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**Master's Thesis of SeoYoung Kim**

**The Changes of University Students'  
Discourse on Social Issues in the SNU  
Newspaper Before and After 1997**

**1997 년 전후의 대학생 사회 담론 변화**

**-대학신문을 중심으로-**

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# **The Changes of University Students' Discourse on Social Issues in the SNU Newspaper Before and After 1997**

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## **Abstract**

# **The Changes of University Students' Discourse on Social Issues in the SNU Newspaper Before and After 1997**

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1997 financial crisis has brought up changes not only to the economy of the Korean society but also in diverse sectors such as reunification and labor issues. This thesis investigates the influence of the changes in this period to university students' discourse.

College newspaper has a unique structure. While the articles are written by student journalist, the budgets are supported by the university. This means, the students can express their opinion, but in the same time, cannot show it as a whole. Nevertheless, the student newspaper is a major media that reflects the opinions of the students at the time.

In this thesis, Critical Discourse Analysis is conducted on the features of SNU Newspaper from 1996 to 1999, focusing on three topics: reunification, labor and

economy. Based on the analysis, this thesis is expected to achieve two main analytical findings: First, the ideological and the institutional change of the Korean society has made changes in the youth discourse of as well. Second, even though the college newspaper was not as popular as before in the late 1990s, that the college newspaper still reflects the student society.

Analysis of the features showed that in the labor and reunification issues, there had been changes in the responses after the 1997 financial crisis, however, there had not been fundamental changes. In economic issues, there were no feature articles about the economic issues written by the students; the experts wrote all of the featured articles.

The results indicate that the student discourse had not changed drastically as expected. This can be concluded that the college newspaper is a source that cannot reflect social issues fully. Also, the social changes started in 1997, but until the 2000s, it still was a transition period. Further research is needed by comparing the results with other media, in a wider time range which could strengthen the identification of the youth discourse of the period.

**Keyword :** College Newspaper, Social Discourse, SNU Newspaper, 1997 Financial Crisis, University Students, Youth Discourse (within 6 words)

**Student Number :** 2018-28672

# I. Introduction

This chapter outlines the background (section 1) and context (section 2) of the thesis, and its purpose (section 3). Section 4 shows the scope of the research material. Finally, section 5 describes the outline of the following chapters of the thesis.

## Background

In 1997, Korean society has suffered from the financial crisis. The financial crisis influenced not only the economy of Korea but also became a paradigm shift in the politics and other sectors of Korean society. A notable example is the turnover of the regime from the conservative to the progressive (Shim, 2011). In this context, discussions were made about the Korean society, that the current society exists under the 1997 system, (Kim, H., 2007; Son, 2009), rather than the 1987 system<sup>1</sup> as considered previously (Park, 2005; Son, 2017). Son (2017, 141) argues that it is awkward to claim that it is still the 1987 system, after “the fundamental change of the society the temporary workers becoming common, youth unemployment and the social polarization.” However, there is not enough substantial examine about the transition made in 1997. Especially, the young generation, more specifically, the university students, played a critical role in

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<sup>1</sup> 1987 system was first discussed in Changbi Collective Action Symposium(*Changbi Gondonghaengdong Symposium*) in 2005. At the symposium, the 1987 system was referred to mean the 1987 constitutional system (Park, 2005). In other cases, the 1987 system was used to explain the 1987 democracy system (Yoo, 2005). However, in follow-up discussions, scholars started to argue that the 1987 system embraces the overall ‘social system’, and that Korean society is still under the 1987 system. (Kim, 2007; Kim, J.Y. 2017). (Son, 2017)



social movements. Nonetheless, studies are not made to show the change in the young generation's thoughts.

Before the 1997 system, the 1987 system was discussed as still available in society. However, the starting point and the main issue about the 1987 system being validate was mainly about the establishment of the constitution. However, as the financial crisis in 1997 influenced diverse dimensions in the society in Korea, the 1997 system covered diverse regimes, including the constitutional regime, the labor regime, and social movement regime.

College Newspaper is not as popular as when it was used as the media of the student activist under the authoritarian military regimes. This is not only because the student movement is not active as it was before, but also, other channels of media emerged and played similar roles. However, it is still one of the most influencing major media on campus, where students can express their opinions (Seol, 2009).

Yet, both before and after, it is hard to say that the college newspaper represents the thoughts of the students in each university. This is because, precisely, the college newspaper is not a student newspaper. It is a newspaper in the college.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it is also hard to say that the newspaper represents the stance of the school.

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<sup>2</sup> Most of the publishers of the college newspapers in this thesis are universities, however, "college newspaper" is used, for the term is more often used than the term "university newspaper".

College newspaper has a unique dual structure. Taking the SNU Newspaper<sup>3</sup> as an example, even though the articles are written by the student journalists, it is the official newspaper of the Seoul National University. SNU supports the budget of the SNU Newspaper. The official publisher of the paper is always the president of the university. The chief editor and the vice chief editor are the professors of SNU. Even so, the professors engage deeply in selecting the topics of the features and the structures of the SNU Newspaper. For example, when the articles are written by outsiders as a specialist, there are cases of the request being made by the chief editor, but most of the time, student journalists make requests depending on the topics of their features. (*Tae Gyun Park (SNU Newspaper chief editor). Interviewed by Seo Young Kim, Seoul, November 28, 2019.*) This characteristic is also shown in other college newspapers. According to Bae(2000), the official authority of the editing is quite even between the editors and the student journalists, but the apart from it, most of the actual editing is done by the student journalists, and the chief officer or the universities partially edit or ratify the articles.

Thus, the SNU Newspaper shows the stance of the students but does not represent the students fully. However, at the same time, SNU Newspaper is a material that reflects the student discourse at that time. Meanwhile, it is important to understand that the student council members cannot become a student journalist at SNU Newspaper.

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<sup>3</sup> This chapter is based on the interview of the Tae Gyun Park.(SNU Newspaper chief editor). Interviewd by Seo Young Kim, Seoul, November 28, 2019.

The organization is completely independent of the student council. Moreover, even though the main role of a college newspaper is to be the press of the issues on the campus, it delivers news outside of the campus. (Kim, S., 1987)

In this context, a college newspaper could be a rich source that reflects the times and shows the student discourse. However, there are not many studies that focus on the issues the college newspaper handles. This thesis focuses on the university students' discourse, especially, on the changes before and after 1997 as discussed in the first part of this thesis.

After the financial crisis, Korean society went through transition under neo-liberalism. Cho(2012, 23) refers that this neo-liberalism which brought up individual freedom and the free market was only about policies and institutions. It was also about discourse, ideology, and formation of identity. This forming of neo-liberalism also influenced the atmosphere on campus. Individualism(Cho, 2012, 23). The neoliberalism influenced the atmosphere on campus, as well. Notably, the flow of individualism led to indifference in the student society. Students' role was crucial in the democratic movements. However, not like the period of industrialization, students were not into the student movement nor the student council anymore. They did not care about the general social issues; the problems that were more crucial to their daily life mattered. (Lee, D., 2012; Choi, S., 2012; Kim, S., 1996) For instance, "issues as political democracy, economic equality, or national reunification"(Kim S., 1996, 84) was not their interests. "Instead, university students are becoming more and more interested in intra-campus

issues, such as skyrocketing tuition, expensive books, poor service at campus restaurants, inaccessible computer facilities, and crowded soccer fields."(Kim Sunhyuk, 1996, 84) Starting from the 1990s, the student society's interest in political issues have decreased.

Even so, university students still represent youth. They are still the future of our society. Therefore, to understand the current Korean society, it is significant to understand the university student discourse of the past. This thesis focuses on the years around 1997, which quantitatively as well as qualitatively was a big transition in Korean Society.

## **Research Purpose**

This thesis tries to find out how the discourse among university student changes around the 1997 financial crisis. Based on the analysis, this thesis is expected to achieve two main analytical findings: First, the ideological and the institutional change of the Korean society has made changes in the youth discourse as well. Second, even though the college newspaper was not as popular as before in the late 1990s, the college newspaper still reflects the student society.

## **Research Material**

The primary source of this research is the SNU newspaper, *Daehakshinmoon*, from 1996 to 1999, in total 10 of one hundred-one issues. The college newspaper is published weekly except the summer and winter vacation, which makes it around twenty-five publications a year: 26 issues, from 1414<sup>th</sup> to 1439<sup>th</sup> in 1996; 26 issues, from

1440<sup>th</sup> to 1465<sup>th</sup> in 1997; 24 issues, from 1466<sup>th</sup> to 1489<sup>th</sup> in 1998; 25 issues, from 1490<sup>th</sup> to 1514<sup>th</sup> in 1999.

This thesis limits the period from 1996 to 1999, for the official assistance from the IMF was in November 1997. The critical discourse analysis was conducted of two years before and after late 1997.

The origin of *Daehakshinmoon* starts in a printing office during the Korean War on 4 February 1952. Universities that evacuated to Busan was integrated into *Jeonsiyeonhapdaehak* (Wartime Nations University). The students and the authority of the Wartime Nations University demanded the pan-College newspaper as a communication method, which became the origin of the SNU newspaper. After the universities returned to Seoul, they reissued their newspapers, respectively. Seoul National University remained with the *Daehakshinmoon*, which literally means “the college newspaper.” (<http://www.snunews.com/com/com-3.html>).

In general categories, the SNU newspaper consists of special features, campus life, society, books, literature, photographs, opinions, and these days, videos on the webpage as well. Specifically, the articles SNU newspaper deals with several specific topics: language and literature, history, philosophy, politics, business, economy, labor and society, reunification, science and technology, environment, health and medical care,

art and culture, campus life.<sup>4</sup> Among the categories, this research focuses on reunification, labor and society, and the economy.

First of all, the biggest change in 1997 was caused by the economic crisis, the articles will be analyzed to find out how the change has affected the students, and what they think about the economy of the time. Secondly, the financial crisis in 1997 brought up an employment issue. After the economic crisis, numerous companies in Korea went bankrupt, which increased the unemployment rate. Permanent positions decreased, and finding a job became more difficult. Student movements have always cooperated with the laborers. As the students always had banded with the laborers, and even more, the employment problem has become the problem they had to encounter after graduation. In this sense, labor would have become a more important issue both in Korean society and on the campus. Finally, the reunification issue is also significant, for the budget toward the North Korean issue takes up a large portion of the Korean economy. As referred earlier, the college newspaper is also interested in external issues as well as issues inside the campus. Among the issues, this thesis will focus on three categories of issues to find out the practical influence of external issues on the campus, and how the youth discourse is formed by them.

The articles of the SNU Newspaper are categorized by the type of articles: coverages, opinion, coverage of campus life, features, society, academics, culture, books,

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<sup>4</sup> The categories of the articles are based on the index of the 2<sup>nd</sup> photo printed reduce edition(*Yeonginchukswaepan* 影印縮刷版) of SNU Newspaper in 1999.

photo features, books, opinions. Among the different types of articles, features will be the main focus of analysis. The features have common points and differences with the articles. The common point is that they both “need to appeal to a wide audience and to be readable, in the sense of purveying accurate information in an interesting way as well as following correct usage, including grammar.” (Henessy, 2006, 17)

It has to be with accurate information, which helps people have different perspectives on certain events. The features have details of the reason to focus on the specific topics. The subject of the feature does not have to be the same as the regular news. The reporters know who the readers are. Accordingly, they make efforts to match the level of content with the background of the readers. With the background in mind, the reporters get to show their point of view in every choice they make when they decide the spotlight. (Henessy, 2006, 17-18)

These characteristics explain why this thesis limits the analysis on the features. The features can show the topics which the SNU Newspaper student journalists want to focus on. The features show the point of their view on a subject. Moreover, the journalists have to keep in mind the particular readers, SNU students, when selecting and writing the features.

It could be true that the opinions of articles also express not only the ideologies of the journalists themselves but the ideologies of the society they belong to. However, a large percent of the opinions and the editorials on SNU Newspaper is covered by the

experts, not the student journalists. Therefore, this thesis focuses on features as the primary source.

