

A Structural Analysis of News Narratives on Labor Movements in Korea

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At the end of December 1996, the ruling party in Korea passed a new labor law unilaterally. The draft bill was passed during a special session in the absence of opposition opinions. The new measure allows corporations to dismiss employees and is viewed as a ramification of changing global economic conditions. It signifies the end of traditional the job security of workers or lifetime employment, and does not provide a security net. The most important issue is that the government had relatively little communication with civil society about the labor law. That is, it may be argued that the blitzkrieg passage of the law symbolizes the revitalization of authoritarian rule, as the voice of the opposition was not considered. As a result, it may be further argued that systematically distorted communication and mistrust between the government and civil society led to the general strike against the new labor laws.

From a historical perspective, this event has very important implications for the study of civil society in Korea. Unlike all other labor movements that have occurred in Korea, the 1996 general strike lasted over three weeks and drew widespread support from the public. In other words, as Sonn(1997) argues, the 1996 general strike was the most significant political strike in Korean history in that labor organizations were facing favorable conditions under the repression of the government. As O'Donnell and Schmitter(1986) argue, this was a resurrection of civil society.

In this sense, the 1996 general strike was the product of the participation of labor unions and organizations within civil society. This participation encompasses more than just protest against the government at one time. The various historical and political-economic factors that shaped the strike serve to explain the true meaning of this event. Behind the general strike in Korea lie some structural changes to be political and economic landscapes. Specifically, two important political and economic factors were embedded within the cause of the general strike. On the one hand, democratization has led to the expansion of civil society, which, in turn, has enabled labor unions to resist the government's paternal and authoritarian labor policy. On the other hand, economic globalization has imposed constraints on economy and labor policy at a national level. Taken together, these political and economic changes indicate that democratization and globalization have made new political opportunities in the Korean political system.

From this perspective, it is interesting to explore how the media provided outlets for the articulation of under-represented demands such as those expressed by labor unions. More specifically, this paper focuses on how the mainstream and progressive newspapers articulated the interests of marginal civil groups in

different ways. In fact, most of the mainstream media in Korea have tended to ignore or under-represent the marginal group in order to maintain their influence in the political sphere(Han, 1997). In this sense, this paper examines how the crisis of the general strike was represented and interpreted by two newspapers, mainstream and progressive, using the narrative analysis of the symbolic discourse (Alexander, 1992; Alexander & Smith, 1993; Sewell, 1992) and the correspondence analysis of the main actors over time in the news text.

Theoretical Backgrounds

Political Economy of Labor Participation in Korea

In 1993, a military regime was transformed into a civilian government when Kim Young Sam won the presidency. Since then, the Korean government has undertaken extensive political and economic reforms. With democratization based on the civilian regime in Korea, the government began to relax control over society, significantly expanding political landscapes to induce civic organizations. Most remarkable was the explosion of labor unions and new social movement organizations. Prior to this labor movement in Korea had been severely repressed by the government and the corporations.

In addition to democratization, since the early 1990s, increases of capital mobility and the influence of globalization have clearly diminished the political autonomy of Korea. A variety of economic pressures from outside forced the government to accept "globalization logic." Consequently, Korea has opened up its economy to the global economy, but in selective and different

ways(Akyuz, Chang & Kozul-Wright, 1998). Likewise, although the changing international economic environment can restrict the freedom of developing countries to choose and implement policies, the government has some choices when dealing with globalization pressures on its economic policy-making apparatus.

However, the Kim Young Sam government used the discourse of globalization as a new political ideology. It is true that the administration tried to maintain Korea's level of economic development in order to stabilize democracy in Korea. In this vein, national competitiveness became an important political issue. That is, the government tried to promote the competitiveness of national goods and services in global markets. In this context, Korea became a member of the OECD in December 1996. This signified the beginning of neo-liberal reforms in the Korean economy. As such, the government made the new discourse, "international competitiveness first, democracy and distribution later(Sonn, 1997, p.122)." Simply put, the concept of globalization provides a dominating narrative as a symbolic power, replacing immediate need for democratic reform.

Different Interpretations of the Same Event in the Media

Little research exists that is applicable to the different modes of the media(Bright, et al, 1999; Kwak, 1999). Thus, it is necessary to compare how different media actually represent particular events or how they understand the relationship between actors and events. In order to explain the distinction between media types, it will be useful to look at the role of progressive media in representing the interests of the marginal groups. As discussed above, this paper focuses on how the mainstream and progressive

newspapers articulate the interests of the marginal civil groups in different ways.

