in that the role or weight of the student movement was overwhelmingly great during the period from the April 19 Revolution of 1960 to the mid-1990s.
2. There has been much research on the impact of the Korean student movement on the nation's political and social movements. See for instance, N. Lee (2015) and Yeong-jae Lee (2015).

the creation and diffusion of frames that strengthened the legitimacy of the movement.

Of course, it is well known that the role of ideological circles (*hakhoe*) in Korea's student movement was important, and many studies have dealt with it empirically. However, existing studies tend to focus on discovering and reconstructing historical facts about student ideological circles, or focusing on specific times or regions.[3] In other words, few studies have analyzed the role of student ideological circles in Korea from a theoretical perspective, or from a syntactic perspective.

Therefore, this paper first outlines the history of the formation, development, and ultimate extinction of ideological circles in the context of Korea's modern history and the history of the Korean student movement, and then discusses several issues around the characteristics of the Korean student movement and the factors that formed it. In particular, regarding the latter, I will analyze the reasons college students played a central role in the pro-democracy movement against the military dictatorship, the role of ideological circles as a cultural center for student *conscientization* and participation in movements, and the influence on and heritage of ideological circles in Korean social movements.

Defining the College Student Ideological Circle

What does "college student ideological circle" refer to in this article? As Je-yeon Oh (2013) pointed out, "ideological circle" (*hakhoe*) defies easy definition. One previous study defined it as "a student reading society with progressive ideological characteristics" (T. Park 1991, 55), while others have

---

3. J. Oh (2013; 2014), who extensively analyzed the student movement of Seoul National University, Yonsei University, and Korea University, and Shin (2013), who analyzed the organization, learning, and activities of ideological circles in the 1970s at Seoul National University and major universities, Huh (2013) on the spread and dismantling of *undercircles* in the 1980s, Lim (2013), who dealt with cases in Gyeongsangbuk-do province, Hui-jae Kim (2013) studying cases in Busan, and Gi-hun Lee (2013), who studied the case in Gwangju and the Jeonnam region.

used the term without any special definition.

On the other hand, Je-yeon Oh (2013, 64) defined it in the Korean context as a "college student circle that academically researched and discussed the nation, democracy, and the situation of the country, and agonized over Korea's reality," while Dong-ho Shin (2013, 107–108) defines it as an "a student group, open or clandestine, that sought to engage in the student movement or Minjung-oriented social movements." Meanwhile, Eun Huh (2013, 161) points out that the term "ideological circle" was inappropriate because this was also used to refer to anti-communist student circles in the 1980s, and instead uses the term "under-circle" (*eondeo seokeul*), which "simultaneously carries the meaning of a resistant, illicit, and clandestine organization." In other words, the terms and definitions employed by Oh, Shin, and Huh can be seen as a strong reflection of the characteristics of ideological circles in the period covered by each study. On the other hand, Namhee Lee (2015, 258–273), who takes a more syntactic approach, uses terms such as study group, ideological circle, and underground circle interchangeably without distinct definition. According to her, these all denoted learning mechanisms, mobilization organizations for the student movement, and networks between senior and junior students, and at the same time were "unofficial systems" that created a counter public sphere against the ruling ideology.

In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, college student ideological circles gradually changed in terms of their organization and mode of activity, ideological orientation, and relationship with the student movements. And the terms students used to refer to ideological circles were slightly different. Taking this into consideration, this article seeks to define ideological circles as follows to capture features that penetrate the *era of the student movement* of more than 30 years. A college student ideological circle is an official or unofficial study group organized within a university by college students to cultivate human resources (activists) who will participate in student and social movements through *conscientizing* its members with learning and practice.

Brief History of College Student Ideological Circles

Sprouts of Ideological Circles: 1950s

The social phenomenon of ideological circles in modern Korean history was born in the 1960s, but as pointed out in previous studies, it was also based on the long tradition going back to the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897) wherein social criticism was the role of intellectuals (Doh-jong Kim 1991; Ho-il Kim 2005; N. Lee 2015).[4] This tradition was passed on to the student movement of the Japanese colonial era (1910–1945). During the Japanese colonial era, many college students and high school students participated in resistance struggles, such as student strikes (*dongmaeng hyuhak*), and these struggles were led by students who gained critical social consciousness through school circles such as reading clubs (*dokseohoe*). The orientation of these colonial-period reading clubs ranged from the self-cultivation to enlightenment to direct anti-imperialist struggle, but in general, their primary activity consisted of learning about nationalist and socialist ideas (Ho-il Kim 2005; Yoon 2010).

   After national liberation and the Korean War (1950–1953), the tradition was temporarily stymied in South Korea with the growing dominance of anti-communist ideology, the severe oppression of socialist ideas, and state intervention in student activities.[5] Nevertheless, very few student ideological circles were organized around 1955. At Seoul National University, Sinjinhoe

---

4. Kim Ho-il (2005, 15) recognized that where there is an educational institution, there can be "student class" and a student movement, and identifies the collective actions of Seonggyungwan Confucian scholars during the Joseon Dynasty as a form of student movement. On the other hand, J. Lee (1984) believes students to be the product of education in a modern society where the status system has been dismantled, and thus the student movement is a modern phenomenon cut off from the traditions of feudal society. I admit that in a society with Confucian traditions, there exists a historical legacy that values the social role of intellectuals, but I maintain the emergence of students as a social group and the student movement as a social movement is a product of modern history.

5. The Syngman Rhee regime banned university student councils and established a quasi-military student organization called the Hakdo hogukdan (National Student Defense Corps) in 1949.

(New Progressive Club) and Sinjohoe (Association for New Tide) were organized in the College of Liberal Arts and Science and the Law School, respectively, while at Korea University, Hyeopjinhoe (Association for Collective Advancement) was established in the Department of Economics. The ideological circles in Seoul studied Western social democratic ideas, including the works of Harold Raski, G. D. H. Cole, Sydney Webb, and Eduard Bernstein, in the spirit of finding alternatives to overcoming the limitations of both capitalism and communism (J. Oh 2013, 66). These circles had relatively moderate tendencies and did not attempt to organize student movements. They engaged in public activities such as learning and debating under the guidance of their professors. However, the Syngman Rhee administration, which was strengthening its extreme right anti-communist stance immediately following the Korean War, did not tolerate such moderate circle activities. The Sinjinhoe and Sinjohoe were dissolved in 1957 after a member of the Sinjinhoe published an article in the university newspaper in support of democratic socialism (J. Oh 2013, 66–67).

Expansion of Ideological Circles and Nationalism: 1960s

The April Revolution of 1960 that toppled the Syngman Rhee regime was led by students, as reflected by the fact that for a considerable time it was called the April 19 Student Uprising (Kim and Kim 1964). The democratic space opened by the April 19 Revolution rapidly expanded the mass student organization. Students disbanded the Hakdo hogukdan (National Student Defense Corps) and organized student councils as autonomous student organizations. Further, college students attempted to organize large-scale nationwide campaigns for rural enlightenment and national unification, in which members of the ideological circles, which were organized in the late 1950s, played a leading role (J. Oh 2013, 71–78). Among these, the students' national unification movement, in particular, combined with the leftist social movement Hyeoksingye, which spread in the wake of the April 19 Revolution, would come to greatly influence the nationalistic and progressive ideological trends of the Korean student movement.

The *democratic spring*, which was opened by the April 19 Revolution,

was soon ended by the military coup of May 16, 1961, and once more civil society and universities were brought under the rule of the authoritarian military regime. However, the seeds of nationalistic and progressive ideology sown by the April 19 Revolution germinated in many ways, the most notable being the emergence of university ideological circles. In the 1960s, college ideological circles emerged in three general forms.

