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THE KOREAN AVANT-GARDE: PERFORMANCE ART FROM THE 1960S TO THE 1980S IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOUTH KOREA

1. Introduction. Modern Asian Conditions which brought about Avant-garde Performance Art

Recently, there was an exhibition titled *Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s*.¹ After World War 2, throughout Asia, there was a transformation of the established social structure caused by drastic changes such as industrialization, urbanization and democratic movements. Coinciding with the Zeitgeist of this period, the form and function of art also changed. Having identified the resonances between the radical and experimental art practices of each Asian country, the curators of the exhibition presented the keyword 'awakening' which refers not to awareness through external (Western) intervention, but to the emergence of political awareness, new artistic attitudes, and a newfound sense of subjectivity as the driving force behind the change of the art practice paradigm. Under this premise, the exhibition dismantled the distinction between 'Social Realism/Activism' and 'Experimental Art/Conceptualism,' and incorporated these into the radical art practices triggered by the 'awakening.'²

As the exhibition revealed, radical art trends recognized as 'avant-garde' emerged in Asian countries after World War 2. 'Avant-garde' is a concept related to the attitude toward art rather than its form, and its essence is the deconstructive criticism of modernity and the re-connection between life and art. Therefore, 'avant-garde,' whose core is not an external form but a relationship to practical life, was the concept that enabled postwar artists, who had internalized Asian hybrid modernity, to bring criticism to the fullest extent, and to present more autonomous contemporary art.

At this point, I will briefly mention the ACC (Asia Culture Center) Archive and Research's *'Performance Art in Asia' Archive* to elaborate the modern conditions of the Asian avant-garde. This project highlighted performance art as the front line of avant-garde based on the similarity of sociocultural conditions as Asian avant-garde appeared when each country commonly experienced the instability of domestic politics, rapid economic growth, and the aspiration of democratization with the growth of cultural consciousness. Namely, Asian avant-garde art emerged based on new subjectivities that appeared in the transitional period and performance art, especially, is a significant index to understand it.

Based on these backgrounds, I will deal with Korean performance art from the 1960s to the 1980s as an example of Asian avant-garde performance art, specifically, seen in the context of the trajectory of the democratization of the country as a significant driving force of avant-garde (performance art).

2. Korean Modernity and South

Korean Democratization in the

Twentieth Century

2-1. Korean Modernity as a case of Asian Modernity

Okwui ENWEZOR claimed that it is necessary to approach *petit* modernities considering localities away from *grand* modernity which is Western-centered, and in order to practice it, new perspectives and methodologies are required to escape from the structure of the *grand narrative*.³ In this context, he suggested the concept of “the four domains of modernity” to examine how modernity has worked in the hierarchical layers of its construction, and how it has especially been revealed in the domains of cultural and artistic practices. Among the four categories of today’s modernity, the East Asian modernity is designated as ‘developing modernity/ *andromodernity*’ which is a subordinate modernity derived from ‘supermodernity’.⁴ This form of modernity is “a hybrid form of modernity, achieved through a kind of accelerated type of development, while also devising alternative models of development” and an obsessive modernity in development pursuing “the accoutrements of a modern society.”⁵

These characteristics of the Asian modernity are linked with the discourses on Korean modernity. To explain the Korean modernity, the philosopher Eun-Joo CHANG presented the concept of a ‘Confucian modernity’.⁶ This is a hybrid modernity combined with the secular Confucian culture of the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910). It features ‘the absence of individuality’ (in that it puts priority on the values of groups) and ‘worldly materialism,’ which brings about fetishism. This distinctive modernity is the background of Korean capitalist development, which pursued

collective values and suppressed individuals in a period of the country’s development when the people were mobilized to achieve national goals and materialistic abundance. In addition, the sociologist Suk-Jung HAN suggested the concept of ‘Manchurian modernity,’⁷ which explained that the origin of Korean developmental regimes sustained for twenty years since the era of Chung-Hee PARK is related, specifically, to Japanese colonialism and Manchurian experiences. Behind the Korean military regime’s rapid industrial development and city construction which flaunted masculinity, there was a modern spirit which originated from Manchukuo.

These theories explained the fundamental characteristics of the Korean society in the era of the military dictatorship. In the political, social and cultural environment built on the peculiar Korean modernity, Korean avant-garde artists, specifically, performance artists tried to resist the oppressive systems with ‘their bodies’ in accordance with the aspiration of democratization.

2-2. A Brief History of South Korean Democratization in the Twentieth Century

As Korea’s political tradition lacked experience in liberal democracy, soon after the nation’s independence, it quickly degenerated into the authoritarianism of Syng-Man RHEE’s patrimonial rule (1948-1960).⁸ In 1960, there was widespread dissatisfaction with extensive election fraud and the poor state of the economy. In particular, most Koreans complained about the corrupt government practices. In that year, the April 19th Revolution broke out against President RHEE’s dictatorship. Eventually, RHEE resigned as he was “confronted both with intense domestic pressure to resign and with loss of support from the United States.”⁹

However, due to the succeeding government’s failure to control the political turbulence created by the Revolution, a coup took place in 1961. This coup was a historical turning point to end political struggles between diverse forces that sought to achieve different objectives of ‘nation building’ in the newly independent country. “In this struggle, the military’s alternative – capitalist industrialization combined with authoritarian control – gained supremacy and

dominated the Korean society for some time.”¹⁰ The leader of the military coup was Major General Chung-Hee PARK. While serving in the Japanese army during colonial period, he was affected by a doctrine of the Japanese military, which was “characterized by a belief in strong, centralised management of the economy and by a strong nationalism.”¹¹ In 1972, PARK’s regime declared the *Yushin* (Revitalizing Reform) Constitution. He employed “the ideology of security” based on the assumption of a threat from North Korea. In terms of the systematic use of security threats as a means of mobilizing and controlling civil society, the *Yushin* system had similar characteristics to the pre-war militarist system of Japan. The *Yushin* system eventually ended with the assassination of PARK in 1979.¹²

After the brutal struggles between military-authoritarian and civilian-democratic forces from 1979 to 1980, the New Military group centering around Doo-Hwan CHUN eventually took power.¹³ But his rule faced stronger opposition, which was better organized, greater in size, and ideologically radical, which was a consequence of social diversification and a long history of political resistance. CHUN dismissed President Kyu-Ha CHOI and expanded martial law across the country on 17th May 1980, igniting a confrontation with pro-democracy activists. Matters came to a head on May 18 when the city of Gwangju was taken over by the Gwangju Democratization Movement who held it by force of arms against the military for 10 days. During the battle to take the city back from the protesters, hundreds of civilians were brutally massacred, beaten and tortured by the military. The brutal suppression of the Gwangju Democratization Movement only strengthened the opposition to the regime.¹⁴ The nationwide uprising in June 1987 ended CHUN’s dictatorial rule. The June Democracy Movement was an entirely new achievement in that it initiated a democratization process that has continued until today without experiencing reversals such as any further military takeovers.¹⁵ As the ongoing struggle for democracy resulted in the victory of the pro-democracy movement, the year 1987 can be treated as a turning point in culture and society for Korea.