## **Thesis Outline**

In this thesis, the changes of SNU students' discourse about reunification, labor, and economy will be traced by analyzing the features of SNU Newspaper, to find out two things. First, how the change in Korean society in 1997 has affected youth discourse. Second, if the college newspaper reflects the change in society.

To answer this question, this research focuses on the period from 1996 to 1999 in the following chapters. In Chapter II, this thesis will start by reviewing the existing literature. Historical background will be briefly explained first, and after, the existing studies of the college newspaper will be examined. In Chapter III the research design will be presented by explaining the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is the methodology of this thesis. In Chapter IV, the actual articles of the three discourses, reunification, labor, and economy will be introduced as the result of CDA. In chapter V, the result will be analyzed. Finally, Chapter VI will conclude the thesis by summarizing the analysis of the thesis.



## II. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the existing literature. In sections 1 and 2, the studies about the college newspapers and 1997 are reviewed respectively. Section 3 will show the summary and implications of the existing literature.

### College newspaper

College newspaper is not a popular topic for scholars in Korea. In a broad sense, there are four topics of researches related to the college newspaper: the characteristics of the college newspaper itself, the usage of the contents in the college newspapers — the relation between the college newspaper and the real world, and Korean Linguistics.

The most popular topic was about the college newspaper itself. Ha (1975) analyzed the characteristics of the college newspaper, focusing on SNU Newspaper. Yang(1973) focused on the characteristics of Korean universities' structural characteristics. Kim(1987) argued that the traditional press was not performing their role enough, that the college newspapers criticize the reality of our society more than the traditional ones. There were constant critics about the current situation of the college newspapers. Kim (1989) criticized that the college newspapers have changed into just a printout of the student activist, rather than a media which delivers the news of their campus. Kim (1992) also criticized the current state of the college newspaper, that it is being used as means to spread certain groups' ideology to reform the society, rather than being used as its original purpose as the press within the campus. Seol and Kim(2009)

showed the crisis of Korean college newspapers by comparing it with the US college newspapers. US college newspaper played more roles in community journalism. Choi(2000) and pay attention to the future of the college newspaper, in the appearance of the digitalized college newspaper, Kwak(2006) also researched on the current state of e-publishing Korean college newspaper. Jeong(1997) researched on the method to vitalize the college newspaper. Bae(2000) showed the ideology of the college newspaper in the 1990s by analyzing the editing tendency and the operation realities by focusing on restoring the essential function of the college newspaper.

The usage of the contents in the college newspapers mainly focused on the advertisement function. Hong(1990) highlighted that the college newspaper is not instigating media. Lee(2013) suggested utilizing the literature section of the college newspaper, primarily focusing on the Wonkwang University Press, as space for students to practice and publish the literary writings. Kwon (1999) and Shin (2014) focused on the advertisement on the college newspapers.

Since university students publish the college newspaper, and most of the readers are university students, a large number of the articles are related to the issues around the universities. Lee (1998) and Son (2000) pointed out the role of college newspaper journalists in the newspaper and after entry into society. There were tries to spot the campus life. H. Kim (1997) increased the understanding of university students' culture. By analyzing the college newspaper about the counterculture phenomenon of the 1960s youth culture by the Indian culture. Lee (2008) shows the changes in the activities in the

university libraries. Lim, Park, and Ko (2016) suggests college newspapers focus on providing information about leisure and lifestyle students can enjoy. Kim (2017a, 2017b) showed an assessment of the university structural reform using big data.

The relation between the college newspaper and the real world were shown in two ways: By capturing discourse through the college newspaper, and by analyzing the position of a college newspaper in society. The majority of the discourses was a discussion about unification (Choi and Kim, 1999; Kim, 2001; Ahn, 2003). Yoon (1991) observed the perception of the students based on poetries in the college newspaper. Furthermore, there were researches about the college newspapers, that they were under the press censorship and suppression in the 1980s and the 1990s (Lee, 2001; Kim, Y., 1992). Seo (2010) points out that the college newspaper was one of the mediums which showed the readers' desire to become a social elite in the 1950s.

Three pieces of research used the college newspaper as a material to analyze the Korean language. The Society for Korean Language and Literary Research (Hanguk-eomun-gyoyuk-yeonguhui) (1982) analyzed Hanyang College newspaper, Hanyang Daehakbo) about using Hangeul mixed with Chinese characters. Kim (1987) and Jeong (2004) analyzed the condition and the errors of the Korean language in the college newspaper.

The interest in the college newspaper is decreasing. Moreover, there are not enough studies about university universities, even though the capabilities of topics are

diverse. Then why do scholars in different fields should pay attention to the college newspaper?

Seol and Kim(2009) points out that notwithstanding the fact of decreasing interest and lack of research, the college newspaper still plays a vital role in university students. It is a means of expressing their opinions, and the precursor of public opinion within the school. Furthermore, there is three uniqueness of the college newspaper. First, the class of the readers is a particular group. Most of the readers are university students, or else, it is the faculty members and alumni. Second, the college newspaper does not pursue profitability. They do not have to be greedy for profits. Lastly, the editors are amateur student journalists who are changed every two or three years, which can show their rawness of perception. (Kim, S., 1987)

In this point of view, it is relevant to interpret the university students' discourse about Korean society with the college newspaper. The existing researches of understanding the society with the college newspaper focuses only on issues such as unification or the suppression of the college newspaper by the state. Despite the college newspaper is a significant source to understand the Korean society and the perception of university students, there has not been an approach to utilize it. In this sense, this research tries to find out the change of university students' discourse before and after 1997 by analyzing the articles of the SNU newspaper.

## **The 1997 system**

To discuss the “Korean social system,” understanding of the “system” should be preceded. The “1997 system” as a preferably constituted with several “partial regimes.” The partial regimes are diverse, such as constitutional regime, labor regime, social movement regime. These regimes do not have to have the same time divisions, such as the 1987 system, for the regimes have occurred by independent events (Son, 2017, 133-136). For the partial regimes like the constitutional regime, the 1987 system is still valid. The 1987 constitution is still the basis of Korean law. However, partial regimes like the labor regime have changed throughout 1948, 1961, 1987, and 1997 system. (Son, 2017, 151-152) After the 1997 financial crisis, the transition to the dependent neoliberalism, which made institutional changes in the remains of an anti-democratic labor society (Roh, 2010, 42-44). In the case of the division regime, there are two points of view of seeing it as the 1953 system, for it is still divided since, or as it has been developed through 1948, 2000, 2008 system (Son, 2017, 156-157).

## **Summary and Implications**

When the press chooses the agenda for reporting, they "restructure the reality in their own way. These agendas relate to the issues readers accept" (Jang, 2000, 245-246). Therefore, this thesis tries to find out how the young generation accepted the social change before and after 1997, by analyzing the discourse in the SNU Newspaper. The college students' taking part in the social movement has decreased from the 1970s and 80s. However, still in social movements such as candlelight movements, university

students are a big part of the events. By understanding the discourse change in 1997, this thesis tries to find out how the university student accepted Korean society and what does the discourse change still affect the current society.

Under these research backgrounds, this thesis tries to contribute to the youth discourse change before and after 1997. First, even though the college newspaper provides rich information on university students' perceptions, there are not many studies about it. Moreover, even though university students were one of the main actors in the late 1990s, not many studies were made about the youth discourse change in overall social sectors. By analyzing the SNU Newspaper, this thesis expects to find out the insights of the university students' perception, which still is worth paying attention to. By examining the characteristics of university students' discourse change in 1997, by analyzing the SNU Newspaper, this thesis tries to provide implications about the young generation's perception, which is still relevant in understanding the Korean society until now.

### **III. Research Design**

This chapter describes the research design of this thesis to attain the aim explained in section 3 of chapter I. In this chapter, the main discussion of the methodology of this study.

#### **Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis**

To analyze the social discourse of the SNU newspaper, this thesis tries to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a tool. Before using CDA as a tool, conceptualizing what discourse is, and understanding why media discourse is valid should be preceded. Afterwards, the process of CDA will be discussed.

##### 1-1. Discourse

Discourse is a multidisciplinary term that is widely used in academic fields such as philosophy, linguistics, and sociology. It is difficult to define what discourse is, for that the usage of “discourse” has diverse meanings by scholars from different fields of studies. In sociology, discourse focuses on the social context., while linguists pay more attention to the usage of language itself (Bell and Garrett 1998). For instance, in sociology, Foucault’s structuralism in the 1960s started the discussion of discourse theory. Foucault focuses more on power relationships. Foucault explains that the discourse exists in a specific historical moment, which links to power. It is possible to

understand the power expression in the society through the language by analyzing the discourses. (Choi, 2014, 2-4; Foucault, 2017)

Traditionally, in the field of linguistics, the usage of text and discourse was mixed, and not distributed. However, there had been discussions about the distinction between text and discourse. Bell and Garrett (1998) described “text” as “refer to the outward manifestation of a communication event,” while Cook(1994) explains discourse with the following statement:

It is not concerned with language alone. It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why, in what kind of society and situation, thorough what medium, how different types of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other.

Even though the meaning of discourse is different by scholars, the essential process in analyzing discourse is to understand the linkage between the text and the real world and spot the context the text is produced.

## 1-2. Media Discourse

Why is discourse analysis relevant in understanding the media? From the language used in the media text to the layout of the newspaper articles, even in a broader sense of media, including music and image, implies diverse discourse to analyze. Bell (1995:23) suggests four reasons for the interest in media discourse. First, the language data source is easy to access. Second, the media produces mass data of the language, which affects society. Third, the language of the media



has compelling in linguistic ways. Lastly, the media reflects the real world we are living in. Van Dijk(1998) indicates that “the ideologies and opinions of newspapers are usually not personal, but social, institutional, or politic.” Therefore, the expressions made in the articles connote the ideologies of society.

### 1-3. The Process of Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (2015) raised the problem of existing methodologies of discourse analysis. In linguistics, the analysis is isolated from the real society; even though the analyzing the meanings from the linkage with the social context is essential in discourse analysis, linguists respond to the outcome in a value-neutral tone. Moreover, even when there are meaningful outcomes for understanding the social context, linguists give attention to what happens, not about why it happened.

On the contrary to this, sociologists’ Foucauldian discourse puts more focus on producing the impact of power deep inside society. Precise discourse analysis is needed to understand the power structure presented by the discourse. (Foucault, 2017)

Based on Foucault’s idea, Fairclough’s ultimate goal of CDA is “to analyze critically how the ideology is produced and reproduced by the discourse, which transports the power directly.” (Choi, 2014, 21) From this angle, there are four essential premises of CDA(Choi, 2014, 22-24):

1. Discourse is ideological.
2. Discourse is socially constructed and at the same time, socially constructed.
3. Power relationship in the discourse is invisible.

4. Discourse is a system of options

Keeping these four premises in mind, CDA tries to find out the perspective of the society with which is implied in the text. The CDA does not share a fixed framework of analysis. It is better to understand the CDA as a perspective. CDA can be utilized flexibly in different situations. For instance, Fairclough suggests mapping three different sorts of analysis as a process of CDA (Choi, 2014, 22-24):

The three sorts of analysis are (Bell and Garrett 1998) 144:

1. analysis of texts (spoken, written, or involving a combination of semiotic modalities, e.g., television texts);
2. analysis of discourse practices of text production, distribution, and consumption;
3. analysis of social and cultural practices which frame discourse practices and text

Analysis of texts is more of traditional linguistic analysis, such as cohesion of the sentences, structure of the newspaper articles. The findings could be answers to questions such as “Are pronouns such as we or you used? If so, how is it used?” or “What kind of logical conjunctions are used?”. The questions are not fixed. It is important to link the text you are analyzing with the analysis of discourse practices and the analysis of social and cultural practices. Analysis of discourse practices is more about producing, distributing, and consuming the text. This process includes finding out the types of text or linking the characteristics of the producer of the text. The analysis of social and cultural practice takes a macro view. “In what kind of social structure was this text produced?”, “What kind of meaning is being produced?” and reproduced when these

texts are cumulated? Even though this suggested CDA is sorted into three different processes, it is important to understand that these three process works altogether simultaneously, not independently nor in order. (Choi, 2014, 27-30)

## IV. Result

This chapter details the findings of the research. The featured articles of the SNU Newspaper about reunification (section 1), labor (section 2), and economy (section 3) will be categorized by the contents of each discourse.