The first was organizations that emerged and succeeded to the nationalism trends of ideological circles of the late 1950s and the unification movement during the April 19 Revolution. Representative organizations of this variety include the Minjokjuui bigyo yeonguhoe (Society for Comparative Research on Nationalism) and Hanguk sasang yeonguhoe (Research Society on Korean Thought) of Seoul National University, Hanguk munje yeonguhoe (Korean Affairs Research Association) of Yonsei University, Korea University's Minjok sasang yeonguhoe (National Thought Research Association) and Minju jeongchi sasang yeonguhoe (Democratic Political Thought Research Association), Kyungpook National University's Maengnyeonghoe (Maek-ryeong Society), and Chonnam National University's Han-il munje yeonguhoe (Korea-Japan Affairs Research Association) (J. Oh 2013; Lim 2013; Shin 2014). These were registered official circles, and their main activities were study, public discussion, and inter-university joint discussion forums. Their ideological spectrum ranged from somewhat radical to moderately conservative, but they shared a common nationalism and demand for democracy and resisted the authoritarianism of the Park Chung-hee regime, as the circles' names suggest. These early-1960s ideological circles played an important role in the struggle against the Korea-Japan Agreement between 1964 and 1965.

The second are the ideological circles that emerged as a result of efforts to spread the legacy of ideological circles in the first half of the 1960s, which were then dismantled or weakened by the oppression of the Park Chung-hee administration after the struggle against the Korea-Japan Agreement. Some of the representative organizations of this type include the Naksan Social Science Research Society, Hujinguk munje yeonguhoe (Society for Research on the Affairs of Undeveloped Countries), Nongchon munhwa yeonguhoe (Rural Culture Research Society), Mullidae haguhoe (Student

Society of the Liberal Arts and Science College), Hujinguk sahoe yeonguhoe (Undeveloped Society Research Association), Ilongyeongje hakhoe (Theoretical Economics Research Society) of Seoul National University, Hanguk munje yeonguhoe (Korean Affairs Research Association) of Yonsei University, Korea University's Hanguk sasang yeonguhoe (Korean Thought Research Association), Minmaek, and Han Moim (integrated into Hanmaek), Kyungpook National University's Jeongsahoe, Pusan National University's Hanul, and Chonnam National University's Hyangtoban (Native Soil Society). Their ideological characteristics and activities were largely similar to those of ideological circles of the first half of the 1960s, and through coordinated solidarity activities, they played an important role in the struggle against the amendment of the constitution for a third-term presidency in 1969 and the struggle against school military training in 1971.

Third, circles that emerged from the early 1960s gradually transformed into ideological circles by the late 1960s. Representative organizations of this type include Seoul National University's Nongchon beophakhoe (Rural Law Society), Sahoe beophakhoe (Social Law Research Association), and Heungsadan Academy (Nongchon beophakhoe 50 nyeonsa balgan wiwonhoe and Minjuhwa undong ginyeom saeophoe 2012; Seoul daehakgyo akademi 50 nyeonsa balgan wiwonhoe 2020).[6] Although they were launched as moderate circles aimed at academic research or human resource development, they gradually developed a sense of resistance under the influence of the struggle against the Korea-Japan Agreement and the movement against the amendment of the constitution, and the focus of their study gradually changed and was radicalized under the influence of existing ideological circles.[7]

---

6. For example, the Heungsadan Academy, established in 1963 as the youth organization of the Heungsadan, started as a moderate nationalist circle aimed at developing young people's abilities and nurturing future talent following the ideas of Ahn Chang-ho (1878–1938), the nationalist patriot and moral movement leader during the Japanese occupation. However, from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, starting with the Seoul National University Academy, major university academies in Seoul gradually transformed into ideological circles (Heungsadan akademi chongdongmunhoe 2013).

7. The seminar curricula of the late 1960s varied slightly by circle, but one commonality was

These ideological circles played a key role in the student movement during this period by organizing student demonstrations through their influence on the student councils of colleges and universities, which were the main organizational unit of the student movement of the 1960s, and coordinating regional student demonstrations through their official and unofficial inter-college networks.

Radicalization of Ideological Circles: 1970s

In the 1970s, ideological circles spread throughout the country and became increasingly radical through the absorption of radical populism (*minjungjuui*) in addition to nationalism and democracy, and as the government suppression of student movements intensified, important changes, such as the tranformation of underground circles took place. In other words, the 1970s was a time when the typical form of ideological circles emerged and became widely diffused.

The radicalization of ideological circles reflected political, economic, and social changes and changes in the knowledge paradigm within Korean social movements. First of all, politically, Park Chung-hee proclaimed the Yushin regime through the *self-coup* of October 1972 in an attempt to establish the permanency of his power. Park then suppressed not only political rights such as suffrage, but also fundamental human rights such as freedom of speech, publication, assembly, protest, and thought. This became the occasion for the radicalization of resistance.

Economically and socially, though South Korea's rapid economic development in the 1960s improved people's lives overall, it also rapidly widened the gap between rich and poor, urban and rural, etc. This widening gap began to cause resistance from workers and urban poor from the late 1960s. Among them, the young worker Jeon Tae-il's self-immolation in

---

their inclusion of critical studies on such issues as national division, US strategy on the Korean Peninsula, the dominance of neo-colonialism and comprador capital, and the study of history, such as Third World history, world history, and Korean modern history (Seoul daehakgyo 60 nyeonsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe 2006, 852).

1970 and riots by the urban poor in 1971 sent shockwaves through the intellectual community, including college students. With these incidents, college students became interested in the situation of workers, farmers, and the urban poor, and developed a sense of criticism of the economic structure that was magnifying inequalities.

The heightened interest in socioeconomic issues, combined with the absorption of various critical social theories from abroad, served to change the knowledge paradigm of movements.[8] In other words, the concept of *minjung* as the exploited and oppressed people and the potential bearer of historical development was born (N. Lee 2015). In the late 1970s, at least among the ideological circles and in Korea's intellectual society, the newly born *minjungjuui* (*minjung*-ism) became more important than nationalism and democracy.

Compared to the ideology circles of the 1960s, one of the distinctive features of ideology circles of the 1970s was the more structured and radicalized content of their learning and training programs. From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, a program designed to acquire humanities and social science knowledge and social movement knowledge was established through grade-level seminars.[9]

In the late 1970s, newly introduced overseas progressive theories and domestic literary works exposing the painful realities of the people were added to the program, and various leftist materials, published at home and abroad, were used in seminars. Accordingly, ideological circles began to take on a distinctly radical character that tended toward socialism.

In 1972, the autonomous space of students on the university campus was greatly reduced by the establishment of the Yushin regime and the urgent measures by President Park to suppress freedom of the press, publication, assembly, and thought. Therefore, throughout most of this period, ideological circles existed as unregistered, informal circles. This

---

8. These theories were very diverse, including Marxism, critical theories of the Frankfurt School, academic socialism from Japan, theories of the Third World national liberation movement, dependency theory, and the theology of liberation (Shin 2013).
9. The program was usually called the "curriculum."

transition to a closed-door, underground existence was also the ideological circles' own choice. In other words, as they became more ideologically radical and the risk of participating in the movement increased, ideological circles gradually concealed their membership lists and activities.

Despite the unfavorable conditions, the number and size of ideological circles grew. For example, Seoul National University had only five to six ideological circles at the end of the 1960s, but more than 20 by the end of the 1970s.[10] This phenomenon was similar in other major universities located in Seoul, and in major national universities in the provinces (Busan minju undongsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe 1998; Buma minju hangjaeng ginyeom saeophoe 2011; Lim 2013; Hui-jae Kim 2013; G. Lee 2013).