In the later 1980s, the meaning of avant-garde art as resistance to the system built on the Korean modernity shifted. Therefore, I will re-examine the avant-garde performance art from 1967 (when the first performance art was presented in Korea), to the turning point in 1987.

3. The History of Korean Performance Art in the Trajectory of Democratization

3-1. Korean Performance Art in the ‘4/19 Generation’ in the late 1960s and 1970s

At the time when the *informel* art of the Korean War Generation started to lose its vitality in the art world, three young artistic groups Mu(Zero) Coterie, Sinjeon(New Exhibition) Coterie, and Origin Coterie, collaborated to hold the *Union Exhibition of Young Artists* (1967). These groups presented objects, installations, and performance art as new attempts to escape from the two-dimensional nature of abstract art. Among these attempts, there was a performance art piece *Happening with a Vinyl Umbrella and Candlelight*,¹⁶ which has been considered as the first performance art in Korean art history.¹⁷

In 1967, President PARK began steps to strengthen national security by suppressing the activities of the democratic camp. At the same time, his regime started the second five-year economic plan. In conjunction with the rapid economic development, the mass media was developed, spreading Western popular culture and individualistic ideas. Performance art appeared in Korea when the society was being infused with Western economics and culture, but the thoughts and actions of Koreans were oppressed in the name of anti-communism and national security. When South Korea had just begun to embrace modernization and industrialization, Western society was already trying to overcome modernist ideology and had started the post-industrial era. In particular, youth groups challenged the “economic, cultural and epistemological systems of older generations.” In this same context, Western artists were producing avant-garde art challenging the

authority of abstract modernist art. Therefore, as Soo-Jin CHO pointed out, Korean performance art was born from the cultural exchange between the two different worlds – Korea which only then began modernization in earnest and the West which was already on its way to post-modernity.¹⁸

The initial period of Korean performance art can be divided into the era of ‘happenings’ led by radical performance art from the late Sixties to 1970, and the era of ‘events’ led by conceptual performance art from the mid-Seventies. Most heroes of Korean performance art history in this period belong to the ‘4/19 Generation’. These people had witnessed the April 19 Revolution and the May 16 Military Coup when they were in high school or college and experienced the *Yushin* dictatorship when they were in their 20s and 30s. Further, they were the first generation that had grown up under the influence of American pop culture. Their thirst for democracy, which developed while experiencing the Revolution, motivated their will to be the main agents of the new culture together with the individualistic attitude as a ‘way of living.’¹⁹

Until around 1970, these people presented radical ‘happenings’ to express their resistance to the ideals of the older generation. In 1967, some artists who participated in the *Union Exhibition of Young Artists* held a street protest in the downtown of Seoul. They picketed with signs criticizing artistic institutions and demanding new cultural policies. This can be regarded as the first political demonstration as activist art in the history of Korean art.²⁰ In 1968, Kuk Jin KANG, Chanseung CHUNG and Kangja JUNG presented a ‘happening’ titled *Murder at the Han Riverside* as a criticism against the established culture and art circles.

In June 1970, The 4th Group was formed centering on Kulim KIM and the young elites in their 20s and 30s. All cultural areas including art, theatre, fashion, music, film, and religion were gathered in this group.²¹ By the time when this group was active, most Koreans were suffering from “both the oppression of a military dictatorship and the alienation of the developing capitalist system.” The government controlled the citizens’ physical bodies through strict regulations, and their bodies were denigrated as machines for modernization.

Performance artists who presented the early ‘happenings’ revealed people’s inherent physical and sexual desires. For instance, *The Transparent Balloons and a Nude* (1968)²² attacked the patriarchal objectification of women by exhibiting a female artist’s body, and in *Condom & Carbamine* (1970), Ku-Lim KIM, Chan-Seung CHUNG and Tae-Su BANG handed out condoms to the students of Seoul National University. At the 1st Seoul International Contemporary Music Festival (1969) directed by Ku-Lim KIM, Chan-Seung CHUNG and Myung-Hee CHA simulated sexual intercourse. They addressed sex as the most basic desire to challenge the Confucian moral standards in Korean culture and the stoicism of the military regime as well as to criticize the commodification of the body.²³

The moment signalling the climax and end of the ‘happening’ era is *Funeral for the Established Art & Culture* by The 4th Group. This performance was staged on Korea’s Independence Day as a symbolic ritual to bury the established art and culture. They marched along the street carrying a coffin decorated with flowers and the Korean national flag but were arrested by the police in the Gwanghwamun area. At that time, the leader of the group Ku-Lim KIM was interrogated all night in a police station. Less than two months after forming the group, he had no choice but to disband it.²⁴ The dictatorial government oppressed avant-garde art such as ‘happenings’ because it was linked to the younger generation’s pop culture and subculture, which were regarded by the state as ‘decadence’ or ‘rebellious ideas,’²⁵ thereby suppressing its critical meaning to the society.