### The Reunification Discourse in the SNU Newspaper

#### 1-1. The Feature Articles about the Reunification

This chapter tries to find out how the SNU newspaper illustrates reunification in the featured articles. In the SNU newspaper, the topic “Reunification” covers three issues using the word *tongil* (reunification), North Korea, and the division. Reunification is not the most popular topic in the SNU newspaper. Nevertheless, during those years, three features were planned about the topic “Reunification.” It means that, except for 1997, the SNU newspaper tries to cover the topic nearly once a year. **Table 1** details the features of “reunification” between 1996 and 1999.

**Table 1** Feature Articles about the Reunification

Serial Feature	
Trend of North Korean Studies and Inter-Korean Academic Exchange	
1996.9.9	1. Trend of North Korean Studies – Focusing on Policy Discussion, Superficial Studies -Lack of Materials, Cold War Perspective is the Obstacle of Study
1996.9.16	2. Status of Academic Exchanges and the Prospects – ‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance

1996.9.16	3. Introduction of the Reference Libraries – “North Korean Data Center”, National Assembly Library, and SNU Library – the “Oasis” of North Korean Publications
Special Feature	
<b>Rapidly Changing Circumstances of Reunification</b>	
1998.11.30	[General] Divided System Starting to Shake; Needs to Consider a Form of Reunification
	Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification – Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations
	Characteristics of Inter-Korean Economic Exchange and Cooperation – From Link and Separation of Politics and Economics to Harmony of Politics and Economics
	Character and the Prospect of Kim Jong-il Regime – Ironic Combination of ‘Militarization’ and ‘Marketization’
	Change of Government’s Policy toward North Korea – North Korea Policy, Start with Feasible Part
	Change of Reunification Movement - Conservative and Progressive Meet Together
<b>The North Korean Culture is Coming</b>	
1999.3.1	North Korean Culture, not ‘Compare’ but ‘Recognize’ – Culture Opening Should not Premise the Integration of Inter-Korean Culture
	Allow Nongovernmental Exchange, But Needs Proper Restriction
	From <i>Inminseong</i> (People’s trait) to Popularity
	Leisure Life of North Koreans?
	Flooding North Korean Culture, Half Expected, Half Concerned

Having only three features about the reunification, it is hard to analyze the tendency of the SNU students’ perception of the articles. Still, the three features being spread out equally to three different years would be a helpful guide to assume what the SNU newspaper reporters spotlighted each year.

The 1996 feature was the discussions in the academic field. The 1998 feature was about the change of the circumstances, which is obviously due to the Sunshine

Policy. The 1999 feature showed the result of the change, the beginning of the cultural exchange.

Meanwhile, regardless of the topics, the articles of the features bring up three agendas in the attitude toward North Korea: the Inter-Korean exchange, mutual understanding, and the evaluation of the government policy. There are constant attitudes and changing perceive towards issues about North Korea. The issues are in the flow of the state of the inter-Korean relationship.

### 1-1-1. The Inter-Korean Exchange

#### **Direct Exchange**

The constant demand for direct exchange had been brought up. Every time academic, or cultural exchange was occurring, the arrangement of the meetings could not happen directly. There was always a third party in between, which hindered the direct exchange of the two Koreas. SNU Newspaper continually brings up this issue, willing it to be solved. In 1996, while having academic exchanges, the meetings had to be arranged in China. There was once an inter-Korean forum in Seoul. The SNU Newspaper considered it as a “meaningful event,” for it was the first time held in the Korean Peninsula after the division; however, they acknowledged the difficulties of the constant direct exchanges, when even the arrangement of the meetings should be through third parties every time:

Most of the inter-Korean academic exchanges are occurred intermittently **in third countries such as China**. This is because the past experience of interacting with North Korea, and the geographical proximity of ethnic Korean scholars and organizations in Yanbian, China, facilitates the success of Inter-Korean academic exchanges. ... In addition to the fact **that civilians from the two Koreas met in their homeland for the first time in 46 years** since the division of the Korean

Peninsula, the second Seoul forum is quite meaningful in that they were able to share their positions on women's roles and tasks for reunification. (Jung-Ah Yoon, “‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

An official who participated in the preparation process of the last year's conference I singled out the difficulties: had to requests the contact with the North Korean people whenever they held a preparatory meeting; sensitive issues that have not been noticed existed such as the title of the conference, order, and the chairperson had to be readjusted at the conference room; and the fact that exchanging opinions with North Korean participants **was possible only through officials in a third country**. (Jung Ah Yoon, “‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

Things seemed to change in 1998. It could be implied that even the aid for North Korea could happen only with the mediation of the third party, China. However, in 1998, not only a route but diversified routes of private aid to North Korea was permitted:

What's noteworthy is that ... In addition, the route for private aid has been diversified, **allowing direct delivery** of relief supplies from Busan Port to the Rajin-Sŏnbong zone **without going through China** since last September. (Eun Ah Lee, “Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

### **Nongovernmental Exchange**

In 1996, not only the private exchange but even the academic exchanges of the two Korea were not prevalent. The SNU newspaper highlighted the reason for the lack of inter-Korean exchange experience. Similar problems emerged every time preparing an inter-Korean event. For that, the exchanges of the two Koreas are illustrated as a ‘long-long journey’:

The reasons of these problems may be found with the unreasonable way of operating in a single channel; the relative superiority of the South, based on its economic superiority; **and the lack of exchange experience**. ... In addition to the

fact **that civilians from the two Koreas met in their homeland for the first time in 46 years** since the division of the Korean Peninsula, the second Seoul forum is quite meaningful in that they were able to share their positions on women's roles and tasks for reunification. (Jung Ah Yoon, “‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

Per contra, from 1998, in terms of aid, the interchange between the two countries has improved in scale and methods. The aid to North Korea was provided not by the government, but by civil organizations. SNU Newspaper highlights that when providing this kind of aids, it is important to focus on the compatriots in North Korea. It is essential to “restore faith” between the people of two Koreas, with making the aid transparent. Even more, in 1999, the cultural exchange between the two Koreas expanded. SNU Newspaper describes it as if the “North Korean culture is pouring”. Moreover, it is explained as if this cultural exchange expands the private exchanges, and ends up in the “reunification mood utmost.”

What's noteworthy is **that the scale of activity of the civil organization**, including private-aid organization and the religious organizations, such as *Good Neighbors*, *World Vision*, and *JTS*, **has been expanded**. ... “**Private aid** to North Korea is a humanitarian relief effort, but it is also **a way to restore faith** between compatriots through **autonomous exchanges**” (Eun Ah Lee, “Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

As the articles above show, when the private and nongovernmental exchanges occur, the 'autonomous' and 'transparent' exchanges were claimed.

Whether their respective judgments are right or wrong, food aid to the North still carries a **significant meaning in inter-Korean exchanges**. ... It is **predicted** that there will be more opportunities of contact between Inter-Koreans and that the **exchange of goods will be expanded significantly**. ... At this point, our task will be to ensure that relief supplies to the North **are distributed transparently to provide practical help** to North Korean compatriots and to induce the North's self-



rescue efforts in the long run. (Eun Ah Lee, “Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

Economic Exchange and Cooperation such as “driving the herd of cattle”, and Visiting Mount Kumkang, **fosters the “reunification-mood” to the utmost**. What kind of **influence** would the current Inter-Korean **exchange in the private economy** have to our national reunification, with the support of the Sunshine Policy? How should we view the changed reunification circumstance, and what should we prepare? We want to **suggest careful answers** in this feature. (“The North Korean Culture is Coming”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

However, the tone of the article was not assertive in 1999, for the introduction of the feature explained the articles as "suggesting careful answers."

### **Lack of Information**

The request for more opened information was followed naturally to the claim for the direct and private exchange. In the academic field, there had been “thirst” for the data. There had always been dissatisfaction with the information of North Korea being limited “as if blind touching elephant.”

There are some places where researchers, including North Korea experts, are **quenching some of the thirst for the lack of the data**. (Academic Department, “Introduction of the Reference Libraries, “North Korean Data Center”, National Assembly Library, and SNU Library”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

With official channels of information on North Korea **blocked**, one can only guess the entire North Korean society “**as if blind touching elephant**” through partial information. (Eun Ah Lee, “Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

This is because we can **only** hear about the lives of North Koreans. (Hye Yoon Kim, “Leisure Life of North Koreans?”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

Even when the two Koreas began to exchange popular culture, the government policy of restricting it was considered as hindering the reunification of Korea. The openness to data in 1996 and 1998 was claiming to the North Korean government. However, in 1999, the discontent was towards the South Korean governments' making limitations to the access to the North Korean culture. The articles claim evidence of the access to North Korean media that the foundation of the German reunification was based on the media.

The government also lacks efforts to actively introduce the North Korean culture. **The Ministry of Unification's refusal to allow North Korean films in theaters limits the chances of the general public to have easy access to North Korean culture.** ... However, there are also many opposing opinions that the watching North Korean TV or listening radio directly, you can develop hostility. Therefore, currently, the discussion of opening up broadcasting is making slow progress. **Yet, the opening of Inter-Korean broadcasting is a matter that cannot be overlooked, given that the opening of broadcasting media has served as the foundation for German reunification.** (Pilsang Lee, "Flooding North Korean Culture, Half Expected, Half Concerned", Daehakshinmoon, March 1, 1999)

#### 1-1-2. Mutual Understanding

The SNU Newspaper accounts for mutual understanding as a critical point of reunification. It is described as the mutual understanding is possible under equal respect by restoring the homogeneity.

#### **Equal Respect**

The SNU Newspaper complains that people are feeling the superiority of South Korea to the North in mind, based on the economic superiority of the South. Reunification is possible only in the context of the equality between two Koreas. Sufficient understanding should be in beforehand.

The reasons of these problems may be found with the unreasonable way of operating in a single channel; **the relative superiority of the South, based on its economic superiority**; and the lack of exchange experience. (Jung Ah Yoon, “‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

The 1998 feature shows "concerns" about the "lack of understanding of North Korea," which means that the economic factors being ahead of understanding North Korea can hinder the reunification.

However, simply considering North Korean compatriots as a target of relief may undermine the perception that **the two Koreas are the subjects of equal reunification**. ... Choi Seung Je, an interviewer at the Patriot Youth Spearhead, said, **casting concerned eye**, "We acknowledge that North Korean society is difficult, but putting economic aid ahead, **with a lack of general understanding of North Korean society**, could act as an anti-reunification factor." (Eun Ah Lee, “Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

### **Homogeneity**

There were concerns in SNU Newspaper about losing homogeneity between the people of two Koreas. In 1996, a reporter of SNU Newspaper even described the homogeneity as a “prerequisite.” The introduction of the feature referred to the alienation of the two Korea as one of the biggest problems.

One of the **biggest problems** about the inter-korean reunification is that **sense of alienation** between the two society is deepening. Recently, academic exchanges focusing on North Korean studies and language are underway around several organizations. In this respect, this feature tries to examine future tasks by looking at the current research situation on North Korea and the academic status of Inter-Korea. (“Trend of North Korean Studies and Inter-Korean Academic Exchange”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 9, 1996)

Inter-Korean academic exchanges are building their own achievements in terms of exchanges and cooperation, **a prerequisite for the natural and difficult task of**

**restoring homogeneity of the people.** (Jung-Ah Yoon, “‘A Long Long Journey’ to an Academic Performance”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 16, 1996)

However, in 1999, it seems that the homogeneity has not been restored between the two Koreas. They try to recognize the “differentness” between the two Koreas. The articles use the word “they” to describe North Korea by separating “them” from us. Even more, the articles start to admit the differentials and the heterogeneous between the two Koreas.