Another thing to note is that in the 1970s, know-how about social mobilization and organized protest in ideological circles spread in many ways. First, the pedagogical content, ideological orientation, and mobilizing aspect of university ideological circles were absorbed by other types of circles on university campuses, and by the late 1970s, a radical ideological orientation (especially *minjungjuui*) was widely shared by all circles. As a result, many circles with varied focuses, such as folk plays circles, play circles, singing circles, Christian and Buddhist circles, and liberal arts circles, came to share many characteristics with ideological circles (Yeong-jae Lee 2015; Shin 2013).

Meanwhile, beyond the university campus, college or youth departments of major churches nationwide also came to share many aspects with university ideological circles in the 1970s,[11] while in major provincial cities, cooperative bookstores (*yangseo hyeopdong johap*) also engaged in

---

10. In the late 1970s, the student movement at Seoul National University was led by 13 ideological circles (Shin 2013). However, the size and influence of ideological circles was much greater, as there were also ideological circles in every college or school (e.g., the education school, household science college, engineering college, agricultural college), as well as among female students in the humanities. The editorial departments of academic journals in every college and university were also transformed into ideological circles.

11. See Saemunan gyohoe daehaksaenghoe yeoksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe (2017) for more information on this.

activities similar to ideological circles.[12]

In addition, night schools for workers established by college students spread in Seoul and other industrial cities. In addition, student organizations with national networks, such as the Heungsadan Academy, spread the ideology of university ideological circles of major Seoul universities through their national and regional federations (Heungsadan akademi chongdongmunhoe 2013). By these off-campus organizations, the *movement* network rapidly expanded among college students and other civil society groups. As a result, the scope of influence of ideological circles in the late 1970s became so wide that it is difficult to compare them with those of the late 1960s, when at best they were limited to some prestigious universities. After the establishment of the Yushin regime in 1972, the university student council was disbanded, and police were stationed on campuses to monitor student activities, while the punishment of those participating in rallies and demonstrations was greatly strengthened. Therefore, protest rallies organized by student councils like those of the 1960s were no longer possible. As a result, student movement leaders changed tactics towards guerrilla-style demonstrations. This form of resistance greatly increased the risk of punishment, not only for students leading the protests but even for those who simply participated. Thus, the collective student resistance of the late 1970s was led primarily by members of ideological circles. The resistance of university students to the Yushin regime occurred very sporadically, but it shook the legitimacy of the Yushin regime, causing a crack in the seemingly strong dictatorship, and finally playing a major role in the collapse of the regime. In particular, the 1979 Buma (Busan-Masan) Uprising, which served as a decisive momentum in the collapse of the Yushin regime, was triggered by protests organized by members of ideological circles in coordination with members of other student circles, church youth associations, and cooperative bookstores (Busan minju undongsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe 1998, 394–406; Buma minju hangjaeng ginyeom saeophoe 2011, 546–560).

---

12. Teachers, intellectuals, pro-democracy activists, and students participated in the cooperative bookstores, which began in Busan in 1978 and spread to Seoul, Suwon, Masan, Daegu, Ulsan, and Gwangju by the end of the 1970s (Young-jae Lee 2015).

Popularization and Dissolution of College Student Ideological Circles: 1980s

The death of Park Chung-hee in October 1979 and the sudden collapse of the Yushin regime brought about a *spring of democratization*. In the spring of 1980, a tsunami of protests at universities across the country called for democratization. But this spring of democratization came to an abrupt end with the military coup led by General Chun Doo-hwan on May 17, 1980. A desperate resistance against the military's grip on power was carried out in Gwangju, but ended in a bloody crackdown by the military. Subsequently, numerous students and pro-democracy activists were imprisoned.

However, the student movement immediately began to resist the military regime in the winter of 1980, and the student resistance became stronger from 1981. The student movement from 1981 to 1983 revolved around guerrilla-like demonstrations, as the circumstances were similar to those of the late 1970s. However, the number of demonstrations and the number of students participating in the student movement was much higher than in the late 1970s. The popular base of the student movement had now become much wider. This was because, among other things, the legitimacy of the Chun Doo-hwan administration was extremely weak as it had come to power through a bloody suppression of the pro-democracy movement in the spring of 1980.

Under these circumstances, ideological circles grew explosively. According to the National Security Planning Agency, "troublesome circles" of college students increased from 68 (49 in Seoul and 19 in provincial areas) in 1981 to 96 (62 in Seoul and 34 in provincial areas) in 1985. And the number of universities where "troublesome circles" existed reached 33 (20 in Seoul and 13 in provincial areas), with the number of its members standing at 2,762 (1,930 in Seoul and 832 in provincial areas) in 1985 (Gugjeongwon gwageo sageon jinsilgyumyeong-eul tonghan baljeon wiwonhoe 2007, 162–167). Considering that most of the "troublesome circles" identified by the National Security Planning Agency were open circles, while the underground ideological circles were seldom included in their report, it can be safely asserted that in the first half of the 1980s, the number of student activists from ideological circles and similar circles expanded enormously

(Huh 2013, 176).

The ideological circle also dominated the official organization of departments and colleges based on its expanded power and influence. In 1982, student activists began to take control of the student quasi-military organization, the Hakdo hogukdan, at some universities.[13] In 1984, when the Chun Doo-hwan administration adopted its so-called "appeasement policy" to ease the intensity of oppression, student councils were organized and dominated universities across the country. Accordingly, from 1984, the student movement in Korea was led by secret political organizations composed of key leaders of ideological circles that dominated the student council.

But this explosive expansion of the popular base of the student movement paradoxically weakened the base of ideological circles, and finally, around 1986, the ideological circles were dismantled in most schools following the decision of the leadership of the student movement. There are two reasons for this dissolution of ideological circles: First, the need for ideological circles had concomitantly weakened as the popular base of the student movement expanded. With the withdrawal of police from university campuses after the government's 1984 appeasement policy, and with student councils now organized at each university, the campus became a free zone for students to protest and rally. As a result, materials that in the past were secretly studied in ideological circles could now be openly learned in various study groups organized on a departmental basis. The members of the ideological circle came to combine secret circle activities with open intramural unit activities, which weakened the need for the former as the latter expanded (Huh 2013, 190–195).

Second, the more important factor that brought about the disintegration of ideological circles was the intensification of ideological and political struggles within the movement. Shocked by the bloody crackdown on the 1980 Gwangju Uprising, the activists became more serious about their

---

13. The Hakdo hogukdan, which had been disbanded in the wake of the April 19 Revolution, was reestablished in 1975 after the establishment of the Yushin regime, then disbanded in 1980, only to be reinstated by the Chun Doo-hwan regime.

strategy of resisting military authoritarianism. They reached the perception that intellectual and student-centered resistance movements alone could not break down a ruling system that could mobilize military power, and began to seriously seek a revolutionary mode of movement. This quest led to a Leninist revolutionary line on the one hand, and on the other, to an embrace of North Korea's Juche ideology (C. Lee 2013). This ideological division instigated fierce debates and a struggle for leadership between the two camps. In the line struggles that began around 1983, the so-called PD (people's democracy) faction who followed Leninism prevailed at first, but in 1986 the so-called NL (national liberation) faction that followed Juche ideology began to dominate. In the struggle between the two forces, the PD faction, which valued theoretical foundations, was obsessed with ideological circles, while the NL faction, which accepted the already-organized idea of Juche, saw them as hotbeds of *sectarianism* and insisted on their dismantling. Eventually, the NL faction took the lead of the student movement, and the argument that the circle should be dismantled to strengthen the student body as a student mass organization prevailed, thus finally bringing to an end the era of university ideological circles (C. Lee 2013, 241–251).