Around the beginning of the *Yushin* system, performance art began to disintegrate because it was considered ‘immoral’ and ‘riotous.’ The mainstream art circles became more conservative. Despite this atmosphere, performance art re-emerged as ‘events,’ a process that was led by the S.T. Group.²⁶ This group was active for more than a decade in the 1970s. This period was an ‘era of a vacuum’ because the late Sixties’ youth culture movement entered a lull and the avant-garde art movements that expressed social messages became extinct.²⁷ Against the backdrop of the time, the S.T. Group placed emphasis on theoretical activities

and logic. By publishing newsletters and holding seminars, the group introduced and studied contemporary art theories. They were particularly influenced by Ludwig WITTGENSTEIN's theory of the critical power of language, Joseph KOSUTH's linguistic examination of art. The theories of U-Fan LEE combined the phenomenology of Maurice MERLEAU-PONTY with the philosophy of Nishida KITARO.²⁸

Overall, the activities of the S.T. Group can be divided into two periods. From 1971 to 1974, its members mainly presented objects or installation art under the influence of U-Fan LEE's theories, and from 1975, they mainly presented 'events' that were explicit and concise performance art.²⁹ This changeover to performance art was the result of their acknowledgement of the 'body' as the most critical element in works after researching the contemporaneous philosophies and art theories.³⁰ More directly, in April 1975, when Kun-Yong LEE presented the first 'events' titled *Indoor Measurement* and *Equal Area*, he seemed to have begun performance art after getting some information about Japanese avant-garde art trends from Kulim KIM as well as experiencing performances when he participated in the '73 Paris Biennale.³¹ The first 'events' revealed U-Fan LEE's theory to transcend the objectively targeted view of the world and to encounter the world through 'events' based on phenomenological 'rhetoric,' which were related to the previous objects and installation works. However, in October that year, he presented several 'events'³² such as *Drawing Lines*, *Biscuit Eating*, *Ten Round-trips*, *Age Counting*, and *Round Trip of Two People* which were different from his first 'events' in that the logical inevitability of action and its consequences were emphasized in these works.³³

From around 1975, Yong-Min KIM, Neung-Kyung SUNG, Suk-Won CHANG, and Jin-Sup YOON along with Kun-Yong LEE presented numerous 'events.' LEE explored 'the logical event' as 'the artistic act as reasoning of the body instead of the mind' and coined the term 'logical event' to refer to the performance art of the S.T. Group.³⁴ These 'events' featured repetitive and controlled bodily acts which were common in the artist's daily life. LEE argued "the events of Event-Logical inspiration

could not escape the boundaries of the art system, which differentiated them from 'real' actions that were subject to coincidence and uncertainty." The concept of neutral logic in the 'Event-Logical' theory stemmed from the body's attempt to contemplate the world through a linguistic structure.³⁵

The artists of the S.T. Group revealed the analytical attitude of the artist as the subject of an action through their 'events,' which by itself had resistance-related meanings in the collective discourse of the Seventies.³⁶ In the exhibition *Event-Logical* (1976), three artists (Kun-Yong LEE, Neung-Kyung SUNG, and Yong-Min KIM) staged 'events'³⁷ in accordance with strict procedures and ruling out improvisation or accidental situations. Like the 'events,' from *The Fourth ST Exhibition* in 1975, the 'event' of the S.T. Group was refined by casting off dramatic elements, excluding symbols and allegories, and the repetitive acts that were the distinctive characteristics of their 'events.'³⁸ The 'events' of the S.T. Group were conducted based on logical processes by contemplating 'what art is' in the Cogito-style self-reflection. Particularly, Kun-Yong LEE's *Body Drawing(The Method of Drawing) series*³⁹ is a strong index of the subject. Only the changes of his body position or the level of body restraint, which he had planned, decided the lengths and curves of the drawings revealing the apparent existence of the body as a subject. In the Seventies, Korean society pursued collective ideals such as nationalism, suppressing individualism. However, the 'event' artists of the S.T. Group focused on their bodies and actions. All the actions they presented related to the sense, judgment and indicative decision of the 'I' that controls the body. In that sense, their 'events' caused ruptures in the collective ego of the authoritarian era as well as struck back at the utilitarian industrial system through meaningless acts.⁴⁰

In addition, according to Kun-Yong LEE, the 'event' was an avant-garde strategy "to subvert the mechanism of control" and by exhibiting the body's internalization of the pressure of a totalitarian system, the 'events' sought to "expose and resist the encroachment of political power onto the body of an individual." Many 'events' featured compulsive repetition or strictly regulated actions, which were reminiscent of factory labour or military drills.⁴¹

In the context of criticism of contemporary society, Neung-Kyung SUNG's *Newspapers: Newspapers: From June 1, 1974* (1974) was a relatively direct criticism of the dictatorship. He was interested in the informational quality of press media and the political nature of everyday life. For this work, he cut out the articles of a newspaper every day, put them in an acrylic container, and left the newspaper with images and advertisements. The work "mocked the violent political censorship of the military government by punning on the popular phrase, 'the truth can be read between the lines.'"⁴² Two years later, by further developing this work, he presented an event titled *Reading Newspapers* in which he cut out the articles after reading them out.

Furthermore, performance art as a social outcry kept being presented even in this rigorous period on a few occasions. Jum-Sun KIM's work *Mourner's House of Hongs*⁴³ (1975) is an example. This happening on the theme of a funeral was staged at a graduation ceremony at Hongik University. The artist perceived the graduation as a symbolic death when entering society that was full of anxiety under the martial law. Chanseung CHUNG *Hair Cutting Happening* (1978) also had a sense of criticism of the regime which even regulated the citizen's hair styles. In this happening, he gave out his hair strands to the audience, and recited 'Aesthetics of Long Hair' after shaving his head.⁴⁴

In 1976, the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art sent an official letter to art organizations in accordance with the instructions of President PARK. The official letter prohibited 'artistic acts of violating public order and morals as in outdoor happenings' as well as 'pseudo-art disguised in avant-gardness.' As this letter implied, they lived in such illogical times, so they pursued 'the logic' in their 'events.'⁴⁵

3-2. Performance Art and Art Activism in the Democratization Movements of the 1980s

Although PARK's dictatorship ended with his death, the political repression of the dictatorship lasted until the late 1980s as a new military regime

emerged. However, the civil society's resistance also became more active and better organized. The issue of socially engaged art also emerged as a major agenda in the art circle. The dark era of the Seventies which was characterized by political oppression and labour struggles led to the development of political avant-garde art, Minjung Art (People's Art) in the early 1980s.⁴⁶ In art activism in which artists and citizens used art practices in real politics, there were some cases that can be dealt with in the context of performance art. The unique declarative aspects of performance art were incorporated into the collective and political festivals in minjung art. Before talking about these aspects, I will focus on the performance art of the Eighties that was developed based on the legacy of the avant-garde art of the Sixties and Seventies.