With the transition to democracy, various groups that had been suppressed under previous authoritarian regimes began to speak their interests. However, the mainstream media did not apparently intend to publicize those discourses in Korea. As Han(1997) argues, "rather than expressing the plurality of citizen's views, the media tended to reign over civil society, manifestly imbued with conservative attitudes on certain national issues of crucial significance." (p.87) The purpose of this behavior is for maintaining their powerful position in a changing social system. As a result, "the media's power was exercised in the name of public opinion while closing down rational discussion"(Han, 1997, p.94), and retaining the Confucian emphasis on order and harmony.

As a strategy for maintaining their power, most of the mainstream media tended to emphasize social hierarchy, and political and economic stability. Furthermore, they worried about the rehabilitation of the labor discourses, arguing that the liberalization of labor policies that enabled the country to achieve rapid economic development, could pose a threat to the nation's competitiveness in a globalized world economy. In this sense, as Steinberg(1997) contends, the Korean mainstream media may not be a forum for rational discussion on the major issues.

In 1988, against the power of the mainstream media, some dissident journalists established an independent newspaper, the *Hankyoreh Daily*. Most of the founders are journalists that were either fired or laid off from the mainstream newspapers because of their anti-governmental attitudes. Thus, this newspaper was grounded on the interests of marginal groups such as labor unions, progressive scholars and the middle class(Han, 2000). According to

Han(2000), “the progressivism of *Hankyoreh* incorporated the socio-political interests of the middle classes(p. 66).”

A Structural Approach to News Narratives

The Narrative Structure as an Interpretative Mode of Events.

In order to explain how different media interpret particular events in civil society, it is useful to combine the discursive code and their narrative structures when analyzing the news texts(Jacobs, 1996b; Alexander, 1992). According to Alexander(1992), “the common code organizing the discourse of civil society may have an analytic stable, and it is made concrete by being elaborated into narrative accounts(p. 297).” Thus, the study of civil society may be studied by focusing on both actors with symbolic codes(Alexander, 1992; Alexander & Smith, 1993) and their relationships to other counter-actors in a narrative(Sewell, 1992).

As with the symbolic code or the discursive structure, Alexander(1992) proposes the use of the binary discourse that operates at three levels: motives, relations and institutions. This supposes that the three discursive structures of actors are embedded, with their social motives, relations and institutions based on the democratic or counter-democratic code. Here, the democratic code legitimizes the actors' discourse to defend civil society. On the contrary, the counter-democratic code justifies the restrictions on civil society. From this perspective, Alexander and Smith(1993) examine a series of crises and political scandals in American history and show the binary discourse has the stable nature across time. Put succinctly, actors on the various political issues may have oppositional interpretations in terms of the binary code as a set of rules for discourse.

It is interesting to note Alexander's concept of the binary discursive structure is dealt with using the identity dimensions of civil society. That is, "members of the polity experience belonging in a series of binary discourses in which they articulate issues of good and evil. Those discourses generate an important, but unstated, dimension of civil society(Alexander, 1992, p. 192)."

In relationships with the discursive structure, narrative structures interpret the events of the world by actors in a various way. It is "a mode of interpreting the world(Jacobs, 1996a, p. 382)." In this sense, it is differentiated from the framing approach. That is, narrative can be considered as "a discursive form through which frames are made concrete(Fine, 1995, p. 134)." In analyzing narratives, there are some important elements that aid in the interpretation of events. According to Steinmetz(1992), "the narrator, the central subject and actors, the form of the plot and its relation to the story, the rules for excluding events from the narration, the turning points, repetitions and filling in, and the explicit or implicit audiences"(p. 501) are all basic elements for constructing narratives.

Using narrative structures, it is possible to interpret events in a way that emphasizes or de-emphasizes their discursive structures. In this sense, narrative is an interpretive process that is constructed in relational settings and time dimensions. This approach can be useful to explain "multiple and changing identities of social institutions within a repertoire of emplotted stories(Somers, 1992, p. 614)."

The Relational Structure among Actors in the News.

