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# 영문초록

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## **An Examination of the Success of the University Democratization within the 1980s' Democratization Movement**

A Look at the Process of Municipalization · Publicization of  
Seonin School Foundation from the Viewpoint of  
the Incheon University Student Movement

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When examining the South Korea democratization movement of the 1980s university democratization was a measure of the contents of larger reform. Since 1980, a year after its opening, Incheon University's "Struggle for the Normalization of the University Foundation-University Autonomy Movement" would be done away with the inconsistent and make-shift management of the of the Ministry of Education. And the owner of the university who donated the university foundation to the state returned and led the school to a catastrophe.

However, an unprecedented victory for the 1980s' struggle for democratization of the university, came at the end of a journey lasting 14 years in the form of Municipalization · Publicization of Seonin School Foundation in March of 1994. This was facilitated by a unique reason. Consistent struggle, popularization of Incheon University's student movement whose target had been a "foundation without conditions" from beginning to end, made it possible a collective combination of most faculties and the power of the citizenry, and their harmonical

role allotment.

- **Key Words:** Struggle for the Normalization of the University Foundation, Struggle for University Autonomy, Democratization Movement, Student Movement, Municipalization · Publicization

# A Study on the Origin, Formation and Isolation of Eastern Gyeonggi Alliance

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This is a study about a chronicle of people who grew up in the district(Gwangju Housing Complex and Seongnam-si) where has been known for their violence and poverty for decades. Their experiences of discrimination and preclusion from the society had stimulated them to become a regional political power called Eastern Gyeonggi Alliance. But due to the fixed memory and retrogression of their movement, they became isolated eventually.

As a party hegemony group of The Unified Progressive Party, Eastern Gyeonggi Alliance became known in the 4·11 general election in 2012. They consists mainly of Ju-che ideologists that are Seongnam-si based. The origin of them was in Gwangju Housing Complex where Seongnam-si has its roots. And they grew with 5·18 Kwangju People's Struggle in 1980 and the appearance of Ju-che ideologist in the mid- to late 1980s.

They internalized the discrimination and preclusion from society towards Gwangju Housing Complex and Seongnam-si as positive stimulation for their social movement. Though, by keeping their fossilized memory and being trapped

in their own group, they became to consider themselves as a scapegoat of discrimination and preclusion from society. And it was proved by their violence, negativity, solidarity and regionality in the conjuncture concerning the proportional representative election in the 4·11 general election.

- **Key Words:** Eastern Gyeonggi Alliance, Gwangju Housing Complex, Ju-che Ideologists, Collective Memory, Subaltern

# The SNUH Trade Union and Organizing Workplace of Trade Union

Focus on the Case of the SNUH Trade Union  
Movement at Beginning Period (1987-1992)

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The worker of SNUH founded trade union at July 31, 1987. The SNUH trade union participated in many higher organizations, which were the National Medical Union Council, the National Medical Union Confederation, the National Health and Medical Industrial Union, the Korea Public Service Transportation Trade Union and the Korea Public & Social Service Worker's Union. It struggled to establish a industrial trade union of health and medical aspect until withdrawing from the National Health and Medical Industrial Trade Union. So, this article analyzed the case that the SNUH(1987-1991) trade union organized the workplace, on the guess that the issue to organize labors in workplace is related to organizational power of a trade union. The SNUH (1987-1992) struggled for the union members to participate in small organization for hobby and every training meetings, to organize division discussion about struggling agendas in workplace, and to change self-directive struggle of the union members with organizational struggle of organization in it's beginning period. So the union could build practically organizational power of the trade

union. The case of the SNUH trade union, which organized union members in workplace, is showing well how a trade union has to build organizational power of trade union movement practically. Presenting the implication briefly in relation to the case of the SNUH trade union, that is as follows. Firstly, union members have to be subjects to participate in small organizations for hobby and every training meeting.

Secondly, a trade union has to strengthen organic communication between organization and members with agenda networking. Thirdly, union members have to revitalize self-directive struggle in workplace, and the trade union has to change such struggle with organizational struggle of organization and all union members.