In accordance with the Kim Dae-jung government actively pushing the Inter-Korean cultural exchange policy, the North Korean culture is being imported one by one, and is coming to us. To cast away the prejudice against North Korean culture and go to “**coexistence**” in recognition of “**differentness**”, we should examine the North's art and pop culture multilaterally, have prospect in the future cultural exchanges. (“The North Korean Culture is Coming”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

What cultural life do **they** usually do? ...This is because we can **only** hear about the lives of North Koreans. ... There is no concept of 'bestseller' like **us**. ... The culture of North Koreans contains socialist contents in **their** ethnic form. ... Various popular cultures are becoming self-sustaining. However, **our view is too slow to keep up with the pace of change in North Korea.** (Hye Yoon Kim, “Leisure Life of North Koreans?”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

North Korean culture has been **pouring** lately...**However**, the North Korean culture appears to be failing to win the favor and understanding of the general public. This is because North Korean culture has a **heterogeneous cultural system**, which does not suit **our** emotions. In the case of the movies, which were already screened, **viewers turned away from the movies** because of there were not much entertainment, and the level of the movies were low. (Pilsang Lee, “Flooding North Korean Culture, Half Expected, Half Concerned”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

### 1-1-3. Evaluation of the Plans

#### **Evaluation of the Government Policies**

The SNU Newspaper is more in favor of the Kim Dae-Jung administrative policy towards North Korea. The policies before, are depicted as 'indecisive,' and having "limitation." The Kim Dae-Jung Policy is described as a "turning point" which "attracts more attention," with "noticeable" and "eye-catching" points. Nevertheless, it still points out that there should be more effort on the cultural exchanges. Furthermore, the 1998 articles criticize that there is no big transition in military policies.

Until now, aid for North Korea has been **indecisive** according to the political positions of the Inter-Korea. (Eun Ah Lee, "Food Aid for North Korea and Reunification - Needs to Transparently Distribute the Initiating Support of Private Organizations", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

Kim Dae-jung administration's North Korea policy is known to be **putting a distinction with the previous regimes**. ... **The point that attracts the most attention** is the government's attitude toward Inter-Korean economic cooperation. ... The revitalization of Inter-Korean economic cooperation based on the principle of separation of politics and economy **is the most tangible outcome of the present administration's North Korea policy**. ... Often referred to as the "Sunshine Policy," the rather **distorted name**, however, **has not changed much in military terms**. In other words, it is to maintain a firm security posture under the keynote of "a parallel promotion of security and cooperation." ... **Another noticeable point** is that more Inter-Korean exchanges through official channels have become more transparent than in the past when they were conducted through non-advanced organizations. ... **The present administration's North Korea policy is seen as a step forward** from previous policies of abusing the divided status while setting only the remarkable goal of reunification. (Jiwoo Song, "Change of Government's Policy toward North Korea – North Korea Policy, Start with Feasible Part", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

Reunification movement since 1998, **was a new turning point with the emergence of Kim Dae-jung government**. ... Of course, the political situation in which **hard-line approach to North Korea still exists, the limitations** of thinking of the U.S. as a peacemaker or a balance of power in Northeast Asia, and the situation in which the National Security Law is still in operation are still **criticized**

by existing reunification activist organizations. The Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation (KCRC) is an organization standing in the middle of this turning point. This organization is **eye-catching** because totally different organizations, both bureaucrats and private citizens, and previously called conservatives and progressives, gathered as a massive organization under the common banner of “reconciliation, exchange and cooperation”. ... However, there is still a **limit** to the agreements made in the KCRC being a more comprehensive agreement between conservatives and progressives. The KCRC, being a legal organization, is in a circumstance, which cannot approve the two important reunification organizations, Pan-Korean Alliance for Reunification and South Korean Federation of University Students Councils (*Hanchonnyon*), are classified as the group as one that benefits the enemy. National Alliance for Democracy Reunification of Korea is also putting off joining until a certain measure about the **National Security Law** issue is prepared. (Yong No Yoon “Change of Reunification Movement - Conservative and Progressive Meet Together”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

**The government also lacks efforts** to actively introduce the North Korean culture. The Ministry of Unification's refusal to allow North Korean films in theaters limits the chances of the general public to have easy access to North Korean culture. (Pilsang Lee, “Flooding North Korean Culture, Half Expected, Half Concerned”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 1, 1999)

### **Realistic Methods**

In the discussion of the reunification mood, SNU Newspaper seeks realistic and practical methods. Critics are made about ‘far’ and ‘complex’ discussions. Having minimum goals, which have practical methods, is described somewhat better to achieve reunification.

Leaving behind the **"far" and "complex" discussion** about reunification, it seems to be a more wait-and-see event to see how the **current efforts to talk together and cooperation will result**. (Yong No Yoon “Change of Reunification Movement - Conservative and Progressive Meet Together”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1998)

It is more appropriate to see these the various features of North Korea policy, as a part of the overall framework. That is to set minimum-level goals and adopt the most **realistic methods** to achieve them. (Jiwoo Song, “Change of Government’s Policy toward North Korea – North Korea Policy, Start with Feasible Part”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 30, 1999)

Because of the Sunshine Policy, the atmosphere towards North Korea and reunification has changed. The SNU Newspaper understands that the directions of the reunification movement are changing. Based on the current situation, the SNU Newspaper tries to suggest the future direction of the inter-Korean relationship. They want to prepare for the upcoming future, to preserve this 'reunification-mood' not to disappear and act as the stepping stone to the reunification. As they wanted a careful approach, the tone of the articles is practical. The articles suggest to find out what can be done at this moment.

The feature of 1999, "The North Korean Culture is Coming," is introducing that South Korea is starting to import North Korean culture as Kim DaeJung's Regime actively promotes inter-Korea cultural exchange. The feature suggests examining North Korean art and popular culture to get rid of the bias and walk along with them. Two of the articles are written by experts, which suggests to admit, exchange the culture, and coexist with it. At the same time, they both concern about proper regulation.

There are three articles of the student reporters in this feature. "From Inimicry to Popularity," "Leisure Life of North Koreans?", and "Flooding North Korean Culture, Half Expected, Half Concerned." The first two articles, which are written by the same reporter, show interest in the reality of the culture in North Korea, while the last article focuses more on the reaction in South Korea.

## The Labor Discourse in SNU Newspaper

### 1-2. The Feature Article about “Labor”

This chapter tries to figure out how the SNU Newspaper describes the “Labor” in the features. More articles were issued, especially after the 1997 financial crisis. **Table 2** details the features of “Labor” between 1996 and 1999.

**Table 2** Feature Articles about "Labor"

Special Feature	
A Year of KCTU and the Prospects of Labor Relation	
1996.11.4	1. Looking back the past year of KCTU
	2. Evaluation of KCTU Reform Committee – Failed to Reach National Consensus ‘Start Reform’ - Just Patch Up...Incur Its Own Limp
General Strike Opening Dawn 1997	
1997.3.3	1. Progress and Evaluation of General Strike - Labor's Political Response Against Retrogressive Labor Law Reform – Concentrating Capacity, Following Leadership Guidelines...Main Task is Aligning Organization, Such as Forming Industrial Union
	2. Meaning of General Strike in Korean Society – Labor Movement, The Starting Point of Escaping Defensive Phase – Recognizing Necessity of Political Empowerment of the Labor
	3. About Tactics of KCTU General Strike – ‘Victory of Flexible Tactic’... Worries about Sinking by Economic Logic
	4. Response of Student Movement – Insufficient Organizational Response, Demand of Public Solidarity
	5. A Field Worker – <i>Munhwa</i> Broadcasting Union Member Lee Chae-Hoon – From a ‘University Student Who Never Demonstrated’ to the ‘Zealous Union Member’
The Introduction of the Feature	
What Should Unemployed Youth Do	
1998.9.21	Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement – Act to Publicize Unemployment Problem and to Change Recognition



	Meaning of Unemployed Youth Movement – "Youth's Own Labor, Needs to Unite for Survival"
	An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey – Students, Consider Unemployment as Personal Problem- Recognizing Severity of Overall Unemployment, Optimizing One's Chance of Employment...Needs to Induce the Perception Change
	Activities of "Council of Hyundai Electronics' New Employee"– Taken Jobs, Even Take Legal Action...
	Analysis of Countermeasure for Well-Educated-Unemployed - Countermeasure for Well-Educated-Unemployed, Temporary Results Only
	Problems of Unemployed Youth Movement – Only Obvious Arguments without reflecting the Public Demands and Dissatisfactions
	Prospects of Unemployed Youth Movement – Essential of Indepth-Concern -Necessity of Organization in Long Term...Requires Effort to Earn Students' Agreement
Talking About Six Million Temporary Workers	
1998.11.2	Unfair Labor Practice by Companies Prevail, Requires Government Policy Such as Legislation of Special Act on Employment Stability
	Current Situation and Problems of Temporary Worker Employment – Legal Act to Achieve the Labor Right is Desperate
	Voice of the Field – Discrimination and Economic Crisis, Temporary Workers Cry Twice
	Solution of Employment Insecurity
	Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization - United we stand, divided we fall. However... - Resolving Enmity Between Workers, Perception Change of Temporary Workers, and Systematic Complement should be solved beforehand
Loneliness of Part-Time Lecturer	
1999.9.20	Actual Condition of Part-Time Lecturer – Future Scholars, Who Cannot Engage in Studying
	Supply and Demand of Faculty – Governments' Expansion of Higher Education Created Problems
	Foreign Universities Guarantee Legal Status
Un-lifted Flag, Industrial Union	
1999.10.11	What is an Industrial Union? Same Industry, Same Union, Same Wage

	Status of Forming the Industrial Union – Laying Groundwork for Transition to Industrial Union – Active Unification Between Unions After Economic Crisis, Have to Overcome Perception of Respective Enterprise Union
	Issues of Forming an Industrial Union- - To a Practical “Class Struggle” Organization
	Visiting the First Industrial Union “Korean Health and Medical Workers’ Union – Efforts to Include the Temporary Workers

Throughout four years, SNU newspaper dealt with twenty-six articles in six features. The first two years featured “labor” once each, the latter two years featured twice. In 1996, KCTU *Minjunochong* (Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, *Jeonguk Minju Nodong Johap Chongyeonmaeng*) was the main topic. In 1997 the General Strike came up; In 1998, two employment issues, the unemployed youth, and the temporary workers became a problem; In 1999, employment is still a problem. More than that, unions start to form as an industrial union. The topics before the economic crisis were about specific events. However, after the crisis, the topics moved on to the social problems of labor.

### 1-2-1. Labor Movement

#### **We, *Uri* and the Student-Labor Solidarity**

As student-labor solidarity was active in the 1980s as a democracy movement (Choi, 1989), it can be found in the SNU Newspaper that the students thought the laborers as “We,” even when the problem was not a part of the student movements, they showed support to the labor movements. As solidarity, the students participated actively

in the mass mobilization. The integration between the student and the labor is being stressed:

Last winter, the defender's torchlight lit in front of Myeongdong Cathedral, caused **us** to say "hope."... **We** opened the dawn of this year, which is the 10th anniversary of the 1987 June Uprising and the Great Worker's Struggle, with the General Strike. (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The General Strike is expected to raise calls for **systematic innovation** in the student movement. It is true that during the General Strike, **students actively participated** in mass mobilizations in rallies by universities. (Sung Moon Lee, "Response of Student Movement", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The SNU Newspaper criticized that the Hanchongnyon did not cover the General Strike as an agenda. This could be implied with the fact that the "not selecting the agenda" was referred to as a limitation.