Issues and Discussion

Why did College Students Play Such an Important Role in Korea's Democratization Movement?

From the 1960s to the 1980s, the proportional role of the student movement of college students in Korea's democratization movement was overwhelming. Why did the college student movement play such an critical role? The reason can be found in objective conditions, such as the political system and the degree of civil society development, as well as the subjective conditions of student groups and student movement participants.

According to Philip Altbach (1991, 1992), who conducted extensive research on student movements around the world for about four decades from the 1960s to the early 2000s, the possibility of student activism and

its influence is higher in the Third World or newly established countries. This is because the less politically democratic and less responsive a political system, the more likely it is to lack legitimacy. On the other hand, in an open and pluralistic political system—with the exception of some special cases[14] —a student movement that challenges the existing system has difficulty obtaining the support of civil society, and so its longevity is challenged. These propositions can be applied to the Korean student movement. In the case of Korea, the existence of a very repressive dictatorship from the 1960s to 1980s fueled the student movement and became a source of that movement's legitimacy.

Further, the role of the student movement tends to be more prominent in a newly established country or one with an authoritarian regime because there is the relative absence of a civil society. Like other Third World countries, voluntary organization by social classes and groups was extremely oppressed in Korea before democratization in 1987. The state suppressed, manipulated, and controlled various organizations, including trade unions. Thus, for about 30 years, while the military authoritarian regime lasted, college students had a very important status, almost the only group that consistently challenged the ruling power.

In addition, in Korea there was strong social support for the student movement. Often, youth is stereotyped as immature and desultory, but on the other hand, it is also symbolic of purity, righteousness, and courage. In the era of the student movement, college participants were accused by government authorities of pursuing communism, ignoring national realities, and acting immature.[15] However, civil society in general strongly supported

---

14. The Western social and political upheavals of 1968, the American civil rights movement, and the anti-Vietnam War movement are examples of such special cases.

15. In June 1981, Minister of Education Lee Kyu-ho replied to one assemblyman's question in the National Assembly: "The chronic campus unrest not only jeopardizes national security and impedes economic growth, but it also decisively hinders political development, and undermines the qualitative enhancement of university education" (*Maeil gyeongje*, June 4, 1981). This criticism of the student movement was consistent throughout the era of the student movement. The irony is that Lee Kyu-ho's book, *Philosophy as a Study of Man* (*Saram doem-ui tteut*: *Cheolhakjeok inganhak*), was widely read as an introductory textbook for philosophy in ideological circles in the 1970s.

the students. Also, despite the regime's media control, the student struggles were both widely known and highly regarded by the media, which was also an important driver of the student movement.[16]

In this era, student activists were considered to be a collective David, who fearlessly fought against great injustice, or martyrs willing to sacrifice themselves for a cause. For example, Lee Jae-oh writes the following in the introduction to his *History of the Korean Student Movement History since Liberation*:

> The passion for defending truth is the most basic spirit of a student. ... Students are not only more faithful to the truth, but they are also more active and daring in their practice, as they have the purity and passion of youth. ... This is why students [as a group] can always act fairly and boldly, and receive social expectations and prospects as future generations who will be in charge of social development. ... and their idealistic passions also enable the start of a messianic ritual that is hard to find in the older generation. ... [Leading in the construction of anti-imperial nationalism and anti-dictatorial democracy,] the participation of the Korean student movement in the real world is an epochal mission that comes from their sense of calling in the circumstances of Korea in this era. (J. Lee 1984, 17–19)

As resource mobilization theory points out, the existence of pain and discontent alone is not sufficient to explain the occurrence of social movements.[17] In order for social movements to occur and continue, a pre-organized group is needed to overcome the so-called "dilemmas of collective action" by rallying and representing public discontent (Oberschall 1973).[18] During the period of military authoritarian regimes in Korea, oppressive state apparatuses such as the military, police, and intelligence agencies were overdeveloped, while civil society contracted extremely. This is because the

---

16. According to Altbach (1991), when the student movement is traditionally accepted as part of the political system, its influence is greater.
17. See Buechler (2011) for a comprehensive and detailed literature on social movement theory.
18. This was also emphasized by Tilly (1978) and McAdam (1982).

organization of all social classes or groups, including workers and peasants, were forcefully dominated by repressive state apparatuses.[19] But even the repressive state apparatuses could not take full control of the university campuses, which were considered essentially autonomous spaces. Thus, college students in the same age group and with similar socioeconomic backgrounds and values formed a kind of community around departments and colleges. In other words, departments and colleges served as a kind of community organization that united college students both symbolically and morally. Thus, student activists were able to organize resistance and mobilize fellow students based on departments and colleges, regardless of the existence of student councils, even when police were stationed on campus.

The students' identity as intellectuals and their sense of historical calling during this period held strong appeal. Thanks to the high enthusiasm for education, the enrollment rate in institutes of higher education in Korea has risen at a faster rate than any other country in the world, but even in the 1970s, enrollment in higher education remained *elitist*, with only around 10 percent of college-age youth enrolled; college only became part of *mass education* in the early 1980s.[20] In addition, the proportion of people aged 15 and older who had received higher education was only 4.8 percent in 1980 and 10.4 percent in 1990 (KOSIS 2020). Therefore, until the early 1980s, college students were considered intellectuals in Korean society. And this was reflected in their identity and self-portrayal. Their self-perceived identities are well reflected in the declarations of student activists of this period. They viewed the reality of Korea under military dictatorship as a *suffocating reality*, and themselves as having the *historical responsibility* to

---

19. See Alavi (1972) for the concept of overdeveloped state apparatuses relative to civil society in post-colonial societies. On the other hand, for a study that applies this concept to Korea, see Im (1987).

20. Seong-cheol Oh (2015, 181) estimates the enrollment rates for higher education in Korea at 2.2% in 1952, 5.0% in 1960, 8.7% in 1970, 15.9% in 1980, 37.7% in 1990, and 55.1% in 1995. Meanwhile, Martin Trow, in his classic study, distinguishes three phases of higher education: "elite education" if enrollment rate of college-age youth is less than 15 percent; "mass education" if it is 15 to 50 percent, and "universal education" if more than 50 percent. Trow also points out that when the transition between phases occurs, many changes and problems appear in such areas as the nature, content, and institution of higher education (Trow 1973).

take the lead in the democratic movement and so answering the *call of the nation*. Thus, they demanded of themselves to shake it fear and raise the "beacon of rebellion." These appeals appear in almost all handouts urging students to participate in the struggle for resistance. For example, the following sentiments are typical:

> Are you listening? Schoolmates! In this suffocating reality, we cannot restrain the fluxing blood. Today we are being called again by the nation. Schoolmates! Let us all hold high the true beacon of rebellion. Let's get out of here! Let's shake off all our fears and keep moving forward! (Yeonse daehakgyo chonghaksaenghoe [1977] 2007)

> What should be done? You must make a decision. Shouldn't we practice with our whole body to bear the historical responsibility for the true democratization of this land? (Ewha yeoja daehakgyo haksaeng-deul 1982)

The emotions and identities of students who joined the movement are even more dramatic in the songs they would sing, so-called *minjung gayo* (*minjung* songs). In the 1970s, "Haebangga" (Song of Liberation), "Jeonguiga" (Song of Justice), "Achim iseul" (Morning Dew), "O jayu" (Oh Freedom), and "Gara mose" (Go Down Moses) were often sung. And in the early 1980s, many more solemn songs were sung, such as "Imeul wihan haengjingok" (A March Song for My Dear Love), "Chingu 2" (Friend 2), "Taneun mogmaleum-euro" (With Burning Thirst), and "Cheongsan-i sorichyeo buleogeodeun" (If the Blue Mountain Calls Out Loud). These songs were consistent expressions of anger about dictatorship and injustice, hunger for freedom, justice, and democracy, solidarity with colleagues sacrificed in the struggle, and the willingness to lead the struggle.[21]

  One of the important characteristics distinguishing the Korean student movement from the student movements in other countries is that in Korea it had the experience of victory (Doh-jong Kim 1991). Korean students

---

21. See Yeong-mi Lee (1997) for a study of the role of *minjung* songs in the history of the student movement.

were the leading figures in the April Revolution of 1960, which toppled the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, and the main characters of the Buma Uprising that toppled the Yushin regime in 1979. The experience of such historical victories and the belief that they could ultimately win became the driving force behind the student movement, allowing it to continue its tenacious struggle despite repeated defeats and prolonged oppression.