- **Key Words:** the SNUH, trade union, organizational power, workplace, small organization, division discussion

# Kim Dae-Jung Model and 1997 Regime of Korean Economy

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South Korea went through dual transformation processes of political and economic changes since 1987 democratization, which were very uneven each other. In particular, the different faces of the dual transformations during the period of Kim Dae-Jung government(1997-2002) since 1997 currency crises were very distinct. Considering them, this study is to show the contents and its peculiarities of Kim Dae-Jung economic model.

State-Chaebol dominant coalition and state-bank-industry nexus, which were backbones of the Korean developmentalism or 'Korea Inc' since Park Chung Hee period was finally destroyed through structural adjustment during the period of Kim Dae-Jung government under IMF supervision regime. It is not to be denied that the quality of Korean style capitalism got better towards the basic market liberalization or the orderly competitive market economy with fareness and transparency.

The transition, however, had the much more devastating costs rather than the benefits of the basic market liberalization. It resulted in the regime of

co-development of Chaebol and liberalized financial market over Korean national economy and the life of common people, under which most laborers and common people were thrown into the fist of cold free market. And though the old unfair institutional forms of the risk socialization and cooperation was destroyed, new democratic and coordinated forms of market economy was blocked. In those two senses, this study argues that Kim Dae-Jung model could be called a sort of forerunner of 1997 hybrid type of neoliberal regime in South Korea going on until today.

- **Key Words:** Kim Dae-Jung Model, 1997 Regime, Washington Consensus, IMF Supervision System, Hybrid-neoliberalism

# Financial Globalization and Democracy in South Korea

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Financial globalization is the process in which each country's currency system and financial markets are closely related with each other and integrated into the global market. It also indicates the changed reality in such a process. Today financial globalization seems to be a natural and inevitable process in history, but it is an outcome resulting not only from hegemonic countries' strategic choices in the international regime but also from changes in power relations in the US. So-called "embedded liberalism" in the Post-WWII period which had emerged after the Great Depression in the 1930s and characterized by the establishment of the Bretton Woods system ended in the early 1970s. And the rise of neo-liberalism in the global economy since then led to the rapid spread of financial globalization. This process, however, has resulted in the financialization of the economy and structural restructuring in many capitalist countries including South Korea. Neoliberal economic restructuring also has had significant effects in society, such as the increase of instability in working conditions and poverty. On the other hand, the financialization of the economy

has transformed people in civil society into the “capitalist subject,” rather than the “democratic one.” In South Korea, the democratic progress both in politics and civil society in the post-1987 period has been encroached under such neoliberalizing economic conditions, in particular, after the 1997 financial crisis. Analyzing financial globalization and democracy in South Korea, this study tries to show interactions between the global process and the domestic sphere on the one hand and between political aspects and economic ones on the other.

- **Key Words:** Financial Globalization, Financial Liberalization, Financialization, Civil Society, Korean Democracy

# **Liberation and the Emergence of Public Opinion Polls**

The Era of Public Opinion Politics with Focus on  
The Korean Association for Public Opinion,  
the Dong-A Ilbo and the Kyung-Hyang Shinmun

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To further political freedom in liberated Korea, the U.S. Army Military Government (USAMGIK) polled South Koreans to determine the direction of its policies. As political freedom means freedom of ideology, it was necessary to promote the American way by managing a people wedded to various political philosophies including socialism. Above all, it was necessary to determine USAMGIK propaganda to further their influence in South Korea in the face of competitive ideological systems from North Korea and the Soviet Union.

Liberation can be dated from when public opinion politics in the modern sense was initiated in South Korea. From the time when public opinion was first reflected in the state administration, we understand the fundamental meaning of the emergence of politics. The people select their political leaders in accordance with their political and economic interests, which leads to the formation of representative government that demands adherence to those interests. In the liberated space, public awareness and expression led to the development of political senses. During this period, media organizations introduced opinion

polls and the democratic system was established. In this process, the political implications and potential of the poll, already in existence prior to liberation, was rediscovered. Examining the development of public intelligence and democratic politics, this paper will highlight the social historical meaning of public opinion politics and intellectual politics through public opinion surveys undertaken by media organizations in South Korea.

- **Key Words:** Liberated Space, Survey, Pressman, Democracy, U.S. Army Military Government(USAMGIK)

# The Intellectual's Representation in the Fiction of the 5·18

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Literature texts on 5·18 Strife depict that while minjung class the underprivileged class demonstrated struggling and committed attitude, intellectuals showed reality-based compromising looks in the course of struggle largely.