However, the rally in January 19(Sun), hosted by Hanchongnyon failed to break away from the shackles of blockade ... In addition, the general strike **was not mentioned** in the Hanchongnyon's overall line, which showed Hanchongnyon's **limitations in the mass movement** (Sung Moon Lee, "Response of Student Movement", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

In fact, the PD faction of the student movement of the in 1995, reform of Hanchongnyon ... has **only** been in the form of so-called "fighting bodies." (Sung Moon Lee, "Response of Student Movement", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The tone of the articles about the solidarity between "the student and the labor" change after the 1997 financial crisis. The unemployment issue becomes the main topic of the student movement. Before, the labor issue was "our" problem, which meant the solidarity between labor and students. However, after the 1997 crisis, it becomes an "our"

problem, which transfers the meaning to the labor problem, becoming the problems of the SNU students themselves.

The PD faction of the student movement got a chance to unite in one issue regardless of the political faction through the General Strike, the fact that there were many **voices of reform against Hanchongnyon** in the last student council election, draws attention on whether a **new coalition of student movements** will be created. (Sung Moon Lee, "Response of Student Movement", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

After the economic crisis, the unemployment issue began to become a topic of conversation among university students, and the **student movement** camp came up with a new theme of **youth unemployment movement** from last semester. Although the youth unemployment campaign was carried out without specific research or consideration, it is expected that it will have a significant impact on social structure reform. ... **Youth unemployment, in general, aims to address the problem of unemployed young people entering society, including the meaning of preliminary unemployment, while limiting the scope of the problem to within the university community.** ("What Should Unemployed Youth Do", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

Concerns about unemployment are **spreading not only to field workers but also to universities**, which means that most students are **destined to become unemployed without even having a job**. Moreover, if the labor market becomes extremely flexible like the United States in the future, it is likely that youth unemployment will develop into an overall society problem, as there will always be an anti-unemployment situation and **it will make it difficult for young people to enter the labor market**. (Jae Hyun Kim, "Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement" *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

The interesting thing is that even though the students encounter the unemployment problem themselves, for the issue is relatively new, students do not acknowledge that the issue is crucial. In the beginning, the student movement is more like explaining the seriousness of the issue, not having practical suggestions or solutions.

Based on this circumstance, **the youth unemployment movement has been newly raised by the student movement** camp since last semester. During the first half of the year, student councils of our schools and other universities **publicized concerns about the unemployment** of ordinary students under the name of the **pre-unemployment or youth unemployment movement** (Jae Hyun Kim, “Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement” *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

They are the 1200 job seekers who have become unemployed before being able to work, due to the cancellation of their jobs at Hyundai Electronics, are requiring their jobs against the company. Their response carries significance in that it could be an **example of the youth unemployment movement**. (Jae Hyun Kim, “Activities of <Council of Hyundai Electronics’ New Employee>”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

The necessity of the student movement was claimed to make the movements more systemized,

The youth unemployment movement started from the realization that "we too are the future unemployed, the preliminary unemployed." While many of the existing **student movement** were limited to **posing abstract problems**, the youth unemployment movement is significant in that it sought to seek its own independent domain of individual and student **movement directly in its own reality in its intentions**. (Hye Kyung Kim, “Problems of Unemployed Youth Movement”, September 21, 1998)

The movement develops into the integration with the labor movement. However, the movement is considered only as a part of the overall unemployment movement and is not having its own path.

The youth unemployment movement can be viewed from two perspectives, **on the level of the student movement and on the level of the overall unemployment movement**. ... It can provide the beginning for the student movement and society to unite, which can serve as a **direct basis for the Student-Labor Solidarity**. ... It is widely believed that youth unemployment should be **considered as part of the overall unemployment problem**. ... It is an effective idea to **establish a relationship between the unemployment movement and the youth unemployment movement** that the main goal should be not only to solve the youth unemployment problem, but also to find the basic cause of

unemployment. (Kyung Yong Lee, "Prospects of Unemployed Youth Movement" September 21, 1998)

This is because the labor problems do not end to banding with the workers. The problem becomes a thing that they will encounter in the near future.

It also intends to run summer and winter schools to seek **solidarity of current workers with the students**, which are the future workers. (Jiyeon Huh, "Visiting the First Industrial Union "Korean Health and Medical Workers' Union" *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

### **Demand for Systematization and Solidarity**

Even when the issues and the aim of the labor movement changes, there was always one thing that SNU Newspaper demanded. The systematization of the movements and the unions. With the history of the student movements, SNU Newspaper highlights the importance of organization and systematization regardless of the characteristics of the labor issues.

However, **the organization system**, which has yet to be aligned, failed to make full use of the enthusiasm of the foundation, thus failing to exert the destructive power to obtain the 'surrender' **of capital and the regime**. (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

There was criticism of the KCTU's tactics, which considered the General Strike's driving force and **public opinion** utmost, was too 'idealistic'. However, they should be thoroughly contemplated in the fact that it was in line with the **organizational and political challenges** which have been continuously demanded to the KCTU. (Sung Moon Lee, "About Tactics of KCTU General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The General Strike is expected to raise calls for **systematic innovation** in the student movement. It is true that during the General Strike, **students actively participated** in mass mobilizations in rallies by universities. (Sung Moon Lee, "Response of Student Movement", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

the “Girls' Student Council” **tried to organize them** for fundamental countermeasures, judging that the job openings of female students, relatively disadvantaged, have narrowed. (Jae Hyun Kim, “Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement” *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

The youth unemployment movement, which was unfamiliar issue, cannot but focus on advertising the movement to the students, and **recognized that more research about the movement is needed** (Hye Kyung Kim, “An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey” September 21, 1998)

**For this reason, the movement has not been able to unite, despite having to assert itself in one voice.** ... It is pointed out that it is difficult to solve fundamental problems with individual movements. ... **Before blaming individuals** for their lack of awareness, it would be difficult to break out of this level unless the **content and goals of the movement is formed to organize the youth unemployment**, while defining youth unemployment in terms of overall unemployment. (Hye Kyung Kim, “Problems of Unemployed Youth Movement”, September 21, 1998)

Even in issues of temporary workers, the 1998 article picks "lack of organization" as the main problem.

Currently, temporary workers in Korea are in serious job insecurity, but their rights are not properly guaranteed because there **is no organization to represent** their interests. ... The importance **of organizing temporary workers** is being highlighted by the economic crisis. (Hyung Kyu Kim, “Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

Despite this perception by the labor community, however, **there are very few cases where temporary workers have actually been organized.** ... **only 8,000 temporary workers have joined the union.** The reason for this lack of organization is that **regular workers oppose the temporary workers' joining labor unions.** Even among the same workers, the repetition of regular and temporary workers is so severe that it is difficult for workers to unite, which in turn makes it easier to control the labor for the government and management. ... But a more realistic problem is that most of the temporary workers, the main players in the systematization, **have yet to recognize the legitimacy of forming a union.** In the end, the **systematization of temporary workers** ... requires **active efforts by full-time workers to embrace temporary workers.** (Hyung Kyu Kim, “Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization”, *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

In 1999, the demand for the organizations brought up the necessity of industrial union. The demand was not only to construct a simple labor union but an industrial union to cover overall companies in the same industry.

Meanwhile, many point out that the **solidarity of part-time lecturers is necessary**, for the economic difficulties, unstable status and lack of time to devote themselves to research. ... “But we **need an organization that represents part-time lecturers** to come up with a system that guarantees their rights and interests”, he said. However, even this is not an easy problem. ... because they are not yet in the position of an independent researcher, so it is inevitable to **be cautious** in schools and under current professors. (Sung Hyun Park, “Actual Condition of Part-Time Lecturer”, *Daehakshinmoon*, September 20, 1999)

Since the economic crisis, limits of the labor unions' ability to engage in activities and negotiations has been revealed. In order to overcome this problem, the need for the **construction of industrial unions** is being emphasized, but the pace of progress is slow. Therefore, this feature is planned to look through the issues and the current status of industrial unions. (Un-lifted Flag, Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

People expected the industrial union to solve the problems that the workers of small companies and temporary workers cannot join the labor union. After forming the unions, workers started to claim their labor rights.

Industrial union refer to labor unions that bind workers engaged in the same industry across the country, unlike those established on a business-to-business basis. ... **Even if the workplace is small or even if they are temporary workers**, working in the same industry will **allow to join the union**, which can raise the current rate of the labor unions in the 10 percent to a high range, and strengthen the influence of labor unions. Therefore, **it will be able to effectively respond to labor policies of the government and employers**. ... Meanwhile, different levels of wages and collective agreements will be adjusted for different workplaces belonging to industrial unions, which will **result in a similar level of labor conditions being created “Same Labor, Same Wage” over the long term**. (Sung Joo Yoo, “What is an Industrial Union? Same Industry, Same Union, Same Wage”, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)



SNU Newspaper explained that the change to the industrial union was based on the neo-liberalism and the economic crisis.

It is a sign that construction of "**industrial unions**" is underway in the labor movement camp. ... Such a rush of industrial unions is due to a **sense of crisis over the existing labor union movement**. The rate of union organization continued to decline from 19.8 percent in 1989, falling to 12.6 percent in 1998, and a combination of an overall restructuring caused by the IMF has also hurt large-scale federations. ... This is because the **neo-liberalistic economic order** has been established, resulting in a fundamental shift in the labor market structure and production system. ... How to resolve **conflicts and interests between each business** is a task that needs to be solved continuously. ... Change of perception is needed that the industrial union is not a place that aims a wage struggle for its own business, but a **level of struggle organization that gives voice to the entire working class**. (Sung Joo Yoo, "Status of Forming the Industrial Union", *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

Despite the legitimacy of the industrial union, ... **The voices of labor are not in accord**. As the construction of industrial unions is a difficult issue to deal with, **we** should consider the tasks of the labor movement from the construction process to the present. ... The biggest issue is **what to put at the center of the current industrial union construction**. ... This means **to be wary** of the mistake of returning all problem solutions to the construction of industrial unions. (Kyung Yong Lee, Issues of Forming an Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

The issue of how to cover temporary workers, or unorganized workers at small businesses is also at issue. **The problem of organizing workers, which has been fragmented since the economic crisis, is a necessary condition to reverse the dynamics between labor and management**. However, the workers seem to recognize it as a matter of fact, but it is hard to accept it in reality. (Kyung Yong Lee, Issues of Forming an Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

**Of course, industrial unions cannot be the solution to all the problems the labor unions have**. This is because the concentration of power in the central has weakened in the field more than the labor unions in each company. ... **The industrial union currently offered as the only answer**, and our expectations on the health and medical unions are bound to be high. (Jiyeon Huh, "Visiting the First Industrial Union "Korean Health and Medical Workers' Union" *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

## 1-2-2. Struggle of the Workers

The workers struggled from the two main actors: The government and the companies. The SNU Newspaper depicts itself as a “we” with the laborers, while the government policies and the companies are illustrated as “them” to fight with. The articles criticize that governments give advantages to companies when lawmaking.

This General Strike is clearly a **"fight" between winning and losing**. Beyond victory and defeat, however, the strike was clearly a school of workers and the start of a new decade in which everyone living in the land was greeted with cynicism and "hope." (Jin Seon Park, “Progress and Assessment of General Strike”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

However, the Committee on Reform of Labor Relations was consistent in complying with the demand for capital to be flexible in the labor market, which eventually turned into nothing after numerous ups and downs. **On top of that, the government rushed through a revised bill**, which has fallen behind that of members of the public interest committee, at the National Assembly. The contents of the revised labor law, such as the postponement of the enforcement of multiple unions, instability of the right to unite government officials and teachers, a ban on salary support for full-time union members, and the introduction of the modified work hours and lay-off system, **which were entirely in favor of the management**. (Jin Seon Park, “Progress and Assessment of General Strike”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

### **Against the Government**

The objection towards the government intensifies after the student unemployment issues. There is a demand for change labor policies. After the 1997 crisis, more requires are related to unemployment and temporary laborers. The 'organized system' and the 'public opinion' were expected to give pressure to the government.