The dissolution of the S.T. Group' in 1980 led to the suspension of the presentation of 'events' and performance art developed without receiving significant attention until the mid-Eighties.⁴⁷ In this period, performance art was more active in other regions than in Seoul. In 1980, the artists of the 'Daejeon 78 Generation' presented 'field events' near Shintan riverside. In the same year, The 1st Geumgang Contemporary Art Festival was held at Gongju. This festival also had the characteristics of an outdoor art festival. In addition, the YATOO Outdoor Art Research Group was formed around Gongju in 1981. This group focused on creating art that sympathized with nature.⁴⁸ Their art practices in the natural environment were mainly installation and performance art. In 1981, The 1st Winter, Daeseongri 31 Artists Exhibition was also held on Bukhan riverside in Gapyeong, near Seoul. The young artists that participated in the art event were fed up with the oppressive society and the authoritarianism of the mainstream art circle. The artists of *Dansaekhwa* (monochrome abstraction), which was the mainstream art trend, insisted that their art practices were a process of self-discipline to reach absolute spiritual freedom by unifying the object and the self. They tried to reach a state of being consistent with the essence of the original nature. This ideal came from the traditional thoughts and they chose abstract 'nature' as an artistic ideal to establish Korean identity. Unlike this, the artists in The 1st Winter Daeseongri 31 Artists Exhibition

or YATOO Group chose real 'nature – outdoor' to challenge the mainstream art and to present a new place for performance and installation art. For them, 'nature' is not an ideal but a real place for art practices that served as an alternative to the existing art institutions and art markets centering around the city. Furthermore, comparing the Gukpung 81 cultural festival organised by CHUN's government with The 1st Winter Daeseongri 31 Artists Exhibition, the contrasting meanings of these events were revealed. The former was a political event⁴⁹ to distract college students in order to weaken the resistance to the military regime shortly before the first anniversary of the suppression of the Gwangju Democratization Movement. However, in the latter event, the avant-garde artists who wanted to create an open space for an audience to experience their art works were creating the democratic publicness through their art activities in 'outdoor-nature.'⁵⁰

Until the mid-Eighties, most performance artists did not have the chance to present their works in the downtown of Seoul. However, after CHUN's government won the bid to host the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics (Seoul was chosen in 1981), the government began to take a partial conciliatory stance to show stability and order to the international community as a response to the criticism of the dictatorship. For instance, they lifted the curfew, abolished school uniforms and loosened hair styles in 1983, and implemented the 'car-free street' policy on weekends in Daehangno of Seoul in 1985. This 'car-free street' was a complex cultural space for the public as the local government allowed people to hold cultural events there. Some artists held the '86 *Here is Korea* street exhibition there. These artists actively sought to communicate with the cultural public through installations and performance art in outdoor public spaces.⁵¹ In the Korean performance art history, this exhibition was a significant inflection point because performance art pieces were presented in the downtown of Seoul for the first time since the disbandment of The 4th Group.

In 1986, when performance art returned to the public space in the city, a large-scale exhibition of performance art, the '86 *Performance and Installation Art Festival*, was held at the Artcosmos

Museum in Seoul.⁵² In the exhibition, there were numerous performance art presentations by participants. Through this, performance artists across the country were able to meet each other, and this meeting became a catalyst to many forthcoming art events organized by artists themselves. At that time, the exhibitions of performance art increased drastically. In 1987, there were around 30 performance art exhibitions. Particularly, in the exhibition '87 *Batang, Flow – The Nine Day Funeral*, artists from various fields such as literature, fine art, theatre, films, dance, and Korean folk music participated in one theme.⁵³ As this implies, the performance art of the Eighties is characterized as a phenomenon of fusion. Artists with diverse backgrounds were involved in creating collaborative pieces, although most experiments were done by performance artists with backgrounds in fine art. In addition, some of these art practices also took their techniques of expression from memorials, funeral ceremonies, physical restraint, and so on to express the oppressive atmosphere of the time. For example, at this festival, Young-Seong SHIN's performance titled *Aqur's Prayer* dealt with the deaths of youths which occurred in the course of constitutional abolishment and hard-fought democratization. He was a member of Nanjido which was one of the small groups of the 1980s that were searching for a new language of expression between the two big discourses of formalistic modernism and social realism.⁵⁴ They newly developed the issues which had been previously addressed in the avant-garde art of the Sixties and Seventies by denying the abstract, uniform and material-centered aesthetics.⁵⁵ These young artists began presenting performance art as an alternative to contrast with the two big discourses after meeting the old generation through the performance art exhibitions in the late Eighties. Other artists from the small groups of the 1980s that presented performance art were Keun-Byung YOOK in TARA, Yong-Sok HA in Nanjido, and Bul LEE in Museum and so on. This reveals the lasting continuity of Korean performance art until the late 1980s.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, after the *June 29th Declaration* in response to the people's calls for democratization and a direct presidential election system, the

Daehangno road became the space for 'street politics' because opposition social groups and citizens used the 'car-free street' as the venue for political rallies. In this atmosphere, performance artists also revealed social criticism in their works. For instance, in 1987, Jin-Sup YOON's Performance Group presented *The Big Eye* in the 'car-free street,' which indirectly hinted at the suffering of the citizens under the control of dictatorial power.⁵⁷

In the year 1986, from this turning point, the orientation of performance art drastically began changing. Performance art, which had emerged through the introduction of the temporal attributes of performing arts as an avant-garde strategy, re-emerged as a new 'total art' by actively adopting the attributes of other art genres.⁵⁸ In the late 1980s, tendencies in performance art became more varied, and performance art as an art genre was being established and revitalized within the cultural and artistic circles in a postmodern atmosphere. In 1988, the Korean Performance Artist Association was formed.⁵⁹

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, some art activities presented by minjung artists can also be highlighted in the context of avant-garde performance art. Many Asian political art organizations comprising social realists showed "activism as collective actions linked to the social and political contexts." The political art organizations of social realists actively participated in political protests or engaged in community activities, performances and rallies in association with workers, farmers and student groups.⁶⁰ As a case, minjung art flourished between the Eighties and the mid-Nineties in South Korea. It pursued social participation through art with critical perspectives on the reality of its surroundings. Minjung art can be understood within two discursive frameworks, which are 'critical modernism' and the 'minjung cultural movement.' While the first framework puts stress on "minjung art's self-reflexive inquiry into the South Korean modern art scene during the 1970s and 80s," the second one "reveals the ways in which minjung art sought to take part in the radical social revolution and serve its political agenda."⁶¹ Minjung artists adopted various activities and expressions to dismantle the boundary between art and daily life, attack artistic institutions, and reject

the union between art production and commodity production systems.⁶² With these avant-garde characteristics, some art practices can be treated as performance art. In this paper, I will present several minjung art practices that can be discussed in the context of performance art with the hope of future study on this issue.