The final, and most important, subjective factor was the existence of the ideological circles. In general, the strengthening of oppression tends to weaken resistance by reducing the amount of resources insurgents can mobilize. But if the insurgents have organizational resources to withstand such oppression over a long time, over-suppression can rather lead to serious cracks in the governing system by weakening the legitimacy of the ruling system and strengthening the legitimacy of the resistance. Korea's Yushin system and resistance to it in the 1970s are proof of this.

Compared to the 1960s, the suppression of student movements in the 1970s and 1980s was considerably stronger. In the 1960s, only a few representatives who organized student demonstrations were punished. However, from 1972, when the Yushin system was established, the mere participation in protests greatly increased the chances of one's being expelled from college and even imprisoned. Therefore, being a student activist demanded a determination to bear such costs. Ideological circles continued to mass produce activists who would incur such risks at the forefront of the student movement, and on an increasingly larger scale. In addition, ideological circles formed school, regional, and national networks to organize and spread the protest movement. In the 1980s, various national and regional student political struggles were formed, with most of the members key leaders in ideological circles.

Conscientization as Cognitive Praxis and Participation in the Student Movement

The following are the two most important roles played by ideological circles in the Korean student movement. First, they formed the organizational basis of resistance. Second, they were places of cognitive practice. As for the first role, we have fully discussed this earlier, so this section focuses on the

latter. In the history of social movement theory, the symbolic and cognitive dimensions began to be discussed relatively late. The problem with the classical theory that grievances create social movements was that grievances can lead not only to resistance, but also to isolation and compliance, and it does not explain the process by which grievances lead to resistance (Buechler 2011).

To address these issues, Piven and Cloward (1979) suggested that the perception that existing social structure were no longer justified, and that people's belief that change is possible, and their participation can make a difference, is important. McAdam (1982, 50) developed this theory and presented the concept of "cognitive liberation." According to him, cognitive liberation is the third decisive mechanism for the creation of social movements, along with political opportunities and organizations. In his view, cognitive liberation has three dimensions: First, the subjective perception that the existing social order is unjust; second, overcoming fatalism; and third, acquiring the sense of efficacy that their participation can affect the outcome.

This theory was extended to the framing theory by Gamson et al. (1982) and Snow et al. (1986). They argued that in order for social movements to succeed, the contenders must break the legitimacy of the existing order, which requires a frame as an *interpretive schemata* to identify, label, translate, and render events. In short, according to them, the success or failure of social movements depends not only on the existence of dissatisfaction, organization, and mobilization, but also on the symbolic struggle through framing.

In the context of these theoretical quests, Eyerman and Jamison created the concept of "cognitive praxis." According to them, in social movements the formation of collective identity and cognitive praxis are as important as organization and mobilization.[22] They believe that society is organized by re-

---

22. They argue that the success of social movements depends largely on the ability to mobilize resources at an empirical level and the ability to utilize the structure of opportunity, but from a broader historical perspective, on the effective spread of knowledge production (i.e., cognitive praxis) (Eyerman and Jamison 1991, 64).

cognition, in other words, recurrent acts of knowing (Eyerman and Jamison 1991, 49). Thus, the cognitive praxis that is the creation, articulation, and formation of new knowledge, changes society by forming a new conceptual space. Therefore, cognitive praxis is a core activity in social movements (Eyerman and Jamison 1991, 55). In this context, it is argued that creating a *movement intellectual* as the primary bearer of cognitive praxis is a necessary condition for the formation of a social movement.[23]

Now, let's take a look at the cognitive praxis of ideological circles in Korea's era of the student movement, the way they have created new movement knowledge, and the content of the resulting movement knowledge. It was the learning activity called the "seminar" that was not only the most quantitatively important part of ideological circle activities, but also the most qualitatively important. The weekly seminar, which was held during the semester, was held in the form of debate centered on a text. The learning program (curriculum) of ideological circles was designed step by step. In other words, first of all, the learning of history, worldview, and philosophical anthropology was intended to break down the ruling ideology that freshmen were internalizing through education through high school. Next, learning about the reality of Korean society (dictatorship, inequality, exploitation, and suppression of the masses) led to a critical social consciousness. After that, learning economic history and political economics was aimed at shaping Marxist views.[24] Finally, learning about Korean modern history and the history of national movements or socialist movements led to the practical search for strategies and tactics of social movements.[25]

---

23. Their concept of the intellectual movement is in line with Gramsci's concept of the "organic intellectual."

24. In fact, studying economic history meant learning about historical materialism.

25. The curriculum was structured from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, and since then, the content became more radical, but the basic framework remained unchanged until the mid-1980s. In the early 1970s, the curriculum was structured in the following order: history recognition → self-awareness, awareness of the people's reality → world history (economic history) → understanding Korean modern history → social movement theory (Seoul daehakgyo akademi 50 nyeonsa balgan wiwonhoe 2020). In the late 1970s, the curriculum changed to the order of historical perception, understanding the people's reality → Korean

This content of this learning was very shockingly at contrast with the general level of consciousness of college students formed through formal education, and thus was not easily accommodated by ordinary students. But at the same time, it stimulated the vigorous intellectual curiosity of college students because it contained *taboo knowledge* not taught in formal education, revelations of hidden facts or events not communicated by the mass media. Thus, the curriculum of ideological circles was an attractive alternative for many students who were disappointed with the content of old-fashioned and uninspiring college education.

Ideological circles were a vigorous absorber of a new knowledge paradigm and ideas. Ideological circles were thus the soonest to absorb radical foreign theories in Korea. Absorbing all kinds of leftist theories, ideological circles tried to find theoretical guidance for their practice in these theories.

Various materials were used as learning materials by ideological circles. In the 1960s, university textbooks and some professional books were used because of the poor intellectual, ideological, and publishing conditions in Korea at that time. But in the late 1970s, available textbooks and materials became much more diverse. This is because the number of publications written by critical intellectuals in Korea had increased[26]—literary works exposing the realities of farmers, workers, and the poor now flooded society, while many foreign books had been translated or distributed in the form of pirated editions (Shin 2013).

---

modern history → economic history and political economy → foreign revolutionary history (Shin 2013, 128). And in the mid-1980s, it changed again to the transformation of consciousness → political economics and historical materialism → world revolutionary history → the Korean student movement and socialist movement (Huh 2013, 181).

26. *Jeonhwan sidae-ui nolli* (Logic of the Era of Transition; 1974) and *Pal eok in-gwa-ui daehwa* (Conversation with 800 Million People; 1977) are typical examples. The former book criticizes imperialism and justifies the national liberation movement based on an analysis of the Vietnam War and modern Chinese history, while the latter deals positively with China's Cultural Revolution. According to the Central Intelligence Agency, these two books ranked first and second among the 50 most influential books on students in the early 1980s (Kwon 2016). Li Young-hee, a university professor who authored both books, was dismissed in 1976 and imprisoned for two years for violating South Korea's anti-communism laws.