As discussed above, using the narrative analysis has strength in understanding social issues by placing them into the news stories that are comprised of actors and texts. However, it does

not explain how the main actors are interrelated with other actors in stories. As a result, it needs to combine other relational methods for examining the structure of narrative in more detail. That is, the relational analysis can be useful in analyzing the relationships between the actors in the news text. As Somers and Gibson(1994) point out, "the relational approach embeds the actor within relationships and stories that shift over time and space and thus precludes categorical stability in action(p. 65)." As such, an analysis of the relational structure in the news text can be useful in complementing the narrative analysis.

Furthermore, this approach can be appropriate in exploring the dual relationships between social issues and the actors, or changing relationships among the actors over time and space. According to Breiger(1974), "the value of a tie between any two individuals is defined as the numbers of groups of which they both are members(p. 181)." In this context, social issues and different points in time or space can be considered as groups. For example, Bearman and Everett(1993) examined the dual structure of social protest, using the groups-to-issues matrix.

Methods

Data

This study describes different Korean newspapers' interpretations of the 1996 general strikes from December 26, 1996 to January 25, 1997. During this time, public attention was paid to the issue of labor participation in Korea. The KCTU(1997) divided

the general strike into the three points in time: the first phase from December 26, 1996 to December 31, 1996, the second phase from January 6, 1997 to January 14, 1997, and the third phase from January 15, 1997 to January 18, 1997. Because these time frames were based on the development and escalation of the general strike, they excluded the resolution phase of the crisis. Thus, these periods were rearranged to observe a beginning, middle and end of news narratives. Based on the KCTU's report(1997), the time period was divided into three plots to examine the changing structure(Jacobs, 1996). The first plot, from December 26, 1996 to January 2, 1997, encompasses the construction of the crisis; the second plot, from January 3, 1997 to January 20, 1997, narrative tensions; the third plot, from January 21, 1997 to January 25, 1997, the movement toward resolution.

Two newspapers were selected for analysis. One is a mainstream newspaper, the *Chosun Ilbo*. The other is a progressive paper, the *Hankyoreh Daily*. Using KINDS(Korean Integrated News Database System), all the articles(621 stories) in the *Hankyoreh Daily*(321 stories) and the *Chosun Ilbo*(291 stories) concerning the 1996 general strike were collected. Data collection was conducted from news stories during December 26, 1996 through January 25, 1997 that had keywords such as “general strike” and “strike.”

Narrative Analysis

The paper analyzes four different aspects of the news narratives about the crisis: the first component is collective narratives. These narratives refer to the specific type of ideological structure that governs individual narratives(Steinmetz, 1992). For example, they involve “political assumptions, ideology, social values, cultural and

racial stereotypes and assumptions as well as specific textual strategies(Parisi, 1998, p. 239).” The second aspect is plot, which is concerned with “the selection, evaluation and attribution of differential status to events(Steinmetz, 1992, p. 497).” Using the plot, the mediated event can be structured by having a beginning, middle and end. The third element is the actors who were portrayed in the narratives. The set of actors is comprised of main and counter actors and is located in set of binary relations(Alexander & Smith, 1993). In this process, the media use various kinds of textual mechanics such as juxtaposition, comparison and contrasting. The fourth is the actors' discursive structure. It identifies how the media, as narrators, use various discourses that influence the way they narrativize media events. Binary discourse that operates at three levels: motives, relations, and institutions, were used to elucidate the relationships between civil society and media discourse.

Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence analysis is a metric method of multidimensional scaling for examining the direct association of the actors with events(Barnett, 1993; LuDovic et al., 1984). Simply, “this makes possible the graphic display of the rows and columns of a categorical data matrix in the same low-dimension coordinate space(Barnett, 1993, p.136).” As a result, both the news actors over time can be represented in the same space. That is, the correspondence analysis “has ability to represent the duality of mutually constituted structures(Mohr, 1998, p. 362).” The data were analyzed using the correspondence analysis from UCINET V(Borgatti et al., 1999).