According to Wan-Kyung SUNG, the minjung art movement can be divided into three periods, which are the beginning period (1980-1984), the middle period (1985-1989), and the final period (1990-1998). In 1979, the Gwangju Free Artists Council was formed in Gwangju and Reality and Utterance was formed in Seoul. During the first period, small-scale collective activities flourished, the artists of these groups pursued 'art as communication' paying attention to the visual culture of the industrial society.⁶³ Following these first generation groups, one of the second generation groups, Durung, which was led by Bong-Jun KIM, was formed in 1983. This group used the Aeogae little theatre as the main space for their activities. Since this theatre was also used by other groups of traditional performing arts, Durung was influenced by the traditional performing arts.⁶⁴ In particular, they adapted *sinmyung* (the vital energy and convivial spirit) which was originally developed in theatres and performances of the Sixties and Seventies minjung cultural movements.⁶⁵ Like Durung, some other artists in suburban and rural areas recreated the images and themes of folk traditions as an activist form of minjung. The artists collaborated with artisans and performers in mask-making, woodcut printing, and performances, so the traditional theatrical style called *madangguk* was improved. In particular, Bong-Jun KIM expanded the aesthetic qualities of *madangguk* theatre, emphasizing its unique relationship between artists and audiences as well as art and communal festivals.⁶⁶ These activities such as the *madangguk* of Durung can be interpreted as performance art led by visual artists who were influenced by traditional performing arts and its symbiotic productions.

From the year 1985, minjung artists began to methodically engage in social movements and work with the 'audience' that was discovered while addressing political issues through their art.⁶⁷ The minjung artists presented their art activities and

works in everyday spaces. Their main media were woodcut prints, *gulgaegrim* (enormous banner paintings), murals, cartoons, posters and flags as these could be produced quickly and copied in large quantities.⁶⁸ As the oppression of CHUN's regime became severe, the wave of radical social movement against the dictatorship quickly rose. The explosive social movement brought on "the massive emergence of socially engaged art productions at the protests" while encouraging the artists "to organize themselves as activists and subjugate art under the logic of social reform."⁶⁹ From 1987, the street became the main stage of art activism as the artists stepped out into the street where citizens called for democratization and used powerful images of citizens' requests while drawing with them. In this period, the art activism, which artists and citizens presented together in the public struggle site, was the core of minjung art.⁷⁰ Specifically, minjung artists contributed directly to resistance movements as the blueprints for massive rallies, marches, festivals, and public funerals. For example, Byung-Soo CHOI, who was famous for his *gulgaegrim*, planned, designed, and directed the visual and performative details of major political events such as the *June Resistance* and *July-August Labour Struggle* of 1987, and the funeral procession for Han-Yoel LEE. He also "mapped a march through the city, acutely sensitive to the visual dialectics of time and space" for the funeral of Kyung-Dai KANG.⁷¹ These activities can also be interpreted newly in the context of performance art, which were realized through the participation of the masses.

4. Conclusion. How Avant-garde Artists Resisted the Authoritarian Regimes with their Bodies in the Conditions of Korean Modernism

In the exhibition *Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s*, the curators believed that the driving force of Asian avant-garde art was rooted in three trajectories: democratization, decolonization, and anti-modernism.⁷² When the dictatorial

governments in Asian countries suppressed the people's political activities and freedom of expression, the pro-democracy movements were triggered and a new awareness of subjectivity began emerging among the citizens. They considered these changes as the trajectory of democratization. The democratic movements throughout Asia were an influential driving force to change the form and the function of art.

Focusing on South Korea, the past decades from the 1960s to the 1980s, when the avant-garde art trends emerged and developed, were a period of social absurdities and conflicts, interwoven with the industrialization led by the military regimes and desire of citizens for democratization. South Korea had a long and fervent history of democratic movements against the dictatorship. The struggle for democracy resulted in the victory of the pro-democracy movement around 1987.

The past 30-year authoritarian regimes built on the unique form taken under Korean modernity were indirectly and directly criticized by avant-garde artists. The Korean avant-garde performance art in this period was not performance art as a genre but an artistic experiment and a challenge to the existing artistic institutions, and the meaning of this challenge often extended to the social criticism.

Most artists, who led the initial period of Korean performance art, belonged to the '4/19 Generation.' Under PARK's military dictatorship, the young artists, who had already experienced the democratic spirit through the April 19th Revolution, used 'happening' "as a political weapon to restore the subjectivity of the individual and to reform society through self-expression of the desiring body."⁷³ The social order of the authoritarian regime based on the Korean hybrid modernity (Confucian modernity or Manchurian modernity), had the potential of being shaken by the subjectivity of the artistic 'happenings' being organised at this time, so the regime suppressed the avant-garde artists participating in them.