But the General Strike was not only a success. The KCTU's multi-stage search for strike tactics succeeded in maintaining **favorable public opinion** and **gradually pressuring the government** to get the primary “concessions”. However, **the organization system**, which has yet to be aligned, failed to make full use of the

enthusiasm of the foundation, thus failing to exert the destructive power to obtain the 'surrender' of **capital and the regime**. (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

Critics say media-conscious tactical slogans such as "National Economic Considerations" **could separate the struggle against the regime from the struggle against capital**, thereby allowing labor unions to engage in "saving our company" and "the national economy, the national competitiveness-saving ideology"... In fact, the general strike is different in many ways from the previous strike, in which the labor circle simply **fought against the employers and the government** to secure the right to survival of their acquaintances. **This is because a disruptive law revision that disregards democratic procedures has created a nationwide backlash and some clauses**, such as the layoff system, have even sent a sense of crisis to the conservative middle class, giving a boost to the **legitimacy of the general strike**. (Sung Moon Lee, "About Tactics of KCTU General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

In 1997, the issue to oppose the government was because of the general strike.

The 1998 protest was to stop the unemployment issue and the temporary worker issue.

Claiming these issues still demanded the legal changes.

What to Do the Youth Unemployment Movement Should Do? (Survey)  
Continuing calls for the government to come up with measures 25.8 percent  
(Hye Kyung Kim, "An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey" September 21, 1998)

On August 4, **the government announced** "A Measure to Deal with the Well-Educated-Unemployed". However, many point out that this is just an **ineffective stopgap measure like other unemployment measures**. ... However, the prevailing opinion is that the measures are **only a stopgap measure** as they are short-term measures that allow employed university graduates to work only for six months. ... Intern workers employed by corporations are also required to do chores on a small salary, but they **cannot be protected by labor unions** and others because they are not regular employees. In addition, the possibility of being hired after the end of the internship period has been low, **failing to go beyond short-term measures**. ... With those **who have not benefited from the government measures accumulating** year after year, and the beneficiaries are bound to be unemployed again, **the future of youth unemployment waiting for government measures is grim**. (Kyung Yong Lee, "Analysis of Countermeasure for Well-Educated-Unemployed", September 21, 1998)

However, it is true that such a **legalization struggle or an anti-government protest** has limitations that, if appropriate, can only be passive to **tie public complaints and demands together**. Therefore, it is necessary to make the youth unemployment issue **public** by starting with such a project, while seeking a more offensive way from a long-term perspective. (Kyung Yong Lee, "Prospects of Unemployed Youth Movement" September 21, 1998)

The number (of the temporary workers) fluctuates greatly not only because the overall form of **employment in the nation is not stable**, but also because **the labor market is becoming more flexible** in the wake of the recent economic crisis. (Jinwoo Seo, "Unfair Labor Practice by Companies Prevail, Requires Government Policy Such as Legislation of Special Act on Employment Stability", November 2, 1998)

However, the number of daily employees has increased despite the decrease in temporary workers due to **the government's recent expansion of public work projects**, which requires efforts to stabilize employment and improve working conditions for them. ... Also, **the government's failure to recognize the problems** of irregular workers, who account for about 50 percent of the nation's workforce, has delayed the establishment of the special law on job security and various social security systems. ... In other words, it is not necessary to create a trouble **by trying to make organization for the temporary workers** who are wary of the government and management at a time when even regular workers are unable to keep their jobs. (Hyung Kyu Kim, "Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

In the early 1980s, the **government tried to ease overcrowding in the Seoul metropolitan area and increase the finances of private universities**. ... has been implementing graduate school programs. ... has contributed to the over-cultivation of high-quality human resource. The number of graduates has increased dramatically as a result of... this led to a subsequent influx of Ph.D.-level and higher-level personnel. (Sung Joo Yoo, "Supply and Demand of Faculty", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 20, 1999)

### **Against the Companies**

SNU newspaper raises discontent, especially when the government policies side with the employers.

The contents of the revised labor law, such as the postponement of the enforcement of multiple unions, instability of the right to unite government officials and

teachers, a ban on salary support for full-time union members, and the introduction of the modified work hours and lay-off system, **which were entirely in favor of the management.** (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

Other issues are unemployment and the temporary workers after the 1997 financial crisis. Hyundai Electronic's canceling the employment of 1200 job seekers ignited anger to companies and started the labors think of achieving their rights and interests.

They are the 1200 job seekers who have become unemployed before being able to work, due to the cancellation of their jobs at Hyundai Electronics, are requiring their jobs against the company. Their response carries significance in that it could be an **example of the youth unemployment movement.** ... Candidate of employment, turning into the unemployed, at a moment, formed a council to resolve the problems of promoting the recruitment of new employees at Hyundai and to denying **Hyundai Electronics' unilateral employment** revocation reasonably. ... They **couldn't get any answers from the company.** ... But here, he had to return **after being denied a meeting with the person in charge.** ... Nevertheless, the Council of Hyundai Electronics' New Employee has great significance. "Our primary goal is to join Hyundai Electronics, but if we win this lawsuit, **we will be able to prevent irresponsible behavior by other companies** preparing to cancel the employment to the waiting order," said Lee Seung-koo, head of the Chungcheong Province office. (Jae Hyun Kim, "Activities of <Council of Hyundai Electronics' New Employee>", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

The increase in the number of temporary workers is problematic **when companies exploit the reality that they are not legally guaranteed labor rights.** Thus, companies often employ with **expedient** of continuously hiring part-time workers through re-signing. ... A bigger problem is the 'interim' issue of workers dispatched under contract relations between employers and businesses. (Jinwoo Seo, "Unfair Labor Practice by Companies Prevail, Requires Government Policy Such as Legislation of Special Act on Employment Stability", November 2, 1998)

Another major stumbling block is **that companies** are wary the temporary workers' organizing. (Hyung Kyu Kim, "Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

## 1-2-3. Ways to Solve Problems

### Personal Matters

In 1998, students felt like the unemployment problem as their personal matter and personal failure.

“The National Association for Graduation Preparation” tried to solve unemployment **realistically, but it was the limit to keeping unemployment a personal matter.** (Jae Hyun Kim, “Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement” *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

It can also be attributed to the large tendency to feel the seriousness of unemployment, but to think that **the problem of employment can only be solved at the individual level.** (Hye Kyung Kim, “An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey” September 21, 1998)

No one admits themselves to be unemployed, and the reality is that they are working to cultivate **their "ability" by replacing the unemployment problem with an individual problem rather than a social one.** (Kyung Yong Lee, “Prospects of Unemployed Youth Movement” September 21, 1998)

### Realistic Methods

After the 1997 financial crisis, labor problems became "our" problem. Students claimed realistic, practical, and specific methods to solve labor problems.

“The National Association for Graduation Preparation” tried to solve unemployment **realistically, but it was the limit to keeping unemployment a personal matter.** (Jae Hyun Kim, “Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement” *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

According to the results of the survey, many students feel the issue of youth unemployed, but are not interested in it, **for judging is difficult to get practical help.** (Hye Kyung Kim, “An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey” September 21, 1998)

In some cases, **it failed to produce specific demands on realistic issues** due to hasty progress without sufficient consideration by the movements. (Jae Hyun Kim, “Acts of Unemployed Youth Movement” *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

What to Do the Youth Unemployment Movement Should Do? (Survey)  
38.5 percent of activities that can provide practical help, such as job fairs.  
(Hye Kyung Kim, "An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey" September 21, 1998)

However, there was criticism that the actual practice of the students was low.

As for their chances of employment, 87.2 percent are optimistic. ...**but the actual percentage of people preparing to get a job was much lower than it was** otherwise. ...on the whole, our students seem to be optimistic about their chances of employment, **while practical preparation seem rather low in comparison.** (Hye Kyung Kim, "An Analysis of Employment Recognition Survey" September 21, 1998)

On August 4, **the government announced** "A Measure to Deal with the Well-Educated-Unemployed". However, many point out that this is just an **ineffective stopgap measure like other unemployment measures.** (Kyung Yong Lee, "Analysis of Countermeasure for Well-Educated-Unemployed", September 21, 1998)

There were also critics to unemployment movements that the suggestions were too abstract.

The youth unemployment movement started from the realization that "we too are the future unemployed, the preliminary unemployed." While many of the existing **student movement** were limited to **posing abstract problems**, the youth unemployment movement is significant in that it sought to seek its own independent domain of individual and student **movement directly in its own reality in its intentions.** (Hye Kyung Kim, "Problems of Unemployed Youth Movement", September 21, 1998)

## **Public Opinions**

The 'public opinion' was always an important matter in the labor issue. The SNU newspaper explained the labor issue as a national problem; it was illustrated as a problem for "everyone living on this land."

**We opened the dawn of this year, which is the 10th anniversary of the 1987 June Uprising and the Great Worker's Struggle, with the General Strike. ... The**

issue of revising labor laws was **the biggest social issue** for the last year. ... At the same time, the strike carried out in the form of a **popular movement** for transformation, and the KCTU provided a turning point for the progressive movement, which had been in a defensive phase. ... But the General Strike was not only a success. The KCTU's multi-stage search for strike tactics succeeded in maintaining **favorable public opinion** and **gradually pressuring the government** to get the primary "concessions". (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The majority of the media outlets praised the KCTU's tactics shown in the last **General Strike**, saying that it has **taken the lead in public opinion** through flexible tactics **with the public**, breaking away from the hard-line tactics the labor movement has taken so far. (Sung Moon Lee, "About Tactics of KCTU General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

This General Strike is clearly a "fight" between winning and losing. Beyond victory and defeat, however, the strike was clearly a school of workers and the start of a new decade in which **everyone living on this land** was greeted with cynicism and "hope." (Jin Seon Park, "Progress and Assessment of General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

The majority of the media outlets praised the KCTU's tactics shown in the last **General Strike**, saying that it has **taken the lead in public opinion** through flexible tactics **with the public**, breaking away from the hard-line tactics the labor movement has taken so far ... There was criticism of the KCTU's tactics, which considered the General Strike's driving force and **public opinion** utmost, was too 'idealistic'. However, they should be thoroughly contemplated in the fact that it was in line with the **organizational and political challenges** which have been continuously demanded to the KCTU. (Sung Moon Lee, "About Tactics of KCTU General Strike", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 3, 1997)

But in the process of shaping the actual movement, the youth unemployment movement ... Many critics say that the measure was raised as a means to highlight the overall unemployment movement. After all, **it was difficult to organize the public** because it failed to grasp the relationship between unemployment and youth unemployment as legitimate and mechanical, and also failed to grasp the demands and complaints of university students who are the main actors of the movement. (Hye Kyung Kim, "Problems of Unemployed Youth Movement", September 21, 1998)

However, it is true that such a **legalization struggle or an anti-government protest** has limitations that, if appropriate, can only be passive to **tie public complaints and demands together**. Therefore, it is necessary to make the youth



unemployment issue **public** by starting with such a project, while seeking a more offensive way from a long-term perspective. (Kyung Yong Lee, "Prospects of Unemployed Youth Movement" September 21, 1998)

**Most people recognize that non-regular workers have many jobs that usually perform simple tasks.** In fact, however, non-regular workers account for a higher percentage of jobs with more industrial accidents, such as heavy industries and construction, than those with less professionalism. (Jungwon Min, "Voice of the Field – Discrimination and Economic Crisis, Temporary Workers Cry Twice", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

## **Rights and Interests**

One of the most significant changes in the agenda after the 1997 crisis was about the "labor rights and interests."

On August 4, **the government announced** "A Measure to Deal with the Well-Educated-Unemployed". However, many point out that this is just an **ineffective stopgap measure like other unemployment measures.** ... However, the prevailing opinion is that the measures are **only a stopgap measure** as they are short-term measures that allow employed university graduates to work only for six months. ... Intern workers employed by corporations are also required to do chores on a small salary, but they **cannot be protected by labor unions** and others because they are not regular employees. In addition, the possibility of being hired after the end of the internship period has been low, **failing to go beyond short-term measures.** ... With those **who have not benefited from the government measures accumulating** year after year, and the beneficiaries are bound to be unemployed again, **the future of youth unemployment waiting for government measures is grim.** ... In other words, it is an approach in terms of social reform **to guarantee young people's right to work.** (Kyung Yong Lee, "Analysis of Countermeasure for Well-Educated-Unemployed", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 21, 1998)

The number of temporary workers, which has been on a steady rise, is heading toward 6 million, or nearly half of the total workforce. They are **left defenseless** against the tyranny of companies such as wage arrears in poor workplaces, and are forced to the streets without countermeasures in severe cases. Some in society are suggesting that irregular workers should have the **same "legitimate labor rights"** as regular workers. ("Talking About Six Million Temporary Workers", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 21, 1998)

The 1998 articles explained unfair labor. Notably, the demand for "stabilizing employment" and "improving working conditions" was claimed by the laborers.