In the early 1980s, the Korean student movement came to perceive that revolution was the only way to overthrow a tyrannical government that did not hesitate to spill the blood of the people. Therefore, ideological circles shifted the direction of their teaching, which until then had been somewhat academic, to more directly seek strategies and tactics for revolution. In the mid-1980s, thanks to the deregulation of the publishing industry and the spread of copy machines, access to taboo Marxist-Leninist and North Korean Juche texts became very easy, and thus the ideological radicalization of the student movement was further promoted (Huh 2013).

But members of ideological circles were well aware that learning activities that evoked a critical social consciousness were not enough. It was never easy to turn elite students, whose families and relatives has many expectations of them as young persons entering prestigious universities, into student activists who would give up their brilliant future and sacrifice themselves on the altar of democracy. Thus, they created a *conscientization* process that combined learning and practice, ritual and emotional exchange.[27]

Group activities of ideological circles, including various practice activities such as retreats, drinking, participation in demonstrations, rural activities, and labor night school activities, played a role in collectively sublimating the personal agony surrounding students' participation in the movement. In particular, the fact that senior students from ideological circles practiced critical knowledge and consciousness through various resistance struggles such as demonstrations, distribution of handouts, and formation of underground struggle organizations had a great impact.[28] In

---

27. "Conscientization" here is a concept of Paulo Freire (1970). According to Freire, conscientization is achieved through critical thinking, dialogical action, that is, consciousness-raising achieved through praxis. In terms of educational thought and methodology, from the mid-1970s Freire had an important impact on *minjung* education in various fields, including night school for workers, as well as ideological circles.

28. The number of students expelled for student activism continued to increase over time. For example, the number of students who were expelled due to the garrison decree of 1971 was 185 (*Dong-A ilbo*, March 21, 1973). After emergency measures in 1974, students who were expelled from then until October 1979 numbered 786 from 40 universities nationwide (*Maeil gyeongje*, December 8, 1979). And from May 1980 to mid-December 1983, 1,363 students

addition to learning activities, the sharing of these experiences and emotions created a group called the *undonggwon* (movement group) and a movement group culture.[29]

In addition, the ideology circle contributed to the creation of new movement knowledge in Korean society. First, the ideological circle was the birthplace of various organizational and struggle methods and tactics. In response to the growing oppression of the dictatorship, the ideological circles were transformed into underground organizations, protecting the secrets of their members and activities. At the same time, ideological circles developed several methods to create a network of common actions both inside and outside the school. In addition, various rally, demonstration, and handout-distribution tactics were developed and used to effectively strike at the authoritarian regime.

More importantly, however, ideological circles themselves underwent a theoretical and ideological transformation, and as a result, significantly changed the ideological landscape of Korean society. As mentioned earlier, ideological circles led the democratic, social-democratic, and nationalist movements of the 1960s, and 1970s, they embraced liberation theology, dependency theory, and Marxism, and led the trend of *minjung*-oriented ideology and social movement. In the 1980s, these ideological circles took the lead in accepting and disseminating Leninist revolutionary theory and Juche ideology. Through the leading acceptance and dissemination of these new theories and ideas, ideological circles created a crack in the uniform anti-communist ideology imposed by the authoritarian regime in Korea, and socialist ideas became a major part of intellectual society and social movement forces. In short, ideological circles were the cradle of the intellectual movement in modern Korean society.

---

were expelled from campuses for reasons such as involvement in the student movement (*Kyunghyang sinmun*, December 21, 1983).

29. According to McAdam (1994, 45–46), social movements often have important cultural roots with structural causes. Social movements create a culture within them, which can include a unique ideology, collective identity, routines of action, and material culture.

The Legacy of Ideological Circles

University ideological circles did not gradually disappear through failure, nor were they dismantled by external coercion, but rather suddenly dissolved by autonomous internal decisions at the very peak of their success (C. Park 2016).[30]

Though the ideological circle was disbanded around 1986, it left a strong and enduring legacy in Korean society. The biggest legacy of ideological circles in Korean society is that they greatly contributed to toppling authoritarian regimes and achieving a transition to democracy. Ideological circles very successfully framed the confrontation between the democratic movement and the military regime in each era. In the 1960s, this was a confrontation between democratic, nationalist forces and dictatorship and anti-nationalist forces; in the 1970s, between forces representing democracy and the people's suffering and interests and those representing the interests of the *jaebeol* (*chaebol*) and foreign capital; and in the 1980s, between nationalist, democratic, and subordinated people's advocates and an anti-nationalist and anti-people murderous regime. These framings broke the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes by attaching the labels of dictatorial, anti-nationalist, pro-*jaebeol*, anti-people, and murderous to the defenders of the existing order, while the legitimacy of the forces challenging the system grew. In the end, these framings played a decisive role in the transition to democracy through the 1987 democratic struggle.

More importantly, however, such framings in the long run lent legitimacy to the so-called *democratic and progressive* forces involved in the pro-democracy movement, while bequeathing the historical legacy of weak legitimacy to conservatives who had politically inherited authoritarian regimes. This historical legacy laid the foundation for the gradual but irreversible deepening of democracy from 1987 to 2004.

---

30. Of course, ideological circles were not wiped out by the decision to dismantle them, and activities similar to those of some ideological circles have not completely disappeared. In the 1990s, there were groups that engaged in activities similar to ideological circles under the name of "clubs." But they were residual to a level that can never be seen as a social phenomenon.

In this sense, the so-called *history war*, which began around this time, was a challenge by conservatives to change the framework of the interpretation of modern Korean history, which was created by the student movement's ideological circles and lasted for about half a century.

College ideological circles have had a large impact on almost all aspects of Korean politics, society, education, and culture. This was effected in largely two ways: through the supply of human resources and the provision of a new paradigm. Let us first examine this in terms of the supply of human resources. The student movement leaders produced through ideological circles have since grown into leading figures in many fields. In particular, the "x86 generation," meaning those born in the 1960s and who attended college in the 1980s, is considered the most powerful generation in terms of social influence over the last 30 years.[31]

Next, in terms of providing a new paradigm, many of the ideas, theories, and trends that ideological circles absorbed and adopted in the search for new movement knowledge led to some kind of paradigm shift in various fields, and such transitions left deep influences and traces up until the early 2000s. Enumerating them all should be the subject of another study, so here I only reference them briefly. First, breaking the thick walls of anti-communist ideology, socialism, which had been taboo, was brought up by ideological circles as a forum for public debate. Next, exposing the shadow of economic growth (external dependence, widening gap between rich and poor, economic oppression, and exploitation), raised alternative economic models that sought balance and co-prosperity. Ideological circles also triggered social movements of the working class, urban poor, and peasants, providing the basis for framing various social movements. And furthermore, the circles had a profound influence in various fields, including academics, education, literature, music, art, and the performing arts. As a result, in the 1990s, the so-called "such-and-such movement" emerged in various fields based on new *minjung* paradigms such as people's education, people's literature, national literature, people's art, and people's music.

---

31. They were also called the "386 generation" when they were in their thirties and the "486 generation" when in their forties.