Under the government's censorship and the negative perception of avant-garde art in the *Yushin* period, performance art re-invented itself as 'events' mainly through the activities of the S.T. Group. They grasped that the body was the most essential element in the contemporaneous

discourses and presented 'events' insisting that their actions only referred to the internal issues of art without any sociopolitical meanings. Kun-Yong LEE insisted that the *Event-Logical* events' could be validated within the art system. Nonetheless, their performance had several layers of meanings related to political resistance. Firstly, in the mid-Seventies, the 'events' featured repetitive and controlled bodily acts that were common in the artist's daily life. These compulsive repetition or strictly regulated actions of the 'events' exposed the body's internalization of the pressure of a totalitarian system by subverting the mechanism of control. In this context, Neung-Kyung SUNG's *Newspaper Events* are important works in that his repetitive actions of cutting out the articles of a newspaper every day not only imitated daily actions subversively but also contained relatively direct criticism to the violent political censorship of the regime. Secondly, the artists of the S.T. Group through their 'events' sought to reveal the analytical attitude of an artist as the subject of an action which by itself had meanings relating to resistance at the time when "increasing state surveillance and propaganda exhorting citizens to put the nation before the self fatally compromised the idea of personal space or sovereignty."⁷⁴ In the period when individualism was suppressed under collective ideals, the 'events' of the S.T. Group attributed to the sense, judgment and indicative decision of the 'I' that controlled the body. In that sense, their events caused ruptures in the collective ego of the authoritarian era as well as struck back at the utilitarian industrial system through meaningless acts.⁷⁵

Although the happenings of the 1960s and the events of the 1970s had different forms of action and concepts from each other, both trends were presented by the '4/19 Generation' who had experienced the democratic revolution and had the desire for individual freedom in the oppressive society. Centering around the body, their strategy to subvert the authoritarian society was different. The 'happening' directly interrupted daily life and dealt with more instinctive desires related with pop culture to attack the existing system. The 'event', however, sought to prove the 'I' which was the subject of an act within the art institutions through a logical reasoning of the body. In a certain

sense, both strategies can be considered as an act of presenting an alternative subjectivity to the oppressive society of their time.

In the 1980s, when the resistance to the military dictatorship of the Fifth Republic and the aspiration for democratization reached a boiling point, minjung art, which is a practical art movement, emerged to overcome social absurdities and stood against modernism⁷⁶ In this atmosphere, performance art based on the legacy of the avant-garde of the Sixties and Seventies was developed more actively in Daejeon and Choongnam province than Seoul in the early 1980s. In particular, the artists of the Daejeon 78 Generation and the YATOO Outdoor Art Research Group led the development of performance art in the regions. Their artistic activities were often presented in the natural environment. In 1981, there was another outdoor art event titled *The 1st Winter, Daeseongri 31 Artists Exhibition* in Gapyeong. The young participants in this event chose real 'nature – outdoor' to present a new place for performance and installation art seeking to create the democratic publicness near Seoul where the government-inspired arts events were held to weaken the people's resistance to the regime.

In the context of the democratic publicness, the sociocultural changes of the mid-1980s were important. Before the hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics, the regime implemented some policies to show stability and order to the international community. Specifically, it instigated a 'car-free street' policy in the Daehangno street of Seoul. This 'car-free street' became a public space where people could hold cultural events. In this venue, the exhibition *'86 Here is Korea* was held by some performance and installation artists who sought to communicate with the cultural public. From the year 1986, the number of exhibitions of performance art increased drastically. In the late Eighties, artists from various art fields were involved in collaborative performance art pieces. This boom of performance art reflected the sociocultural changes around 1987. In a way, performance artists of the Eighties took performance as an alternative art practice to overcome the two big discourses ('abstract modernism' and minjung art). From the turning point in year 1986, tendencies in performance art became more varied, and with its

diversity, performance art as an art genre was being established and revitalized within the cultural and artistic circles.

The performance art of the 1980s was based on the legacy of the avant-garde art of the previous two decades. The legacy was valid for the young artists of the Eighties because they needed to find alternatives to the two big art trends which were 'abstract modernism' isolated from the reality and minjung art embedded in political messages. They presented performance art as alternative answers to the questions on art. Their new art practices could be an alternative subjectivity to the South Korean society of the Eighties, where people were still isolated by both the authoritarian oppression and the contradictory structure of capitalism.

Meanwhile, in the same period, the minjung art movement was more actively involved in social reality. Although minjung art was hegemonic in nature, by serving a political purpose, it not only had political but also aesthetic avant-garde characteristics in that it adopted various activities and expressions trying to "transcending the existing binaries between art and life, art and history, and art and society."⁷⁷ Related to these aspects of minjung art, there were some activities of minjung artists that can be highlighted in the context of performance art. Minjung artists actively participated in political protests or engaged in community activities, performances and rallies. For instance, one of the minjung artist collectives, Durung was influenced by the practices of Korean traditional performing arts along with the Eighties' folk culture movements. Some minjung artists including the members of Durung worked with local community activists and performers of traditional arts. The place of *Madangguk* in the minjung art of the Eighties was the result of the collaboration with the artisans and performers of traditional folk arts. It can be interpreted as performance art led by visual artists who were influenced by traditional performing arts and its symbiotic productions. In the middle period (1985-1989) of minjung art, the art activism, which artists and citizens presented together in the sites of public struggle, was the core of minjung art. For instance, a minjung artist Byung-Soo CHOI contributed directly to resistance movements by providing the blueprints for massive

rallies, marches, festivals, and public funerals. These activities can also be considered as performance art which the participation of the mass realized.

At this point, we can reconsider the historical origin of minjung art. Minjung art, specifically the activism artists' combatant spirit and optimism have their origin in the minjung cultural movement of the Sixties and Seventies that began with the April 19th Revolution.⁷⁸ This revolution is historically significant in that a new historical subjectivity had emerged. The students or workers, who successfully forced President RHEE to resign as the result of it, became individuals undergoing a monumental event with "an eye-opening experience." The '4/19 Generation' that shared this experience was the main agent to prompt "a moment of awakening, especially about the question of freedom and liberty – and the possibility of achieving them."⁷⁹ Thus, at this point, when considering the minjung artists who did their art practices based on the legacy of the '4/19 Generation' along with the Sixties and Seventies performance artists who were of the '4/19 Generation,' we reach the point where the youths of the '4/19 Generation' shared the experience of 'awakening,' although their ways of resistance against the authoritarian regimes were different.

In the trajectory of democratization in South Korea, avant-garde performance artists resisted the authoritarian regimes with their bodies, and their art practices usually seemed to suggest another way of living against the dominant collective ego. I believe that the Korean performance art, developed around the 'body' that emerged as a powerful place of existence, was a practical presentation of alternative subjectivities challenging the existing systems – the military dictatorships - formed in the conditions of modern Korea.

Notes

¹ This exhibition was held at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo from 10 Oct. to 24 Dec. in 2018; at the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea from 31 Jan. to 6 May; and at the National Gallery Singapore from 14 Jun. to 15 Sep. in 2019.

