

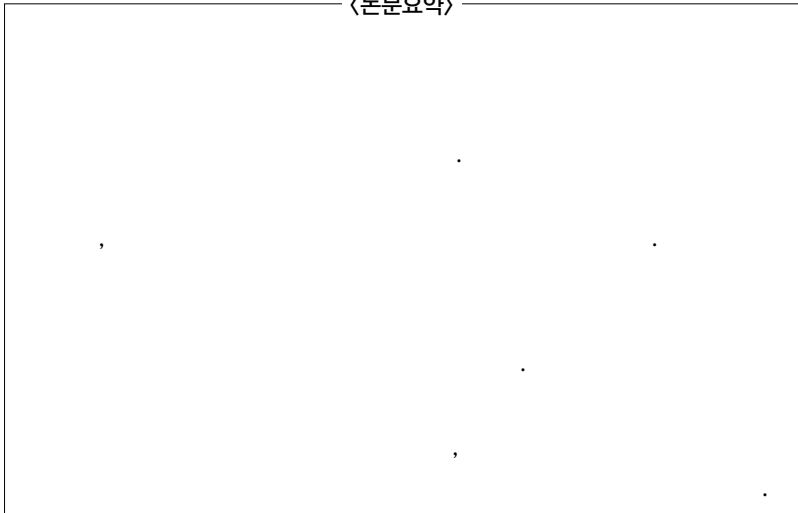


개발체제의 민주화와 사회운동

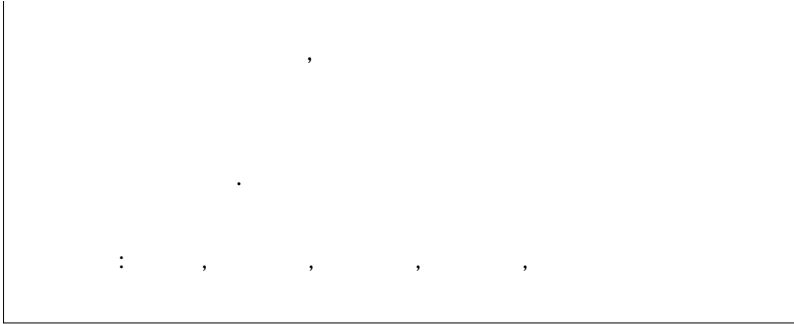
*

김정수

〈논문요약〉



*



1. 서론

,
 (Diamond, Linz, Lipset 1990; Lipset 1959)
 . (transitology)
 (elite pacts)
 (O'Donnell, Schmitter 1986).
 , , ,
 (Huntington 1991; Karl, Schmitter 1991; Linz 1978; Mainwaring 1992).
 (Huntington 1991; O'Donnell, Schmitter
 1986), (moderation)
 (Bermeo 1997).

(Bermeo 1997),

“ ” (Liu
2013, 176).

(Cotton 1997; Huntington 1991).

(Clark,
Clark 2000; Liu 2013).

(Lefebvre 1996)

1980 2000 1) —

— 3

(collective identity)

(Melucci 1996).

(Bernstein 1997; Polletta, Jasper 2001)

(Carroll 2010).

1) Incident, 3) 1980 1980 1979 2000 (Kaohsiung 2000 2000

2. 제도, 세력, 이데올로기로서의 개발체제

2006, 153- 156) (Sum, Jessop (Pempel 1998)'

(normalizing)

(Appadurai 2011)

(外省人, 1940

) (本省人, 1940

) (籍貫)

()

(cleavage)

(take-off)

(catch-up)

(Ling 2013, 121- 124).

(Hsu 1994, 316- 318).

3. 민주적 전환의 복합성

(Huntington 1991; Karl, Schmitter 1991),

(Waylen 2007)
 (duration) (drawn-out) ()

(1986)
 3 , 10 .²⁾
 1980

1990 (國是會議) (Rigger
 1999, 151- 156).
 - (contention-confrontation) (ritual) ,
 - (contention-negotiation) .

=

2) 1984 . 1987 6 7-9
 12 . 1986
 1996



(Linz, Stepan 1996, 16- 37),

(demos)

(國

家想像)

1987

(resignification)

(臺灣意識, Taiwanese consciousness)

(post-colonial)

(Wu 2002, 200). (黨外)

1980

(族群)

1980

(王甫昌

2008, 123- 131).

(master frame)

(國家定立)

4. 한국과 대만 사회운동: 개발, 민주주의, 집합정체성의 다른 초상

1) 사회운동과 민주주의

(embedded)

(Escobar 1992, 36),

(contentious

politics)

“

(O'Donnell, Schmitter 1986, 3)”

(民衆)

(Fraser 1990)

(counterpublics)
publics)

(inter-

2) 한국과 대만의 사회운동 일반

(Koo 2001).

