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# 영문 초록

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# The Political Consideration of the Civil Disobedience

Focusing on the relation of legalism and civil rights

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This paper aims to clarify the political meaning of civil disobedience to realize citizen's constitutional rights. In case of civil disobedience, that is, it attempt to resist unjust or unfair law and to inform co-citizen about that law, Government should consider guaranteeing civil action. It is not an judicial punishment but rather an political protection. Civil disobedience is not an exceptional right of citizen but rather an important political right of citizen in democratic society. Taking this position, this paper get to clarify the positive meaning of civil disobedience to constitute democracy-to-come.

■ **Key Words:** civil disobedience, legalism, civil right, Hannah Arendt, democratic legalism, direct action, civil movement, conscientious objection to military service, democracy-to-come

# Square and Politics

## A critical reflexion on Gwanghwamun Square

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This article attempts a critical reflexion on Gwanghwamun square. Seoul municipal authority offers citizens a open space for leisure and culture with the construction of this square. Considering that in past, there was not any square for citizens, it may be very significant. But, that from the Gwanghwamun square is excluded a possibility of civil political communication and participation, rends it out of balance. One of the important problems consist in fact that a new logic of political power exists in Gwanghwamun square defined by municipal authority as space for leisure and culture. In the light of the historic archetype and the contemporary dynamic of this square, we can see that it was not only the political field for the communication between the governing and the governed, but also the space for civil political action. These two facts may offer a logical legitimacy to the argument that Gwanghwamun square must be given a political role of democratic openness for citizens.

■ **Key Words:** Gwanghwamun square, openness, political power, culture, communication, participation

# Pressure of ‘Dual de-institutionalization’ and Korean civil movements’ Response

Examining the strategy of ‘communicative institutionalization’ of PSPD

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This paper aims to identify the character of pressure of ‘dual de-institutionalization’ which Korean civil movements are facing currently in 2009, and analyze the possibilities and limits of strategical choice of movement groups. ‘Institutionalization of social movement’ has been an important theoretical and practical issues of Korean civil movements in the aftermath of democratization. Especially during Roh Mu Hyun government, many people criticized and worried about the ‘over-institutionalization’ of civil movements, but the situation has been changed rapidly under Lee Myung Bak government. Pressure of ‘de-institutionalization from the above’ is weakening institutionalized outcomes, bases, and tools which civil movements have built. And pressure of ‘de-institutionalization from the below’ which started from 2008 candle demonstration is strongly asking the innovation of movement issues, communication, repertoires.

But this situation is not just a ‘threatening’ toward Korean civil movements, but also an ‘opportunity.’ One-sided de-institutionalization would be very hard, because two kinds of pressure are conflicting together. The strategies which were chosen by Korean civil movements, can be divided as four types. In this paper, I analyzed the strategy of ‘communicative institutionalization’ of People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy(PSPD). PSPD is trying to protect the existing institutionalized outcomes, base, and tools, and at the same time, is

responding against structural change, through maximizing communication with citizens. The case of 'Revision movement of Seoul Square Ordinance' shows well the possibilities and limits of the strategy of communicative institutionalization of PSPD.

■ **Key Words:** institutionalization, de-institutionalization, Lee Myung Bak government, candle demonstration, strategic choice, PSPD, Ordinance Revision of Seoul Square, communicative institutionalization

# The Perception on Minjung of Critical Intellectuals in 1960s

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The politics of decision of majority is one of the most outstanding character in modern society. The majority rule which is based on the principle of popular sovereignty have spread out into modern Korea. The representation of majority is, therefore, to be the most important thing in modern politics. There are so many terms to represent majority since modern era. This study aims to analyze Minjung. It is one of the most critical notions to refer collective subject in modern Korea.

Generally speaking, it was 1970s that Minjung was appeared in earnest in Korean history. It was exactly. But if not to examine Minjung of 1960s, it is very difficult to understand the advent and diffusion of it in 1970s.

Korean intellectuals of 1960s had used many notions as collective subject. For example Kukmin, Daejung, Inmin, Minjung, Seomin etc. They had a tendency to use Daejung, Minjung, Seomin and Kukmin in real politics whereas Inmin, Kukmin and Minjung were used as a theoretical type.

As it were, Minjung was used in relations with competitive notions. It was similar to Daejung, Inmin, Kukmin and Seomin, and had a close relation with Minjok(nation). On the other hand, it was a opposite notion of intellectual, elite and privileged class meant ruling class. In a word, Minjung was in the conceptual net composed with similar and opposite notions.

Minjung was interpellated not only by ruling class but by resistant bloc until

the early of 1960s. After 1965, however, Park Chung-hee regime did not use it any more. Because of the formation of Minjung Party which was the strongest opposition party in 1965, Park Chung-hee regime wanted to avoid using Minjung in their political discourse intentionally. And after 1965, Minjung was appeared more frequently in the 'Chungmaek', first published in 1964, a journal of critical intellectuals.

While it was general that Minjung got used in the mean to refer the whole of the oppressed in 1960s, some writers of the Chungmaek had given consequence to it more positively. Especially, Lee Jin-young who was one of the most important writers in the Chungmaek gave to Minjung with the mean of subject of history, national culture and revolution. But he neither explained nor defined Minjung specifically. Furthermore he could not overcome the limit of enlightenment perfectly.