² In a forum of the exhibition titled *Contact Points of Contemporary Art in Asia* (MMCA Gwacheon, 31 Jan. 2018), Suzuki Katsuo's presentation topic was *Rehabilitation of the Narrative in Asian Art* and he explained this.

³ Okwui Enwezor, "Modernity and Postcolonial Ambivalence," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 109, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 600. Text originally published in the catalogue: *Altermodern* (London: Tate, 2009).

⁴ Supermodernity is based on "the general character and forms it has taken in European and Western culture," and is related to ideas on evolution, progress, development, and so on, and is essential for the development of the world system of capitalism. "It is foundational to all other subsequent claims and discourses of modernity." Okwui Enwezor, "Modernity and Postcolonial Ambivalence," 610-611.

⁵ Okwui Enwezor, "Modernity and Postcolonial Ambivalence," 611-612.

⁶ Chang Eun-Joo, *The Future of Confucian Modernity: The Legitimation Crisis of Korean Modernity and Democracy as Human Ideal* (Paju: Korean Studies Information, 2014).

⁷ Han Suk-Jung, *Manchurian Modern: The Origin of 1960s Korean Developmental Regime* (Seoul: Moonji Publishing Co., Ltd., 2016).

⁸ Kim Yung-Myung, "Patterns of Military Rule and Prospects for Democracy in South Korea," in *The Military and Democracy in Asia and the Pacific* ed. Ron May and Viberto Selochan (Canberra: ANU Press, 2004), 120.

⁹ Edward M. Graham, "The Miracle with a Dark Side: Korean Economic Development under Park Chung-Hee," in *Reforming Korea's industrial conglomerates* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2003), 14.

¹⁰ Kim Yung-Myung, "Patterns of Military Rule and Prospects for Democracy in South Korea," 120-121.

¹¹ Edward M. Graham, "The Miracle with a Dark Side: Korean Economic Development under Park Chung-Hee," 14-15.

¹² Kim Yung-Myung, "Patterns of Military Rule and Prospects for Democracy in South Korea," 123.

¹³ Ibidem, 124-126.

¹⁴ Kim Yung-Myung, "Patterns of Military Rule and Prospects for Democracy in South Korea," 126.

¹⁵ Paik Nak-Chung, "Democracy and Peace in Korea Twenty Years After June 1987: Where Are We Now, and Where Do We Go from Here?" *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol.5, issue 6 (2007), accessed 9 Nov. 2019, <https://apjif.org/-Nak-chung-Paik/2440/article.html/>.

¹⁶ Oh Kwang-Soo wrote the script of this 'happening' and 'Mudongin' and 'Shinjundongin' participated in it. In this performance, Kim Young-Ja held a plastic umbrella and sat on a chair, surrounded by ten artists holding candles. The artists sang a song titled "Bird, Bird, Bluebird" while circling around Kim. They concluded the performance by breaking the umbrella.

¹⁷ In the exhibition *Renegades in resistance and challenge 50-year history of performance art of Korea: 1967-2017* (2018), an art historian Cho Soo-Jin, and a curator of the exhibition Yoon Jin-Sup suggested that the street protest by the participants in *Union Exhibition of Young Artists* can be considered as the first 'happening' in Korea.

¹⁸ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," in the exhibition catalogue *Reenacting History: Collective Actions and Everyday Gestures* (Gwacheon: National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, 2017), 216.

¹⁹ Cho Soo-Jin, "The Whole Story of the 'Fourth Group': The Challenge and Frustration of 'Korean' Happening," Seoul: The Korean Society of Art History, *Reviews on the Art History* 40 (2013): 153.

²⁰ Yoon Jin-Sup, "Resistance & Challenge and Avant-gardeness & Experimentation: Renegades as Outliers Brief History of the 50-Year Performance Art of Korea," in *Renegades in resistance and challenge 50-year history of performance art of Korea: 1967-2017* (Daegu: Daegu Art Museum, 2018), 59. Exhib. cat.

²¹ Cho Soo-Jin, "The Whole Story of the 'Fourth Group,'" 145.

²² This work, which was the first nude performance in Korea, was presented by Kuk Jin KANG, Chanseung CHUNG, and Kangja JUNG.

²³ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," 220.

²⁴ Yoon Jin-Sup, "The Study on the Korean early 'Happenings,'" in *The Theory and Field of Performance Art* (Seoul: Jinkyung Publisher, 2012), 81-83.

²⁵ Park Choon-Ho, "A Study on the 20th-century Korean Art History: Focusing on the 1960s-70s Art," Seoul: The Korean Society of Art Theory, *The Journal of Art Theory and Practice*, no.16 (2013): 28.

²⁶ S.T. Group was an acronym for 'Space and Time Sculptural Group.' It was formed in 1969 and was active until 1980.

²⁷ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," Gwacheon: National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, *Journal of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art*, vol.8 (2016): 146.

²⁸ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," 224.