1993; Lee 2007).

(國民)

(Abelmann 1996; Choi

(Lee 2007).

. 1987

67- 94)”

“ (Jones 2006,



. 1970 1979

3)

(class-cleavage)

(ethnic-cleavage)

(Shu 1998, 99- 103). 1986

, 1987

. 1980

1992

(Hsiao 1990, 177- 179;

Philion 2010, 158- 159).

(popular democracy)

(civil society)

(美麗島系)

(新潮流系)

(nation-

building)

(Lin 2009).

3) 1979 12 10

,
 , ,
 (disarticulation) .
 .
 , ,
 . ,
 (brokerage) ,
 (centrality)
 (Diani 2003).
 .
 ,
 .
 .
 ,
 .
 (parallel) . (新潮流系)
 (Lin 2009).

5. 노동운동과 여성운동: 개발, 민주주의 그리고 집합정체성(들)

(Fantasia, Stepan-Norris 2004).

(Beckwith 2007).

(practical) (strategic)
(Molyneux 1985),

(Ferree, Mueller 2004).

1) 한국과 대만의 노동운동

“ (Arrigo, Liu 1996, 17)

(Huang 2002; Lee 2009).

?

(Deyo 1989; Lee 2009; Minns and Tierney 2003; Sen, Koo 1992).



(coordinate)

(subordinate) . 1987

1987 7, 8, 9

87 6

6 (spinoff)

, 6

(class disposition),

(Katznelson 1986).

會) (台灣勞工陣線) (勞動人權協
1986

(Class Consciousness) (Class Identity)

1990
(SOEs)

(Chiu 2011).
(全國產業總工會, TCTU)

. 1980 1990



(Chu 2001, 463- 464).

Agreement Law) (Wang, Cooney 2013). (Collective

(Almeida 2010)

(中華民國全國總工會, CFL)

(工黨)

(勞動黨)

(over)

(with)

+)
. 1995

, 2000



() . (agglomerated industrialization)

(文) (武)
(武)

(Lee 2007).

(Connell, Connell 2005).

(connote)

(denote)

1970

1980

4) 2000

(Fraser 2013, 14)

“ ”

4)

2) 한국과 대만의 여성운동

1970 , 1980

(Katzenstein 1987)

1980



() 1987 , 1987 6

(秀蓮)

(Lu 1994, 302). 1970

. 1982 , (李元貞) (顧燕翎)

(婦女新知雜誌社)

(婦女新

知)

(mirror)

(范雲 2003).

(feministas)

(movimiento de mujeres)

(Waylen 2007)

(articulator)

(representer)

. 1980 / , /
(性盲的 gender-blind)

(Chang 2009, 117).

1980

(優生保護法)

1990

(SWMs: state women's machineries)

1995



2007)⁵⁾ (Beckwith 1990) / / / /

(transmigration)

(Alvarez, Dagnino, Escobar 1998, 18).

. 1984

90 1, 2 1980

“ (性別的議題超越政治)” (王雅各 1999, 155)

/ / 1990 / /

5) (Becwith 2007) (continuum) 4

(Weng, Fell 2006).

(burgher)

(SWMs)

(Gender Equality Committee)

(顧燕翎 2010)

(Clark,

Lee 2000)

1980 2000



2000

1990

powerment)

(Brinton 2001).

(Gender Em-

(Kim, Shirahase 2014, 230).

2000

70%

55%

(Brinton 2001, 17).

(Lewis 1992),

⁶

(Jung, Kim, Kwon 2012).

(保障名額, reserved seats)

1/10

(hyper-masculinity)

(Ling 2013).

“ (Moon 2005, 2)”

6) 30

25.3%

12.2%

55.2%

34.1%

1995

(Brinton 2001,

23 30).

2011, 93).

(Ho

(Kim, Kim 2014).

. 1980

1990

1997

. 1990

(本土)

(王雅各 1999, 232- 233).

(台灣女人連線)

(台北市女性權益促進)

(范雲 2003).

1980

1990

(sexuality)

1997

(性別政治)

(性慾政治)

(顧燕翎 1997)
2010)

(婦權派)

(性權派)(卡維波 2001; 范情

(女工 生)

(粉 盟)

(Brown 1992)

(multilevel contestation)(Carroll 2010),

(precariat)

(feminization)

2014

(Sunflower Movement)

(identity politics)

참고문헌

Abelmann, N. 1996.