In order to identify the actors in the news stories, four criteria were established for the selection of the actors: (1) labor

Table 1. List of the Mediated Actors in Study

1	CAP	Employers' Organizations including The Federation of Korean Industries, The Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry, The Korea Employers Federation, The Korea Federation of Small Business, The Korea International Trade Association
2	CIVIC	The Civic Organizations
3	COURT	The Constitutional Court, The District Court
4	DJ	Kim Dae Jung, President of the NCNP
5	GOV	Government Agencies such as Department of Commerce, Department of Finance and Economy, Department of Internal Affairs, Department of Labor Department of Law, Department of National Security Planning, Local Government, Office of Seoul City, The Prime Minister
6	HOS	Hospital Unions
7	INT	International Media, International Organizations
8	JP	Kim Jong Pil, Leader of the ULD
9	KCTU	The Korean Council of Trade Unions, Kwon, Young-Gil, President of KCTU
10	KFTU	The Korean Federation of Trade Unions, Park, In-Sang, President of KFTU
11	LOC	Local Private Unions
12	MEDIA	Broadcasting and Newspaper Unions
13	NKP	The Ruling New Korea Party, Congressmen in the Ruling Party
14	OPP	Opposition Parties; NCNP (the National Congress for New Politics and ULD(the United Liberal Democrats), Congressmen in the Opposition Parties
15	OTHER	Other Public Organizations' Union
16	POL	Police and Policemen
17	PR	President Kim Young Sam, The Presidential Office
18	SPP	The Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office
19	TEL	Telecommunication Unions
20	TRA	Transportations related Actors

unions that participated in the general strike. They are grouped into eight categories based on the lists published by the KCTU's report (1997), (2) political institutions such as President, the ruling party and opposition parties, (3) the government agencies and legal institutions, (4) other civil society groups like civic organizations, and international groups such as foreign media and international organizations. As a result, the 20 actors in study are selected and listed in Table 1. Based on these actors, an affiliation matrix of 20 actors by 30 days was constructed in order to analyze the actors' structural positions in the news articles. Next, these data were divided into three plots to examine the structural differences over time.

Results

Plot One: The Construction of the Crisis, 12/26/1996-01/02/1997

The first phase of the general strike was from December 26, 1996 to January 2, 1997. A serious crisis between the ruling and opposition camps over the general strike characterized this period. Because of the ruling camp's unilateral enactment of labor law, over one million workers participated in the general strike. The Korean government tried to oppress labor's collective action. Thus, the government and labor unions remained at opposite positions. In terms of frequency of coverage, the *Chosun Ilbo*, a mainstream newspaper, slightly outplayed the *Hankyoreh Daily*, a progressive newspaper(51 vs. 44).

Narrative Analysis

Although both newspapers used similar news actors at this stage, their constructions of the crisis occurred in different ways. The distinction between the two newspapers is summarized in Table 2. In terms of collective narratives, the *Chosun Ilbo* focused on the nation's competitiveness and public discontent. These collective narratives were closely related with the main actors' discursive structure. The mainstream newspaper represented President Kim Young Sam and the ruling party as the main actors if saving the national economy. Thus, the *Chosun Ilbo* seemed to support decision-making by the President. It argued that the passage of the labor law was inevitable to revitalize the national economy and enhance the nation's competitiveness. The democratic discourse of social motives was operating within the news stories and editorials. That is, in the *Chosun Ilbo*, the president and the ruling party were symbolically constructed as reasonable and realistic in their decision-making. In contrast, the repressive code posited that the labor unions as counter-actors, were motivated by irrationality. In this sense, the *Chosun Ilbo* represented labor unions as being incapable of rational decision-making in evaluating situation. This collective narrative was elaborated on the editorials.

There were two editorials in the *Chosun Ilbo* over the first period of time. On December 28, it argued that labor unions should consider the nation's economic difficulties. That is, the *Chosun Ilbo* primarily focused on the economic effects of the general strike, arguing that the general strike could inflict damage on the national economy. On December 30, this mainstream newspaper suggested that this crisis could be resolved by the President's leadership ability. Likewise, the *Chosun Ilbo* stressed dependence on the President's leadership ability and did not create a forum for the exchange of

ideas and opinions within civil society. In addition to the nation's competitiveness, the *Chosun Ilbo* used the "inconvenience frame" in describing the crisis. It emphasized the negative effects of the ongoing general strike, insisting that the strikes would cause severe inconvenience to the public. For example, in December 27, as some hospitals joined the general strike, the *Chosun Ilbo* started to use anti-labor discourse such as "the strikes paralyzed hospital operations across the country."