However, the number of day laborers has increased despite the decrease in temporary workers due to the government's recent expansion of public work projects, which requires **efforts to stabilize employment and improve working conditions for them.** ... The increase in the number of temporary workers is problematic **when companies exploit the reality that they are not legally guaranteed labor rights.** Thus, companies often employ with **expedient** of continuously hiring part-time workers through re-signing. ... A bigger problem is the 'interim' issue of workers dispatched under contract relations between employers and businesses. (Jinwoo Seo, "Unfair Labor Practice by Companies Prevail, Requires Government Policy Such as Legislation of Special Act on Employment Stability", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

The problem of temporary workers brought up the issue of 'legal guarantees' for labor rights and interests.

The increase in the number of irregular workers is problematic when **companies exploit the reality that they are not legally guaranteed labor rights.** Thus, companies often employ expedient methods of continuously hiring part-time workers through re-signing. ... As such, the sectors in which temporary workers are most discriminated against compared to regular workers are **wages and employee benefits.** ... But a more serious problem is that there are **no devices in place for temporary workers to actually defend their rights and interests,** even though they are at the same disadvantage as above. ... Also, the government's failure to recognize the problems of temporary workers, **who account for about 50 percent of the nation's workforce,** has delayed the establishment of the special law on job security and various social security systems. ... Therefore, to overcome this problem, temporary workers will need a social atmosphere **that is perceived to be subject to the same labor conditions as full-time workers and will need to prepare various legal mechanisms.** (Jinwoo Seo, "Current Situation and Problems of Temporary Worker Employment", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

We can see **how poor their employment conditions are.** ... In addition, most construction companies have gone bankrupt, **resulting unpaid even for a week's wages.** ... In the end, in severe cases, they might be kicked out to the streets. In particular, it is imperative to **establish a social security policy** that considers temporary workers, who are the majority of the poorest in society (Jungwon Min, "Voice of the Field – Discrimination and Economic Crisis, Temporary Workers Cry Twice", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

As referred earlier in the paper, the lack of organization was blamed for the reason for the low labor rights. In 1997, part-time lecturers on the campus were featured as a specific example.

Currently, temporary workers in Korea are in serious job insecurity, but their rights are not properly guaranteed because there **is no organization to represent** their interests. (Hyung Kyu Kim, "Circumstance of Temporary Worker Organization", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 2, 1998)

Part-time lecturers are **systemically "out-of-the-way"** at the university. ...time lecturers, who make up a significant portion of the university's education, are nothing but "day laborer" **without a guarantee of identity**. ... "But we **need an organization that represents part-time lecturers** to come up with a system that guarantees their rights and interests", he said. However, even this is not an easy problem. ... because they are not yet in the position of an independent researcher, so it is inevitable to be cautious in schools and under current professors. (Sung Hyun Park, "Actual Condition of Part-Time Lecturer", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 20, 1999)

The question of time lecturers is certainly not something to be dealt with **only in terms of improving treatment**. This is because Korea's demand-supply policy for human resources is a case of failure. (Sung Joo Yoo, "Supply and Demand of Faculty", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 20, 1999)

Time lecturers are the means of livelihood that they choose "unwillingly" and at least a channel for continuing their studies. However, **Ph.D. recipients in other countries have conditions that allow them to conduct both lectures and research under certain support even before they are hired as professors**, which contrasts with Korea, where many Ph.D. recipients transfer to part-time lecturers. ... The nation's part-time lecturer problem will also be solved only when social system changes follow suit. (Sung Joo Yoo, "Foreign Universities Guarantee Legal Status", *Daehakshinmoon*, September 20, 1999)

The change into industrial unions was also to solve the labor rights issue. Especially, the labor rights for the weak, who were not able to join the labor unions, were highlighted.

Since the economic crisis, limits of the labor unions' ability to engage in activities and negotiations has been revealed. In order to overcome this problem, the need for the **construction of industrial unions** is being emphasized, but the pace of progress is slow. Therefore, this feature is planned to look through the issues and the current status of industrial unions. (Un-lifted Flag, Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

Industrial union refer to labor unions that bind workers engaged in the same industry across the country, unlike those established on a business-to-business basis. ... **Even if the workplace is small or even if they are temporary workers**, working in the same industry will **allow to join the union**, which can raise the current rate of the labor unions in the 10 percent to a high range, and strengthen the influence of labor unions. Therefore, **it will be able to effectively respond to labor policies of the government and employers**. ... Meanwhile, different levels of wages and collective agreements will be adjusted for different workplaces belonging to industrial unions, which will **result in a similar level of labor conditions being created “Same Labor, Same Wage” over the long term**. (Sung Joo Yoo, “What is an Industrial Union? Same Industry, Same Union, Same Wage”, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

Despite the legitimacy of the industrial union, ... **The voices of labor are not in accord**. As the construction of industrial unions is a difficult issue to deal with, we should consider the tasks of the labor movement from the construction process to the present. ... The biggest issue is **what to put at the center of the current industrial union construction**. ... This means **to be wary** of the mistake of returning all problem solutions to the construction of industrial unions. (Kyung Yong Lee, Issues of Forming an Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

The issue of how to cover temporary workers, or unorganized workers at small businesses is also at issue. **The problem of organizing workers, which has been fragmented since the economic crisis, is a necessary condition to reverse the dynamics between labor and management**. However, the workers seem to recognize it as a matter of fact, but it is hard to accept it in reality. (Kyung Yong Lee, Issues of Forming an Industrial Union, *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

**Of course, industrial unions cannot be the solution to all the problems the labor unions have**. This is because the concentration of power in the central has weakened in the field more than the labor unions in each company. ... **The industrial union currently offered as the only answer**, and our expectations on the health and medical unions are bound to be high. (Jiyeon Huh, “Visiting the First Industrial Union “Korean Health and Medical Workers’ Union”” *Daehakshinmoon*, October 11, 1999)

## The Economy Discourse in the SNU Newspaper

### 1-3. The Feature Articles about the Economy

Interestingly, the economy issue was not dealt with by the SNU students in the featured article. The articles were written only by professionals. The reason can be that the other two issues were directly related to the students with the student movements, while the economic issues were not.

**Table 3** Feature Articles about "Economy"

Special Feature	
Chaebol-Oriented Economic Diagnosis in Korea	
1996.3.4	1. Korea's Chaebol - Current Status and Problems - Monopolizing Economic Power and Production Elements, Hindering Democracy in Politics and Economy
	2. Reforming the Chaebol-Oriented Economy and Economic System – Need to Increase Participation and High-Wage to Inspire Working Desire and Business Performance
Joining OECD and Future of Korea	
1996.11.4	Economic Changes and Challenges - Absorbing External Shocks and Accumulating Internal Capabilities
	Prospects of Labor-Management Relations - Peripheralization of Working Class, Bring about Oust of Rights
How to view neo-liberalism	
1997.11.10	1. Neoliberal Logic Development - State Intervention is the Root of Inefficiency
	2. Neoliberalism in the West – Spreading in the Lead of Technological Innovation Even in Left-Wing Rule
	3. Neoliberalism in Korea - No One in Charge of Applying Market Logic
	4. Problems and Alternatives of Neoliberalism - Need to Spread Social Control within Democratic Control.
World Financial Capital and Financial Crisis of Korea	
1998.3.2	Development and Instability of the Financial Market – Cannot be Controlled by the Nation's response

	World Financial Crisis - Europe Right after German Reunification
	Korea's Economic Crisis and Development Process - Financial Investment and Foreign Capital Safety Should be Raised
	Financial Instruments – The Double-Sidedness of Risk Hedging and Big Accident
Is Korean society escaping from the IMF?	
1999.3.29	Discussion – No real escape without 'fundamental structural reform'

### 1-3-1. Introduction of the features

The 1996 feature focuses on the "*chaebol*(conglomerate)" and joining the OECD; the 1997 feature checks the viewpoints of the neo-liberalism; the 1998 and 1999 features are about the financial crisis. Even though the experts wrote the feature articles, the introductions of each feature show the direction the editors want to focus on.

The features before the financial crisis, in 1996, aim more on “us.” The features are suggested to understand the chaebols, for the chaebols’ influence on Korean society and culture. The feature wants to get some suggestions to solve the problems of the chaebols. The features after the financial crisis also expect the experts to give out methods to solve the crisis. In 1997 and 1998, the articles feature the financial crisis and neoliberalism in other countries, to understand the phenomenon happening in Korea.

The chaebol-oriented economic policy, which has continued since the launch of the Mumin government, shows the "**coexistence" between the administration and chaebol**. Also, the clumsy end of the probe into the fund scandal was to disprove the power of the bloated chaebol. The chaebol has a huge influence not only on the economy but also on **society and culture**. In response, the SNU newspaper prepared a feature to look at **the status and problems of chaebol and hear suggestions on how to reform the economic system**. (“Chaebol-Oriented Economic Diagnosis in Korea”, *Daehakshinmoon*, March 4, 1996)

Liberalism, which emerged with the birth of modern society, is spreading worldwide again in the chance of the failure of Keynesianism and the fall of socialism. This feature is planned to suggest how neoliberalism, which regards government intervention as a "**social evil**," is emerging **globally** and what

alternatives are to overcome neoliberalism. ("How to view Neo-Liberalism", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 10, 1997)

The most **talked-about topic in our society** recently is the economic crisis. While Korea's economic conditions, symbolized by the "IMF," has become more uncertain than ever, daily newspapers as well as economic newspapers are posting **daily fluctuations** in exchange rates, interest rates and stock prices on the front page. However, the current collapse of exchange rates and soaring interest rates are not only seen in Korea or East Asia. The process will differ depending on the characteristics of the region, but the Mexican peso tumbled in the early 90s and a financial crisis also occurred in the West. Therefore, Korea's economic crisis needs to be viewed together in the nature and structure of the **global** financial market. ("World Financial Capital and Financial Crisis of Korea", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 2, 1998)

The Korean economy faced a major crisis last year during the IMF era. However, now, being a year later, can a successful escape from the foreign exchange crisis really lead to a real 'exit'? The SNU Newspaper thus prepared a discussion to examine not only economic problems but also the **reform of the operating system throughout our society** and to seek desirable alternatives. ("Is Korean society escaping from the IMF?", *Daehakshinmoon*, March 29, 1999)

The 1996 feature wants to understand the meaning of Korea's joining the OECD to the people in Korea,

While Korea's entry into the OECD, on one hand, is drawing a blueprint for the advancement of advanced countries, on the other hand, they point to challenges for Korea to jump onto the global stage. It will present a look into **the meaning of joining the OECD for us** living in this era. ("Joining OECD and Future of Korea", *Daehakshinmoon*, November 4, 1996)

## V. Analysis

This chapter shows the analysis of the result in chapter IV, in order of labor discourse (section 1), reunification discourse (section 2), and economy discourse (section 3).

### **Analysis of Reunification Discourse**

There were agendas brought up constantly throughout the years, but there were changes in the voices towards North Korea in some issues.

The main goal of the overall issues was definitely "reunification." To achieve the goal, direct and nongovernmental exchange, the openness of information, and mutual understanding were in demand.

The direct exchange, without a third party, such as China, were a prerequisite for mutual understanding. The topics in the feature changed from academic issues in 1996 to food aid in 1998. In 1996, nongovernmental and private exchanges were considered as a "long journey" for not having much of experiences. However, in 1998 and 1999, the exchanges expanded, in diverse sectors such as food aid and cultural exchange.