Brown, W. 1992. "Finding the man in the state." *Feminist Studies*. 18(1). 7-26.

- Connell, R. W., and R. Connell. 2005. *Masculinities*. University of California Press.
- Cotton, J. 1997. "East Asian Democracy: Progress and Limits." In L. Diamond, M. F. Plattner, Y. H. Chu and H. M. Tien. *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Regional Challenges*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 95-122.
- Deyo, F. C. 1989. *Beneath the Miracle: Labor Subordination in the New Asian Industrialism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Diamond, L. J., J. J. Linz, and S. M. Lipset. 1990. *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. Boulder: L. Rienner.
- Diani, M. 2003. "Introduction." In M. Diani and D. McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1-18.
- Escobar, A. 1992. "Culture, Economics, and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research." In A. Escobar and S.E. Alvarez, eds. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press. 62-85.
- Fantasia, R., and J. Stepan-Norris. 2004. "The Labor Movement in Motion." In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule and H. Kriesi, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden: Blackwell Pub. 555-575.
- Ferree, M. M., and C. M. Mueller. 2004. "Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective." In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule and H. Kriesi, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden: Blackwell Pub. 576-607.
- Fraser, N. 1990. "Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy." *Social Text*. 56-80.
- _____. 2013. *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-managed Capitalism to Neoliberal*

Crisis. Verso Books.

- Ho, M. 2011. "Manufacturing manhood: The culture of hegemonic masculinity in Taiwan's labour movement." In T. Ngo and H. Wang, eds. *Politics of Difference in Taiwan*. Routledge. 78-97.
- Hsiao, M. 1990. "Emerging social movements and the rise of a demanding civil society in Taiwan." *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*. 24. 163-180.
- Hsu, C. 1994. "Ideological Reflections and the Inception of Economic Development in Taiwan." In J. D. Aberbach, D. Dollar and K. L. Sokoloff, eds. *The Role of the State in Taiwan's Development*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe. 307-321.
- Huang, C. 2002. "The politics of reregulation: Globalization, democratization, and the Taiwanese labor movement." *The Developing Economies*. 40(3). 305-326.
- Huntington, S. P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Jones, N. A. 2006. *Gender and the Political Opportunities of Democratization in South Korea*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jung, Ee-Hwan, Young-Mi Kim, and Hyun-Ji Kwon. 2012. "Female Employment in Newly Developed Countries in East Asia: A Comparison of Korea and Taiwan." *Journal of Korean Women's Studies*. 28(1). 147-181.
- Karl, T. L., and P. C. Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal*. 43(2). 269-284.
- Katzenstein, M. F. 1987. "Comparing the Feminist Movements of the United States and Western Europe: An Overview." In M. F. Katzenstein, ed. *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe: Consciousness, Political Opportunity, and Public Policy*. Temple University Press. 3-20.

- Katznelson, I. 1986. "Working-class formation: Nineteenth-century patterns in Western Europe and the United States." In I. Katznelson and A. R. Zolberg, eds. *Working-class formation: Nineteenth-century patterns in Western Europe and the United States*. Princeton University Press. 3-41.
- Kim, S., and K. Kim. 2014. *The Korean Women's Movement and the State: Bargaining for Change*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Kim, Y., and S. Shirahase. 2014. "Understanding intra-regional variation in gender inequality in East Asia: Decomposition of cross-national differences in the gender earnings gap." *International Sociology*. 29. 229-248.
- Koo, H. G. 2001. *Korean Workers: The Culture and Politics of Class Formation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lee, N. 2007. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.
- Lee, Y. 2009. "Divergent outcomes of labor reform politics in democratized Korea and Taiwan." *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 44(1). 47-70.
- Lefebvre, H. 1996. *Writings on Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lewis, J. 1992. "Gender and the development of welfare regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy*. 2(3). 159-173.
- Lin, S. 2009. "The 'popular democracy vs. civil society' debate in Taiwan revisited." *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 14(3). 227-252.
- Ling, L. H. M. 2013. "Cultural Chauvinism and the Liberal International Order: 'West versus Rest' in Asia's Financial Crisis." In C. Geeta and S. Nair, eds. *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*. Routledge. 115-141.
- Linz, J. J. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

- Linz, J. J., and A. C. Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, S. M. 1959. "Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy." *The American Political Science Review*. 53(1). 69.
- Liu, H. J. 2013. "Will they tie the knot? Labour and environmental trajectories in Taiwan and South Korea." In N. Rathzel and D. Uzzell, eds. *Trade Unions in the Green Economy: Working for the Environment*. Routledge. 162-178.
- Lu, H. A. 1994. "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience." In M. A. Rubinstein, ed. *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe. 289-304.
- Mainwaring, S. 1992. "Transitions to democracy and democratic consolidation: Theoretical and comparative issues." In S. Mainwaring, G. O'Donnell and J. S. Valenzuela, eds. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 294-341.
- Melucci, A. 1996.