■ **Key Words:** Minjung, Chungmaek, Intellectual, Collective Subject, Nation, Mass, Lee Jin-young

# Study for Construction and Mechanism of Burning Oneself to Death

oriented on student movement

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This paper is arisen from the critical mind that intend to interpret and explain burning oneself to death in more analytical way beyond the limit of historic description preconditioned with politically biased interpretation and excessive finality for burning oneself to death.

To explain the mechanism of burning oneself to death, most extreme and painful death to person, this paper pursuits the social and historical process of the subjective construction of meaning for the participants of student movement, and the point where it connects to objective experience. To elucidate the construction and mechanism of the accordance of burning oneself, it is emphasized that strict examinations for shared emotion and belief between individual doer and the group he belongs to, circumstantial factor, subjective judgement and decision for situation by doer, as well as political opportunity structure, are required. It is confirmed that burning oneself to death expresses negative definition against system and provides resistance meaning system to public, while, implies strategy that reactivate movement through ceremony and symbol, by analysing construction and mechanism of burning oneself to death. From empirical cases, burning oneself to death mobilizes discussion sources and specific historic symbol existing in each period of time, and acts in the way to construct it as resistance discussion. Furthermore, burning oneself to death makes community strengthen resistance and organizing power through



meaningful activity of perpetuation, and promotes rising effect between action and group. Therefore, this study emphasized that the suicide arranged with intention of social spread of residence discussion through symbol and ceremony need to be defined not social illness symptom or personal deviated action infected by small heroism and nihilism atmosphere, but a type of social construction process that a person transform collective duty based on survival desire, and move to collective identity as historical doer.

■ **Key Words:** student movement, burning oneself to death, collective action, historic agency, collective identity, social construction of meaning, ritual and symbol

# Reflections on Identity and Nature of Cultural Movement

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This paper is to come up with a decent point of view on the cultural movement, in particular, arts & culture movements which have been somewhat neglected and suffered from misunderstandings and prejudices in this country. The term cultural movement itself shows that it puts more emphasis on its subject than on its practitioners, and it has been given a lot of thoughts on its identity over a long period of time. However, traditional artistic views such as exclusive dichotomy of politics vs. arts and work-centered one limited the understanding of arts & culture movements by embracing only political arts activities. In the 1990s, significant progresses were made in political democracy and changes in legal and institutional systems improved freedom of expression. Since then, arts & cultural movements have demanded new actions in cultural policies, planning and education, however, due to the nature of local arts & cultural movements which have relied on their practitioners, there is a shortage of personnel to execute such actions. In this regard, efforts to review previous activities of arts & culture movements from a decent point of view and to embrace their accomplishments are still in great need.

■ **Key Words:** arts & culture movement, artistic view, work-centered thinking, contexts of creation · circulation · consumption

# The Exclusion of Non-regular Workers in Major Enterprise Unions

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This paper reserches responsive attitudes to non-regular workers of major enterprise unions, and analyzizes unions' internal factors that have an effect on those attitudes. As a result of this research, more half of major enterprise unions in KCTU(Korean Confederation of Trade Union) exclude non-regular workers, not accept them as members nor represent their interest. It is the relationship between union members and non-regular workers in labor process that have an effect on the exclusive attitude. Particularly when union members and non-regular workers work in same job, a union have more possibility that not exculde non-regular workers, as recognize unfairness to them. The administration in a union has more influence on the union's attitude than rank-and-file activist groups and non-regular worker groups. Particularly the will and effort of administration has an importance for inclusion of non-regular workers in the union as well as interest representation of them.

■ Key Words: trade union, Korean Confederation of Trade Union, non-regular worker, trade union movement, workers' solidarity

# Nation Building in South Korea and Political Reproduction of 'Familism'

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The objective of this study was to examine the sociopolitical process that familism has not been weakened but reproduced through political changes in Korea, the causes of the process, and its sociopolitical implications. The results of this study are summarized as follows.

First, most of all, the operation of civil rights in the divided states combining the National Security Act, anticommunist regiment, background investigation, implicative system, and patriarchal Family Law was found as the institutional?ideological mechanism binding individuals' identity to their family and reproducing familism, and this study conceptualized the mechanism into 'family status system.'

Second, according to the identity establishment process of each case, the legitimacy and morality of the government functioned as a prevailing causal factor that reproduced Korean familism 'politically'. Thus, we can say that familism is a result of family politics as a reaction to 'distorted state,' a compensatory idea manifested with the transfer of the state's political?economic?moral functions to family, and a discourse of resistance.

In conclusion, the results of this study show that traditional sociological analyses relying on the hypothesis of the modernization theory or functional analyses based on synchronic approaches are not sufficient for understanding familism as a social consequence of colonized modern times and the continuance of the divided nation. This study maintained that Korean familism should be understood comprehensively in connection to structural and

institutional conditions surrounding families, the justness of the state, and the historical experiences and political consciousness of family members interacting with such environment, and the agent dynamics and potential of familism as a historical component of colonized modern times need to be interpreted prospectively.

■ Key Words: Familism, political socialization, family status system, moral-defensive-political-resistant familism