Unlike the mainstream newspaper, the collective narrative of the *Hankyoreh Daily* concerned workers' right. It represented the KCTU (the Korean Council of Trade Unions), as a progressive labor federation, and a main actor in the construction of this event. By contrast, President Kim Young Sam was juxtaposed with labor unions in the array of actors. Symbols such as president and labor union were located in sets of binary relations. The *Hankyoreh Daily* used a counter-democratic code of social institutions in describing the president. As a result, the President was described as arbitrary and exclusive. Faced with strong protests from the opposition against the passage of the bills, the other institutions, such as government agencies and the ruling party, were displayed as the passive elements of a hierarchical structure. In actuality, they could not make any direct response to the offensive by labor unions at that time.

The *Hankyoreh Daily* mainly focused on labor's argument that the government should enact new legislation, including issues such as third party intervention, union monopoly, the right of public sector workers to join a union, and the right of teachers to join a union. Its standpoint was elaborated in editorials. In the *Hankyoreh Daily*, there were three editorials about the general strike during this period. On December 28, it maintained that the general strike was caused by the inappropriate revision of the existing labor law, urging

that the government should retract its unlawful legislation. On December 30, this progressive newspaper emphasized the rehabilitation of discussion on new labor law. More interestingly, on the last day of that year, it criticized the government for causing public inconvenience. This argument played a role in establishing a counter-narrative to the mainstream newspapers.

Table 2. Construction of Narratives

Narrator /Structures	Mainstream Newspaper <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>	Progressive Newspaper <i>The Hankyoreh Daily</i>
Collective Narrative	The Nation's Competitiveness Public Inconvenience	Workers' Rights
Main Actors	President Kim Young Sam & Ruling Party	Labor Union (KCTU)
Discursive Structure*	Democratic Code of Social Motives - Reasonableness - Realistic	Democratic Code of Social Motives - Activism - Rationality
Counter Actors	Labor Union (KCTU)	President Kim Young Sam & Ruling Party
Discursive Structure*	Counter-Democratic Code of Social Motives - Irrationality - Excitable - Incapability	Counter-Democratic Code of Social Institution - Arbitrary - Exclusive
Audiences	The General Public /The Conservatives	Middle & Marginal Groups /The Progressives

* The Alexander's(1992) framework on the binary discourse was applied to the actors' discursive structure.

Correspondence Analysis

For the mainstream newspaper, Figure 1 presents the positions of both the news actors and days plotted in the map of the correspondence analysis. The analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 54.0% of the variance. The results revealed two groups. The first group including D27(December 27, 1996), D28

Figure 1. Correspondence Analysis for the News Actors over Time
(Plot 1 for the *Chosun Ilbo*)

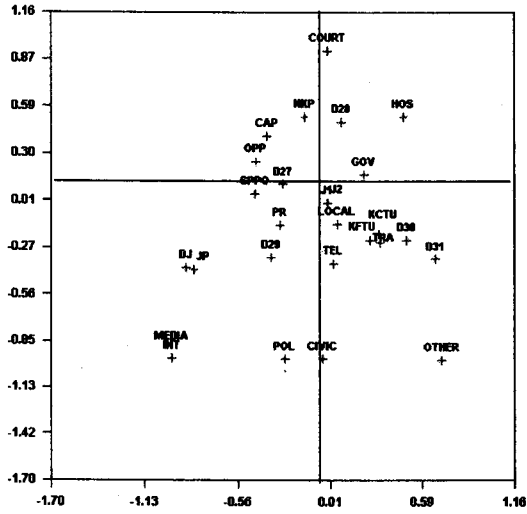
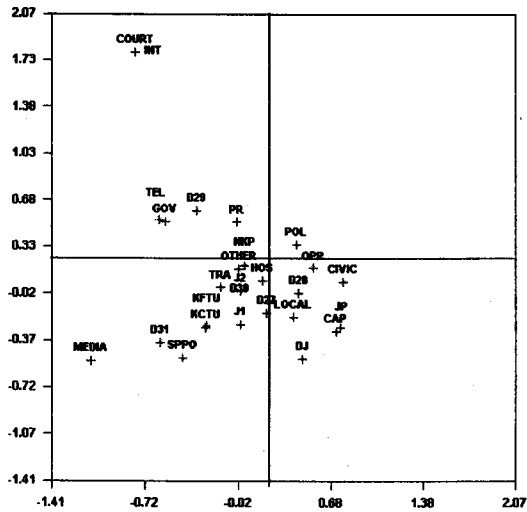


Figure 2. Correspondence Analysis for the News Actors over Time
(Plot 1 for the *Hankyoreh Daily*)



and D29 was located in the center top, were closer to political institutions that were made up of the ruling party, opposition parties and President. The second group was consisted of D30, D31, J1(January 1, 1997) and J2, was spatially closed to labor-related actors such as local private unions, the KCTU, the KFTU and transportation-related actors. The results suggest that the main actors were changed from political institutions to labor unions as the crisis was developed.