- O'Donnell, G. A., and P. C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pempel, T. J. 1998. *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Philion, S. 2010. "The Impact of Social Movements on Taiwan's Democracy." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*. 39(3). 149-163.
- Polletta, F., and J. M. Jasper. 2001. "Collective identity and social movements." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 27(1). 283-305.
- Rai, S. M. 1996. "Women and the State in the Third World: Some Issues for Debate." In S. M. Rai and G. Lievesley, eds. *Women and the State: International Perspectives*. Taylor and Francis. 5-22.
- Rigger, S. 1999. *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy*. Psychology Press.
- Sen, Y., and H. Koo. 1992. "Industrial transformation and proletarianization in Taiwan." *Critical Sociology*. 19(1). 45-67.
- Shu, W. 1998. "The emergence of Taiwanese nationalism: a preliminary work on an approach to interactive episodic discourse." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. 42. 73-121.
- Sum, N., and B. Jessop. 2006. *Beyond the Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies in Their Place*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Wang, H., and S. Cooney. 2013. "Taiwan's labour law: the end of state corporatism?" *Law and Labour Market Regulation in South East Asia*. Routledge. 185-214.
- Waylen, G. 2007. *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weng, H., and D. Fell. 2006. "The Rootless Movement: Taiwan's Women's Movement in the KMT and DPP Eras." In D. Fell, H. Klöter and

- B. Chang, eds. *What has Changed? Taiwan Before and After the Change in Ruling Parties*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag. 147-164.
- Wu, R. 2002. "Toward a pragmatic nationalism: Democratization and Taiwan's passive revolution." *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*. ME Sharpe. 196-218.
- 顧燕翎. 1997. "台灣婦運組織中性慾政治之轉變 受害客體抑或情慾主體." 思與言 35(1). 87- 118.
- _____. 2010. "フェミニズムの体制内改革—台北市女性權益保障弁法の制定の過程と検討." 台灣女性研究の挑戰 . 野村鮎子 成田靜香編. 京都: 人文書院.
- 范雲. 2003. "政治轉型過程中的婦女運動: 以運動者及其生命傳記背景為核心的分析取向." 台灣社會學 5. 133- 194.
- 范情. 2010. "台灣女性運動の歴史をふりかえつて." 台灣女性研究の挑戰 . 野村鮎子 成田靜香編. 京都: 人文書院.
- 王甫昌. 2008. "族群政治議題在台灣民主化轉型中的角色." 臺灣民主季刊 5(2). 89- 140.
- 王雅各. 1999. 台灣婦女解放運動史 . 台北: 巨流.
- 卡維波. 2001. "'婦權派'與'性權派'的兩條女性主義路線在台灣—為【亞洲連結會議】介紹性別研究室而寫." 文化研究月報 5.

Developmental Regime and Social Movements

A Comparative Study on the Labour and Women's Movements in South Korea and Taiwan

Kim, Chong Su

University of Victoria, UVic

Differences in democratization are simply reduced by structure- and process-oriented studies to ready-made structural “prerequisites” or typologies which marginalize the roles and effects of collective actors for the sake of elite groups. The lack of social movement research runs the risk of representing the dynamic and heterogeneous democratization as the static and the homogeneous. This paper shows how South Korean and Taiwanese social movements organised by women and workers—the prime targets to be mobilized by the developmental regime—have differently responded to the regimes and renegotiated the democratization. Unlike the widespread autonomous, capable, and unitary image of the “developmental state,” the developmental regimes in both countries were constantly subject to negotiations with other non-state actors. This paper suggests that social movements in both countries differently re-narrated the socio-economic structures, negotiated conjunctural transitions, and constructed contentious collective identities which translated democracy and democratization in Taiwan in a post-colonial way while in South Korea in a liberal. Based on cross-national, longitudinal, cross-sectoral, and multi-level comparison the present paper shows: that labour and women’s movements in both countries constructed and negotiated

different collective identities throughout the democratization; these collective identities produced different collective actions and strategies; and channelled collective actions into different arenas of democracy.

Key Words: Democratization, Developmental Regime, Labour Movement, Women's Movement, Collective Identity

투고: 2015.3.26 심사: 2015.4.16 확정: 2015.5.13