- ²⁹ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 154.
- ³⁰ Cho Soo-Jin, "Avant-garde Gestures Incorporated into the Korean Art History: Performance art of Korea in the 1960s and the 1970s," in *Renegades in resistance and challenge 50-year history of performance art of Korea: 1967-2017* (Daegu: Daegu Art Museum, 2018), 50. Exhib. cat.
- ³¹ Kang Tae-Hi, "1970's Performance Art Event: On ST Members' Works," Seoul: Association of Modern Art History *Journal of History of Modern Art*, vol. 13, no.1 (2001): 9.
- ³² In *The Fourth ST Exhibition* in October 1975, Lee Kun-Yong presented five events. One of his representative performance art works, *Biscuit Eating* was one of the five events. Lee attempted to eat hardtack using the right hand. His right arm was progressively restrained by the application of a splint to the wrist, elbow, upper arm, and back (respectively).
- ³³ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 155.
- ³⁴ Cho Soo-Jin, "Avant-garde Gestures Incorporated into the Korean Art History: Performance art of Korea in the 1960s and the 1970s," 52.
- ³⁵ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," 224. Referring to the article by Lee Kun-Yong, "Report on Three Dimension Art and Performance Art of Korea: 'Happenings' of the 1960s through 'Events' of the 1970s," *Space* (1980).
- ³⁶ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 149.
- ³⁷ Lee Kun-Yong presented *Drawing Lines*, *Logic of Hands*, and *Logic of Place*. Kim Yong-Min staged *A Damp Cloth*, *Drawing and Erasing*, and *Two Stones*. For *A Damp Cloth*, he picked up a wet towel placed on the floor and slowly squeezed it out, shook off remaining water, folded it, then again squeezed it out so that no drops of water could come out, and finally left with a towel wiped off the floor. Sung Neung-Kyung presented *Reading Newspapers*, *15 seconds*, and *Contraction and Expansion*. For *Contraction and Expansion*, he contracted and extended his body as much as possible to do something with only the body.
- ³⁸ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 157-158.
- ³⁹ For the *Body Drawing* series, Lee found different ways of restricting his body's movement, and then performed the drawing under those restrictions. The body's actions, which varied in position, posture, and degree of restraint, eventually remained the drawing of different variations on the plane.
- ⁴⁰ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 160-164.
- ⁴¹ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," 224. Referring to the notes dated from 10 to 16 June in Lee Kun-Yong's "Artist Note on Performances at Namgye Gallery in Daejeon in 1979."
- ⁴² Sung Wan-Kyung, "From the Local Context: Conceptual Art in South Korea," in *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980s* (New York: The Queens Museum of Art, 1999), 120. Exhib. cat.
- ⁴³ In the script of the happening, Kim Yong-Ik would fall on the ground in the middle of the graduation ceremony, and his friends would place him in a coffin, and nail it down, and then Lee Il-Ho would hold the picture of the deceased and lead the funeral procession.
- ⁴⁴ Cho Soo-Jin, "Avant-garde Gestures Incorporated into the Korean Art History: Performance art of Korea in the 1960s and the 1970s," 53-54.
- ⁴⁵ Ibidem, 54.
- ⁴⁶ Yoon Jin-Sup, "The Beginning and Development of Performance Art in Korea in the 1980's," in *Performance Art of Korea 1967-2007* (Gwacheon: National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea, 2007), 111. Exhib. cat.
- ⁴⁷ Cho Soo-Jin, "How did Korean performance art secure publicness?: Daehangno in 1986 as 'Nori Madang,' and the Korea Performance Art Association," Seoul: Korea Association for History of Modern Art, *Journal of History of Modern Art*, no. 44 (2018): 253.
- ⁴⁸ Yoon Jin-Sup, "The Beginning and Development of Performance Art in Korea in the 1980's," 112-113.
- ⁴⁹ About 6,000 students from 194 universities across the country, including traditional folklore artists and celebrities, staged a total of 659 performances, with a large number of people from the organizers totaling 10 million in the downtown of Seoul.
- ⁵⁰ Cho Soo-Jin, "How did Korean performance art secure publicness?: Daehangno in 1986 as 'Nori Madang,' and the Korea Performance Art Association," 260-262.
- ⁵¹ Ibidem, 262-266.
- ⁵² Ibidem, 267-268.
- ⁵³ Yoon Jin-Sup, "The Beginning and Development of Performance Art in Korea in the 1980's," 113-114.
- ⁵⁴ Kim Chang-Dong, "Korean Avant-Garde Movement: Rebellious Escape: Status from the late 1960s to late 1980s," in *Busan Biennale 2016 – Project 1 an/another avant-garde china-japan-korea* (Busan: Busan Biennale Organizing Committee, 2016), 212-213.
- ⁵⁵ Ibidem, 215-216.
- ⁵⁶ Cho Soo-Jin, "How did Korean performance art secure publicness?: Daehangno in 1986 as 'Nori Madang,' and the Korea Performance Art Association," 269.
- ⁵⁷ Ibidem, 275.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 270-271.

⁵⁹ Yoon Jin-Sup, "The Beginning and Development of Performance Art in Korea in the 1980's," 115-116.

⁶⁰ Bae Myung-Ji, Seng Yu Jin, Suzuki Katsuo, "Introduction – Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s," in *Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s* (Gwacheon: National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, 2019), 276.

⁶¹ Sung Wan-Kyung, "The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," in *Being Political Popular: South Korean Art at the Intersection of Popular Culture and Democracy, 1980-2010*, ed. by Lee Sohl (Seoul: Hyunsil Publishing, 2013), 189.

⁶² Sung Wan-Kyung, "From the Local Context: Conceptual Art in South Korea," 124.

⁶³ Sung Wan-Kyung, "The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," 192.

⁶⁴ Kang In-Hye, "The Meaning of Tale, Folklore, and Shamans Represented in Durung, 1980s' Minjung Art Movement Group," Seoul: The Korean Society of Art History, *Reviews on the Art History*, no. 52 (2019): 197.

⁶⁵ Sung Wan-Kyung, "The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," 193.

⁶⁶ Sung Wan-Kyung, "From the Local Context: Conceptual Art in South Korea," 122-124.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 122.

⁶⁸ Choi Youl, "Korea's Minjung Art Movement: 1980s Art in Urban Streets and Plazas, Schools and Factories, and Rural Areas," in *Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s* (Gwacheon: National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, 2019), 308. Exhib. cat.

⁶⁹ Sung Wan-Kyung, "The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," 190.

⁷⁰ Oh Mi-Jin, *The Activist Public Art in Korean Minjungmisul (People's Art)* (Seoul: M.A. Kookmin University, 2016), 30-31.

⁷¹ Sung Wan-Kyung, "From the Local Context: Conceptual Art in South Korea," 124.

⁷² Bae Myung-Ji, Seng Yu Jin and Suzuki Katsuo, "Introduction – Awakenings: Art in Society in Asia 1960s-1990s," 275.

⁷³ Cho Soo-Jin, "Confronting an Era through the Body: Korean Performance Art of the 1960s and 70s," 222.

⁷⁴ Joan Kee, "Why Performance in Authoritarian Korea?" in *Performance Histories from East Asia 1960s-90s: an IAPA Reader, Curators' Series #11*. Institute of Asian Performance Art, ed. Victor Wang (London: DRAF, 2028), 108. Text originally published in *Tate Papers*, no.23 (2015).

⁷⁵ Kim Mi-Jung, "I, as a Logical Subject not Collective: The Meaning of ST Art Movement in 1970s Society," 163-164.

⁷⁶ Kim Chan-Dong, "Korean Avant-Garde Movement: Rebellious Escape: Status from the late 1960s to late 1980s," 203.

⁷⁷ Sung Wan-Kyung, "The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," 190.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, 190-191.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, 190.

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