Mutual understanding with equal respect was considered as a key point of reunification. Therefore, the 1996 feature emphasizes the homogeneity between the two Koreas. However, in 1999, despite the improvement of the relationship after the sunshine policy, the emotional distance grew between the people. North Koreans were considered as "them" instead of "us."



Some parts that have and others have not changed in the reunification discourse of the SNU Newspaper. Four parts have not changed — first, the demand for direct exchange; second, the demand for nongovernmental exchanges; third, the demand for the opening of information; fourth, it is a demand for equal understanding.

It has always been challenging that third parties like China always engaged in direct exchanging. Such a situation was believed to weaken the experience of inter-Korean exchanges. Calls for nongovernmental exchanges continued because, like direct exchanges, they thought it was an opportunity for South Koreans and North Koreans to help and understand each other. Due to the North's closeness, the opening of information for mutual understanding has always been required. Also, all this process was considered possible under an equal understanding of each other.

What is impressive is that there have been significant changes in attitudes and situations on the same issues. Changed issues also have four parts. First, direct exchanges have begun to take place. Second, private and nongovernmental exchanges have also increased. Third, calls for the opening of information continued, before then, if the North's reluctance to disclose information, there was a criticism of the South Korean government's hindering access to the North's broadcasting in 1999. Finally, the nuances of homogeneity recovery have changed a lot. In 1996, recovery was thought to be the priority, but instead recognized to 'them' North Korea in 1999 is to be more active interaction with North Korea, which is different. He should be admitted. The concept of people is seen as trying to find a practical way rather than going ahead.

To sum up, reunification discourse always included equal exchange on the premise of reunification. In particular, mutual understanding, information disclosure, and expansion of private exchanges are said to be important in achieving it. The sunshine policy was praised compared to past policies. There have been many positive changes since then, especially in terms of exchange. On the contrary, however, it was an unexpected result that expectations for a recovery in commonality had been lowered. After all, the agendas of the reunification discourse in SNU Newspaper remain unchanged, but the view on reunification has changed by the relationship status and timeline. However, the low quantity of the features left limitation in the validity of the discourse. **Table 4** summarizes the changed and unchanged parts of the reunification discourse before and after the financial crisis.

**Table 4** Unchanged and Changed Parts about "labor"

<b>Unchanged Parts</b>	<b>Changed Parts</b>
<p><b>demand for direct exchange</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Third parties like China always engaged in direct exchanging</li> <li>• weaken the experience of inter-Korean exchanges</li> </ul> <p><b>demand for nongovernmental exchanges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opportunity for South Koreans and North Koreans to help and understand each other</li> </ul> <p><b>demand for information openness</b></p> <p><b>demand for equal understanding</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People are feeling the superiority of South Korea to the North in mind, based on the economic superiority of the South</li> <li>• Reunification is possible only in the context of the equality between two Koreas</li> </ul>	<p><b>direct exchanges, private and nongovernmental exchanges increased</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1996: Exchanges occurred intermittently in 3<sup>rd</sup> countries, long journey to achieve performance (academic)</li> <li>• 1998: Allow direct delivery without going through China (food aid)</li> </ul> <p><b>calls for the information openness</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before: North's reluctance to information openness (1996, 1998)</li> <li>• After: criticism of the South Korean government's hindering access to the North's broadcasting (1999)</li> </ul> <p><b>the nuances of homogeneity recovery changed</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1996: priority is the recovery of the homogeneity</li> <li>• 1999: recognized North Korea as 'them', admit differences</li> </ul>

## **Analysis of Labor Discourse**

As in reunification discourse, some parts of the labor discourse changed throughout the years, while some did not. Four parts haven't changed in labor discourse: the concept of "*uri* (us)"; the need for systematization and organizations; the struggle against government and corporations; the importance of the public opinion.

To start with, the solidarity between labor and students, it has to be mentioned that the ally did not arise overnight. It was one of the key factors of social movement since the democracy movement. Therefore, the perception that labor problems are not the business of others, but "*uri*" lasted overtime.

Secondly, perhaps because of this "*uri*" spirit, there have also been calls for systematization and organizations. Kim(2007, 17) explains the civil society in Korea has changed from an amorphous civil society to an organized civil society in consequence of neoliberalism after the financial crisis. It may be so, but the articles show that the students have always called for systematizations and organization.

Thirdly, the struggle against the government and businesses stems from the government's support for companies. The features called for a legal change for a better situation.

Lastly, public opinion has always been important in labor discourse. Public opinion could put pressure on the government and businesses. Earning the public opinion was crucial to the labor, which was struggling with the government and business.

The changed part has four issues: the meaning change of "*uri*"; the subject that needs to be organized, the issue of the struggle; the personalization of problems.

Firstly, of course, the spirit of "*uri*" between the labor and the students continued. However, before the financial crisis, "*uri*" was used in the sense of solidarity with workers. On the other hand, after the financial crisis, "*uri*" came to refer to literally "*uri*," students and workers, as the labor problem also became the problems of the students, due to the unemployment.

Secondly, before the financial crisis, the organization was needed for an efficient student-labor movements. However, after the financial crisis, the organization for labor rights was raised. In particular, there were concerns about the rights of underprivileged workers, such as temporary workers and part-time lecturers.

The problem is that students tend to blame these problems of temporary workers and unemployment as it was their own personal problems. This problem is by no means an individual's lack of capacity. It is an issue caused by restructuring and the expansion of non-regular workers due to neoliberalism after the financial crisis. (Kim,2007, 17) **Table 5** summarizes the changed and unchanged parts of the discourse before and after the financial crisis.

**Table 5** the changed and unchanged parts about "reunification"

<b>Unchanged Parts</b>	<b>Changed Parts</b>
<p><b>the concept of "uri (us)"</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• solidarity between labor and students</li> <li>• key factors of social movement since the democracy movement</li> </ul> <p><b>the need for systematization and organizations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “the civil society in Korea has changed from an amorphous civil society to an organized civil society in consequence of neoliberalism after the financial crisis.” Kim(2007, 17)</li> </ul> <p><b>the struggle against government and corporations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the government's support for companies</li> <li>• call for a legal change the importance of the public opinion.</li> <li>• put pressure on the government and businesses</li> </ul>	<p><b>the meaning change of "uri"</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before: the sense of solidarity with workers</li> <li>• After: literally "uri," students and workers (unemployment)</li> </ul> <p><b>the subject that needs to be organized</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1997: for efficient student-labor movements</li> <li>• 1998, 1999: for labor rights and interests (underprivileged workers - temporary workers, part-time lecturers)</li> </ul> <p><b>the issue of the struggle</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1997: Support General Strike</li> <li>• 1998, 1999: temporary workers and unemployment</li> </ul> <p><b>the personalization of problems</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1998: students tend to blame these problems of temporary workers and unemployment for an individual's lack of capacity</li> </ul>

## **Analysis of Economy Discourse**

Unlike the previous issues of reunification and labor, which were actively discussed by the student journalist, there were no feature articles about the economic issues written by the students; the experts wrote all of the featured articles. Even so, the introductions of the articles, which were written by the students, show the purpose of the features.

Before the financial crisis, the feature wants to discuss what meanings specific issues, joining the OECD and the Chaebol problems, have in our life and society. After

the crisis, all the features expect advice from the experts to exit the financial crisis: the implication of the crisis, and the insights we could get from other countries' cases. The trend of globalization due to liberalism after the financial crisis (Kim, 2007, 7) might have affected the interest in other countries' cases.

The features of the SNU Newspaper tends to cover issues that are directly related to the students. The economic issues might not be the firsthand issue for the students. Therefore, the focus of the features tries to relate the issues more to their daily lives. "University Student Solidarity for Labor Human Rights and Economic Democracy" (1997, 6-7) explains that "the economy and labor are inseverable matters." To students, the labor issues were more familiar. Besides, after the 1997 financial crisis, the unemployment issue was severe that the economic issue might have been beyond interest to the students.

## VI. Conclusion

This research aimed to find out the change of the SNU students' discourse before and after the 1997 financial crisis. Based on analyzing the SNU newspaper features, it can be concluded that the financial crisis affected the topic changes, but the basic stance of the discourse was unchanged.

Three categories of feature articles were analyzed in the paper: reunification, labor, and economy. First, the reunification discourse showed a constant demand to achieve reunited Korea. Mutual understanding, access to North Korean information, and expanding private and direct exchange was required. The sunshine policy made positive changes in the requires. However, there has been less thought of taking homogeneity with North Korea for granted.

Second, the labor discourse always had the basis of the “*uri* (we)” feeling between the student and the labor. This *uri* feeling made the government and the companies the opponents, which brought up the importance of structuring organizations and listening to public opinion.

Nevertheless, the neoliberalism after the financial crises made changes in the meaning of “*uri*” and brought up new issues of unemployment, and temporary workers. Third, the economy discourse was different from the other two discourses. For the economy is an issue not directly related to the university students, the featured articles were written only by the experts. The SNU Newspaper editors planned these features to question the behavior of them to exit the problems of the financial crisis.

To sum up, Analysis of the features showed that in the labor and reunification issues, there had been changes in the responses after the 1997 financial crisis, however, there had not been fundamental changes. In economic issues, there were no feature articles about the economic issues written by the students; the experts wrote all of the featured articles.

The results indicate that the student discourse had not changed drastically as expected. This can be concluded that the college newspaper is a source that cannot reflect social issues fully. Also, the social changes started in 1997, but until the 2000s, it still was a transition period. Further research is needed by comparing the results with other media, in a wider time range which could strengthen the identification of the youth discourse of the period.



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## 국문초록

1997년의 외환위기는 한국 사회에 경제적인 변화 뿐만 아니라, 통일과 노동 등의 다양한 분야에서의 변화를 가져왔다. 본 논문은 이러한 시대상이 변화가 대학생의 담론 변화에 어떤 영향을 끼치는지 알아보고자 한다.

대학신문은 학교의 예산을 받아 학생 기자들이 기사를 쓰는 독특한 구조의 신문이다. 즉, 학생들은 자신들의 의견을 표출할 수 있지만, 그 양상을 온전하게 드러내지는 못한다. 그럼에도 불구하고, 대학신문은 그 시기의 학생들이 가지고 있는 문제의식을 반영할 수 있다는 특징을 보인다.

본 논문은 1996년부터 1999년까지의 서울대학교 대학신문 기획기사 중, 노동, 통일, 경제에 관련된 기사를 비판적 담론 분석을 통해 분석하여 다음과 같은 질문에 답하려 하였다. 첫째, 외환위기가 가져온 구조적이고 이념적인 변화가 대학생의 담론에도 영향을 끼치는가. 둘째, 1990년대 말에는 대학신문이 이전과 같이 영향력 있는 매체가 아님에도 불구하고 학생 사회를 반영하였는가.

노동과 통일 관련 기획 기사에서는 학생들의 반응에서 변화가 있긴 했지만, 근본적인 변화를 찾아 볼 수 없었다. 경제 관련 기사는 학생들이 작성한 기사 대신 전문가의 기사만 찾아 볼 수 있었다.

예상한 것과는 다르게, 대학신문을 통해서 학생 담론에서의 급격한 변화를 찾아볼 수 없었다. 이러한 결과로 두가지 결론을 제안해볼 수 있다. 첫째, 대학신문의 특징상 대학신문은 사회 현상을 제대로 반영할 수 없다.

둘째, 1997년 말, 외환위기가 왔음에도 불구하고 2000년대까지는 일종의 과도기적 체제라고 볼 수 있다. 학생 담론을 더욱 효과적으로 이야기하기 위해선, 추후의 연구에서, 그 시기의 다른 매체들 과의 비교와 더 넓은 시기에서의 분석의 필요성을 제기한다.

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**주요어 : 대학신문, 사회 담론, 서울대학교 대학신문, 1997 외환위기,  
대학생, 20대 담론  
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