This is not to say college ideological circles had no limitations or negative consequences for Korean society and social movements. There is no room in this paper for a deep consideration of this topic, but the shadows of the ideological circles also need to be subjected to in-depth research. To outline a few issues for further discussion: The first is that the ideological orientation of these circles, especially in the 1980s, was so radical that it was often divorced from the reality of Korean society. The Leninist socialist revolution strategy or Juche ideology they embraced in the mid-1980s was very anachronistic in light of the reality of Korea, which had already moved beyond the status of developing country and joined the ranks of the economic middle powers. The collapse of the socialist bloc in the early 1990s clearly revealed that the revolution they dreamed of was just a daydream, and thus such radical revolutionary theories lost their influence rapidly. Secondly, because their ideological orientation was separated from reality, they failed to play a central role in the process of gradual transition to democracy in the 1990s and so became marginalized. As a result, very few former student leaders have been absorbed into existing political parties. Third, the ideology of the circles was largely left-leaning, and therefore their sensitivity to gender, environmental, generational, and various minority issues was weak. Thus, since the 2000s this x86 generation has been criticized as just another conservative vested interest.

REFERENCES

Alavi, Hamza. 1972. "The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh." *New Left Review* 74.1: 59–81.

Altbach, Philip G. 1991. "Student Political Activism." In *International Higher Education: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Philip G. Altbach, 247-260. New York: Garland.

_____. 1992. "Politics of Student and Faculty." In *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education*, edited by B. R. Clark and G. Neave, 1740–1749. New York:

Pergamon.

Barker, Colin. 2008. "Some Reflections on Student Movements of the 1960s and Early 1970s." *Revista Critica de Ciencias Sociais* 81: 43–91.

Buechler, Steven M. 2011. *Understanding Social Movements*: *Theories from the Classical to the Present*. London: Paradigm Publisher.

Buma minju hangjaeng ginyeom saeophoe (Buma Democratic Uprising Memorial Society), ed. 2011. *Buma minju hangjaeng jeungeonjip*: *Masan pyeon* (Buma Democracy Testimony Collection: Masan Edition). Changwon: Bulhwi midieo.

_____. (n.d.). "Yangseo hyeopdong johap undong gwallyeon jaryo mongnok" (List of Materials Related to the Book Cooperative Movement). Unpublished material. Democracy Park Archives. http://www.demopark.or.kr/Archive/Archive_02_down.asp?num=16.

Busan minju undongsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe (Busan Democratic Movement History Compilation Committee). 1998. *Busan minju undongsa* (History of the Busan Democratic Movement). Busan: Busan minju undongsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe.

Choi, Hyaeweol. 1991. "The Societal Impact of Student Politics in Contemporary South Korea." *Higher Education* 22: 175–188.

Ewha yeoja daehakgyo haksaeng-deul. 1982. "Bandokjae hagwon minjuhwa tujaeng yuinmul" (An Anti-dictatorship University Democratization Struggle Handout). Korea Democracy Foundation Open Archive. Accessed March 2, 2020. https://archives.kdemo.or.kr/isad/view/00880348.

Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison. 1991. *Social Movements*: *A Cognitive Approach*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. United States: Herder & Herder.

Gamson, William A., Bruce Fireman, and Steve Rytina. 1982. *Encounters with Unjust Authority*. Homewood: Dorsey Press.

Gugjeongwon gwageo sageon jinsilgyumyeong-eul tonghan baljeon wiwonhoe (Commission for Development through Truth Findings of Past Events at National Institutes). 2007. *Gwageo-wa daehwa*, *mirae-ui seongchal*: *Hagwon*, *gancheop pyeon* (Dialogue with the Past, Reflecting on the Future: Academy, Espionage [Volume VI]). Seoul: National Intelligence Service.

Han, Jong-su. 2013. "Godeung haksaengdeul, 4.19 hyeongmyeong-ui achim-eul yeolda" (High School Students, Open the Morning of the 4.19 Revolution). *Minjuhwa undong ginyeom saeophoe* (Korea Democracy Foundation). Accessed February 22, 2020. http://www.kdemo.or.kr/blog/location/post/774.

Heungsadan akademi chongdongmunhoe. 2013. *Heungsadan akademi 50-nyeonsa*

(Fifty-years History of Heungsadan Academy). Seoul: Heungsadan akademi chongdongmunhoe.

Honari, Ali. 2018. "From 'the Effect of Repression' toward 'the Response to Repression.'" *Current Sociology* 66.6: 950–973.

Huh, Eun. 2013. "1980-nyeondae sangbangi haksaeng undong chegye-ui byeonhwa-wa haksaeng undong munhwa-ui hwagsan" (Transition of the Student Movement System and the Spread of Student Movement Culture in the First Half of 1980s). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 157–210. Seoul: Seon-in.

Im, Hyug Baeg. 1987. "The Rise of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in South Korea." *World Politics* 39.2: 231–257.

Jung, Geun-sik. 2013. "Haksaeng undong yeongu-reul wihan bangbeop nonjeok mosaek" (Methodological Search for Student Movement Research). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 17–62. Seoul: Seon-in.

Kim, C. I. Eugene, and Ke-soo Kim. 1964. "The April 1960 Korean Student Movement." *The Western Political Quarterly* 17.1: 83–92.

Kim, Doh-jong. 1991. "The politics of the Korean student movement: Its tradition, evolution, and uniqueness." PhD diss., Arizona State University.

Kim, Dong-chun. 1998. "90-nyeondae haksaeng undong-ui hyeonhwang-gwa jeonmang" (The Current Status and Prospects of the Student Movement in the 1990s). *Hwanghae munhwa* (Hwanghae Culture) 19: 101–116.

Kim, Ho-il. 2005. *Hanguk geundae haksaeng undongsa* (Korean Modern Student Movement History). Seoul: Seon-in.

Kim, Hui-jae. 2013. "Busan jiyeok haksaeng undong-ui mekanijem yeongu" (A Study on the Mechanism of the Student Movement in Busan). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 359–396. Seoul: Seon-in.

KOSIS=Korea Statistical Information Service (Gukga tonggye portal). 2020. "Seong/gyoyuk jeongdopyeol gyeongj ehwaldong-ingu" (Economically Active Population by Sex/Educational Attainment). Accessed March 20, 2020. http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1D07013S&conn_path=I2.

Kwon, U-yong. 2016. "Jeonhwan sidae-ui nolli, usanghwa-doen jeongchi-e dol-eul deonjin 'gaseol'" (Logic of the Era of Transition: "The Hypothesis" Throwing Stones into Idolized Politics). *Daehak sinmun*, March 13.

Kyunghyang sinmun. 1983. "Jejeok haksaeng jeonwon boggyo heoyong" (All Expelled

Students Allowed to Return to School). December 21.

Lee, Chang-eon. 2013. "NL (Minjok haebang) gyeyeol haksaeng undong-ui julyuhwa-wa hangye: Jeonguk daehaksaeng daepyoja hyeopuihoe-wa hanguk daehak chonghaksaenghoe yeonhap" (Mainstreaming and Limitations of the NL [National Liberation] Student Movement: The National Council of University Student Representatives and the Korean Federation of University Student Councils). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 211–264. Seoul: Seon-in.

_____. 2014. *Bak Jung-hui sidae haksaeng undong: Yusin cheje ha daehaksaeng-ui jeohangjeok jeongcheseong-eun eotteoge mandeureojyeoneunga*? (The Student Movement of the Park Chung-hee Era: How was the Resistance Identity of College Students under the Yushin System Created?). Osan: Hansin daehakgyo chulpanbu.

Lee, Gi-hun. 2013. "Haksaeng undong-ui gieok-gwa gyeongheom, geurigo yeoksa: 1970–1980-nyeondae gwangju·jeonnam-ui gyeongu" (Memories, Experiences, and History of the Student Movement: The Case of Gwangju and Jeollanam-do Province in the 1970s and 1980s). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 397–429. Seoul: Seon-in.

Lee, Jae-oh. 1984. *Haebanghu hanguk haksaeng undongsa*: *1945 nyeon buteo 1979 nyeon kkaji* (History of the Korean Student Movement History since Liberation: 1945 to 1979). Seoul: Hyeongseongsa.