For the progressive newspaper, the correspondence analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 55.5% of the variance in the network. The positions of actors over time are presented in Figure 2. Clustering of actors over time was different from that of the mainstream newspaper. The central space was composed of the most of labor-related actors. That is, the progressive newspaper's coverage of labor participation during the first phase of the general strike implies that most labor unions were represented in a similar way. There were two significant clusters in the network. The first group including D27 and D28 was located in the center, and was near local private unions. The second group was composed of D30, J1 and J2, and clustered with the KCTU, the KFTU and transportation-related actors. Unlike the mainstream newspaper, the results suggest that the labor unions maintained their central positions during the first phase.

Plot Two: The Tension of Crisis, 01/03/1997-01/20/1997

When the second wave of the general strikes started, unionized from broadcasting stations, subways and hospitals continuously participated in the nationwide strikes to protest the government's labor law reforms. This second phase of the general strike

was from January 3, 1996 to January 20, 1997. Serious confrontation between the government and labor unions characterized this period. In terms of frequency of coverage over this period, the *Hankyoreh Daily* outpaced the *Chosun Ilbo*(190 vs. 168).

Narrative Analysis

As the general strike obtained public support, the mainstream newspaper developed a different language. That is, the *Chosun Ilbo* frequently used political symbols such as illegality. From this perspective, the mainstream newspaper portrayed labor unions as counter-democratic institutions. Illegality, as a collective discourse on labor unions, was considered as the repressive code against labor unions. Furthermore, the *Chosun Ilbo* represented some government agencies as the main actors in the story. It frequently echoed statement from prosecution authorities such as threat to deploy combat police to avert illegal strikes. Differences between the two newspapers are summarized in Table 3.

At the same time, the *Chosun Ilbo* mainly focused on the illegality of the general strike, citing government sources. For example, it emphasized the statement by the Security Department of the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office(SPPPO), government will take stern measures to maintain law and order. Put simply, the general strike in the *Chosun Ilbo* was represented as an illegal movement, which should be punished according to relevant laws. It seemed to take a hard-line position against illegal strikes. In this sense, the *Chosun Ilbo* justified the use of force to settle the anti-labor law protests. Those justifications and arguments were elaborated on several editorials. There were eight editorials in the *Chosun Ilbo* over this period of time. On January 9, it warned against the development of the general strike, describing labor unions as being self-serving.

Table 3. Tension of Narratives

Narrator /Structures	Mainstream Newspaper <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>	Progressive Newspaper <i>The Hankyoreh Daily</i>
Collective Narrative	Strikes are illegal.	Strikes are legal. Solidarity
Main Actors	Government Agencies (SPPO)	Labor Unions (KCTU/KFTU) Civic Organizations INGOs
Discursive Structure*	Democratic Code of Social Relationships - Rule-Regulated - Law	Democratic Code of Social Institutions - Open - Critical
Counter Actors	Labor Unions (KCTU/KFTU)	Government Agencies
Discursive Structure*	Counter-Democratic Code of Social Relationships - Self-interested - Enemy	Counter-Democratic Code of Social Institution - Power - Hierarchy
Audiences	The General Public /The Conservatives	Middle & Marginal Groups /The Progressives

* The Alexanders (1992) framework on the binary discourse was applied to the actors discursive structure.

In contrast, the *Hankyoreh Daily* denied the illegality of the general strike by labor unions, pointing to the legal and ethical justification of the strikes. In the *Hankyoreh Daily*, there were 12 editorials about the general strike during this period. On January 6, this progressive newspaper warned the ruling party not to misunderstand the labor laws. On January 7, it argued that a stern reaction to the general strike would aggravate the crisis. On January 9, it favorably evaluated professors' participation in the event. On January 10, the newspaper emphasized that the middle-classes had begun to actively participate in the general strike.