The strife was initiated by intellectuals represented by college students, but they ended up with the guilty consciousness that they only hid or could not stay with the minjung class as the situation grew worse to become an armed strife.

The literature texts further depict that in the confronting situation where they would choose to fight back desperately or settle the situation by collecting weapons, the minjung class emphasized desperate fightback, and the intellectuals compromise with the reality.

If so, in the strife, were the intellectuals of no use in short?

Calling to question of who the subject of the strife is based on who fought desperately until the end that day by holding guns would only dwarf the meaning

of 5·18 Strife even though the armed strife is desired in historical perspective to be highly evaluated in a situation where the people were repressed ruthlessly by the military of their own country.

That is a result of disregarding the truth that people may stand up when shared emotions may be disrupted.

Regarding the ethical obligation for the other, Emmanuel Levinas a French philosopher and Talmudic commentator of Lithuanian Jewish origin commented that the obligation for the other is for the subject him/herself to substitute for the other upon the request of the other.

According to his comments, the foundation of humanism is the other, and the obligation within such humanism becomes important ground for the uniqueness of me.

Just as Ko Un a South Korean poet said, should all have died courageously by taking gun that day when it is such a shameful reality that no intellectuals particularly poet have fought as minjung warrior that day by only escaping

far away from the field of the strife except a small number of imprisonments of intellectuals and hardship of job dismissal and monitoring.

Are all who survived sinners?

Many literatures of 5·18 Strife speak of such consciousness of guiltiness, but such perspective is only a type of group compulsion.

About the behaviors of these intellectuals who aspired to escape or survive, can't we admit it as a sense of ethical obligation for the other? This article is a writing that began from such consciousness of matter.

- **Key Words:** Democracy, The Intellectual's Representation in the Fictions of the 5·18, Ethical Outrage, Resisting Subject, Reflection and Exploration

# Reconstruction of Citizenship through Enactment Movement for Seoul Student Human Rights Ordinance

Focusing on Age and Sexuality

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Human rights are not natural or universal products but outputs of historical struggles. Human rights, which have been discussed in the aspects of morality, appropriateness, and abstractness, have been protected in the form of citizenship in our history. Given that human rights and citizenship are located on the same line, and human rights are protected by the acquisition of citizenship, students human rights ordinance which guarantees students human rights is deemed the first step for teenage students to acquire citizenship. Especially, Seoul Student Human Rights Ordinance, which was passed in December 2011, as the third in the nation, is regarded as the first successful example of democratic achievement because Seoul citizens proposed this ordinance. However, in the midst of enacting such ordinance, there were severe conflicts surrounding sexual orientation and gender identity and conservative camp made a violent assault to restrain the ordinance. In spite of the afore-mentioned conflicts, Seoul Student

Human Rights Ordinance could be passed with causes of discrimination, since human rights struggles of students and sexual minorities movement have enlarged the category of citizenship which has excluded specific age and sexuality, based on accumulated history. This study is purposed to theoretically discuss democracy and reconstruction of citizenship, and record the activities of human rights struggles of students and sexual minorities. This study further examines both the meanings and limits of this ordinance.

■ **Key Words:** Seoul Student Human Rights Ordinance, Human Rights, Citizenship, Sexuality, Age

## Research on the Constitutional Law for Local Decentralization

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The article is organized as follows. The first clarifies research questions, the purpose of study and methodology about the research on the constitutional law for local decentralization. The second deals with methods of study, literature review, previous research and theoretical background of the constitutional law for local decentralization. The third diagnosed various problems about decentralization evaluation, organization & public service, public finance and illustrated Jeju Special Self-Governing Province cases. The fourth suggests decentralization direction of power structure for fostering the constitutional law for local decentralization. The alternatives of the study are the constitutional law for local decentralization, independent finance, invigoration of resident participation, mutual help structure of central, local government, location reconsideration of the Boards Audit and Inspection, so forth. Lastly, the article proposed the meaning of the study, limitations & further studies.

■ **Key Words:** Power Structure, Local Decentralization, Decentralization Evaluation, Constitutional Law for Local Decentralization