Lee, Namhee. 2015. *Minjung mandeulgi*: *Hanguk-ui minjuhwa undong-gwa jaehyeon-ui jeongchihak* (The Making of Minjung: The Korean Democratization Movement and the Revival of Political Studies). Translated by Yuli and Gyeong-hee Lee. Seoul: Humanitas. Originally published as *The Making of Minjung*: *Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Lee Subyeong seonsaeng ginyeom saeophoe. 1992. *Amjang*: *Inhyeokdang sahyeongsu Lee Subyeong pyeongjeon* (Magma: A Biography of Lee Subyeong, a Condemned Criminal of Inhyeokdang). Seoul: Jirisan.

Lee, Yeong-jae. 2015. "Yusin chejegi, gwangju·jeonnam gyoyuk minjuhwa undong-ui jaejomyeong: Sambong johap-gwa yangseo hyeopdong johap-eul jungsimeuro" (A Review of the Educational Democratization Movement in the Gwangju-Jeonnam Region during the Yushin Period: Focusing on the Sambong Cooperative and Book Cooperatives). *Gieok-gwa jeonmang* (Memory and Vision) 33: 156–190.

Lee, Yeong-mi. 1997. "'Undong'-gwa norae, norae-ro bon haksaeng undong-ui yeoksa" (History of the Student Movement in Songs). *Yeoksa bipyeong* (Critical Review of History) 39: 117–128.

Lim, Chaedo. 2013. "Inmin hyeongmyeong dangsageon-gwa gyeongbuk daehakgyo haksaeng undong: 1960–1970-nyeondae daegu jiyeok haksaeng undong-ui mekanijeum" (People's Revolutionary Party Case and Kyungpook National University Student Movement: Mechanism of the Student Movement in Daegu Area in the 1960s–1970s). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 305–358. Seoul: Seon-in.

Luescher, T. M. 2015. "Theorising Student Activism in and beyond the 20th Century: The Contribution of Philip G. Altbach." In *Student Engagement in Europe*: *Society*, *Higher Education and Student Governance*, edited by Manja Klemenčič, Sjur Bergan, and Rok Primožič, 33–49. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Maeil gyeongje. 1979. "Jaejeok haksaeng 786 myeong boggyoneun chonghakjang jaeryang" (Return of 786 Expelled Students is at the Discretion of Deans). December 8.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

_____. 1994. "Culture and Social Movement." In *New Social Movements*: *From Ideology to Identity*, edited by Enrique Larana, et al., 36–57. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Nongchon beophakhoe 50 nyeonsa balgan wiwonhoe (Rural Law Society Fifty-Year Publication Committee), and Minjuhwa undong ginyeom saeophoe (Korea Democracy Foundation). 2012. *Gonan-ui kkotbongoli-ga doeda: Seoul daehakgyo nongchon beophakhoe 50 nyeonsa* (Becoming a Bud of Suffering: Seoul University Rural Law Society 50-Year History). Seoul: Seoul daehakgyo nongchon beophakhoe.

Oberschall, Anthony. 1973. *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Oh, Je-yeon. 2013. "1960-nyeondae daehaksaeng 'inyeom seokeul-ui jojik-gwa hwaldong" (Organization and Activities of the University Student Ideology Circle in the 1960s). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 63–104. Seoul: Seon-in.

_____. 2014. "1960–1971 nyeon daehak haksaeng undong yeongu" (A Study on University Student Movements in Korean from 1960 to 1971). PhD diss., Seoul National University.

Oh, Seong-cheol. 2015. Hanguk hyeondae gyoyuksa-ui sigi gubun-e gwanhan siron" (An Essay on the Classification of Korean Contemporary Education History). *Gyoyuk sahak yeongu* (Education History Studies) 25.2: 157–184.

Park, Chan-su. 2016. "'Saeroun seryeok' deungjang bulleoon haksaeng undong geojeom-ui jajin pyeswae" (The Voluntary Closing of the Student Movement Base that Brought 'New Forces'). *Hankyoreh Daily*, June 25.

Park, Tae-sun. 1991. *1960-nyeondae-ui sahoe undong* (Social Movements of the 1960s). Seoul: Kkachi.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage Books.

Saemunan gyohoe daehaksaenghoe yeoksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. 2017. *Sidae-ui hwaetbul: Saemunan daehaksaenghoe minjuhwa undongsa* (Torch of the Age: History of the Pro-democracy Movement of the Saemoonan Church College Student Society). Seoul: Jisik gongjakso.

Seoul daehakgyo akademi 50 nyeonsa balgan wiwonhoe, ed. 2020. *Seoul daehakgyo akademi 50 nyeonsa* (Fifty-year History of Seoul National University Academy), Seoul: Heungsadan.

Seoul daehakgyo 60 nyeonsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. 2006. *Seoul daehakgyo 60 nyeonsa* (Sixty-year History of Seoul National University). Seoul: Seoul daehakgyo.

Shin, Dong-ho, ed. 2007. *70-nyeondae kaempeoseu: Gunsa dokjae-wa matseo ssaun cheongnyeondeul-ui iyagi* (Seventies Campus: Stories of Young People Who Fought against the Military Dictatorship). 2 vols. Seoul: Doyosae.

_____. 2013. "1970-nyeondae haksaeng undong-ui teukjing-gwa bangsik: Seouldae inyeom seokeul-gwa seokeul yeonhaphoe-reul jungsimeuro" (Features and Methods of the Student Movement in the 1970s: Focusing on the Ideological Circles of Seoul National University and the Circle Federation). In *Haksaeng undong-ui sidae* (The Era of the Student Movement), edited by Ho-ryong Lee and Geun-sik Jung, 105–156. Seoul: Seon-in.

_____. 2014. "Hanil hyeopjeong 50 nyeon, miwan-ui 'jageun hyeongmyeong': Gusul-ro doesallyeopon 6·3 hangjaeng sumgyeojin jangmyeondeul" (50 Years of the Korea-Japan Agreement, Unfinished "Small Revolution": Hidden Scenes of the June 3rd Struggle Revived through Oral Testimonies). *Gieok-gwa jeonmang* (Memory & Vision) 31: 170–222.

Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research* 1: 197–217.

_____, E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation."

American Sociological Review 51.4: 464–481.

Suzuki, Hiroo. 1990. *Daehaksaeng-gwa haksaeng undong: Geu bonjil-gwa silsang-e daehan simcheungjeok yeongu* (University Students and the Student Movement: An In-depth Study of the Essence and Reality). Translated by Dong-yun Park. Seoul: Changusa. Originally published as *Gakusei undō: Daigaku no kaikaku ka shiyakuwai no kaikaku ka* (Tokyo: Fukumura shuppan).

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Trow, Martin. 1973. "Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education." Berkeley, CA: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED091983.

Yeonse daehakgyo chonghaksaenghoe. [1977] 2007. "77 yeonse minju suhogyeol satu jaengseoneon" (1977 Yeonsei University Declaration of a Desperate Struggle to Defend Democracy). In *70-nyeondae kaempeoseu: Gunsa dokjae-wa matseo ssaun cheongnyeondeul-ui iyagi* (Seventies Campus: Stories of Young People Who Fought against the Military Dictatorship), edited by Dong-ho Shin, 2: 96. Seoul: Doyosae.

Yoon, Seon-ja. 2010. "Gwangju haksaeng undong ihu haksaeng undong-ui byeonhwa" (Changes in the Student Movement after the Gwangju Student Movement). *Hanguk dongnip undongsa yeongu* (Journal of Korean Independence Movement Studies) 35: 71–115.