There were other collective narratives in the *Hankyoreh Daily* concerning solidarity within civil society. The first significant

phenomenon was the coalition between the KCTU and the KFTU(Korea Federation of Trade Unions); a government authorized organization. The second narrative concerned the participation of the global civil society. A series of protest actions by international organizations such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions(ICFTU), undermined the government's legitimacy. In sum, it is clear that when describing tension within their narratives, both newspapers used a contrasting frame to interpret illegality and solidarity.

Correspondence Analysis

In the second plot, Figure 3 presents the positions of the news actors over time for the mainstream newspaper. The analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 27.9% of the variance. There were two significant clusters in the network. The first group was made of J4, J6, J8, J9 and J11, and clustered with most labor unions such as media unions, local private unions, hospital unions and KCTU, and law enforcement agencies such as SPPO and police. It signifies the tension between civil society and the government. The second group was consisted of J12, J13, J16 and J17, and was located near political parties such as the ruling NKP and opposition parties. The results imply that the crisis sphere moved toward the political space from civil society.

For the progressive newspaper, the correspondence analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 24.4% of the variance in the network. The positions of the actors over time are presented in Figure 4. There were four clusters in the network. The first group was composed of J3, J4 and J7, and integrated with local private unions. The second group was made of J6, J8, J9 and J10, clustered with labor unions such as the KCTU, the FKTU,

hospital unions and transportation-related actors. As discussed above, the *Hankyoreh Daily* represented solidarity between the KCTU and the FKTU in the middle of the second plot. The third group included J11, J13 and J14, and they formed tight in the sphere of political institutions including the NKP, opposition parties, DJ and JP. Finally, the fourth group is consisted of J16 and J20, and was closed to civic organizations. The results implies that although the progressive newspaper was temporarily focused on the possibility of resolving the crisis by the political negotiation, it extended the news coverage from labor unions to overall civil society.

Plot Three: The Movement toward Resolution,
01/21/1997-01/25/1997

The final phase of the general strike was from January 21, 1997 to January 25, 1997. In terms of frequency of coverage, the *Hankyoreh Daily* slightly outpaced the *Chosun Ilbo*(87 vs. 72).

Narrative Analysis

The movement toward resolution between the mainstream and progressive newspapers is summarized in Table 4. As tension was heightening over the general strike, the mainstream newspaper asked opposition parties to seek a dialogue with the ruling camp. The *Chosun Ilbo* interpreted the summit talk as an effective tool for completing the crisis. Thus, for the *Chosun Ilbo*, the summit talks between opposition leaders and President Kim Young Sam were the crucial turning point of the general strike. The *Chosun Ilbo* argued that, because of the president's diminished leadership ability, the summit talk might be the best way to settle the heightening tension

caused by the new labor bills. That is, the weakened President was symbolically represented as being open-minded when dealing with opposition parties for the *Chosun Ilbo*.

In contrast, the *Hankyoreh Daily* focused on the district courts' decision that asked the Constitutional Court to review the constitutionality of the majority party's railroading of new labor bills. At the height of the labor struggle, two district courts asked if the new labor laws were constitutional. As a result, in the *Hankyoreh Daily*, the democratic discourse of social relationships posits that the Constitutional Court was closely related to civil society. That is, the Constitutional Court was symbolized as a new main actor who could resolve the crisis by deliberating the constitutionality of the new labor laws.

Table 4. Resolution of Narratives

Narrator /Structures	Mainstream Newspaper <i>The Chosun Ilbo</i>	Progressive Newspaper <i>The Hankyoreh Daily</i>
Collective Narrative	Crisis of Leadership The Summit Talk as Solution	Solidarity
Main Actors Discursive Structure*	President Kim Young Sam Democratic Code of Social Relationships - Open	The Constitutional Court Democratic Code of Social Relationships - Open - Deliberate
Audiences	The General Public /The Conservatives	Middle & Marginal Groups /The Progressives

* The Alexander's (1992) framework on the binary discourse was applied to the actors' discursive structure.

Correspondence Analysis

In the final plot, Figure 5 presents the positions of the news actors over time for the mainstream newspaper. The analysis

Figure 5. Correspondence Analysis for the News Actors over Time
(Plot 3 for the *Chosun Ilbo*)

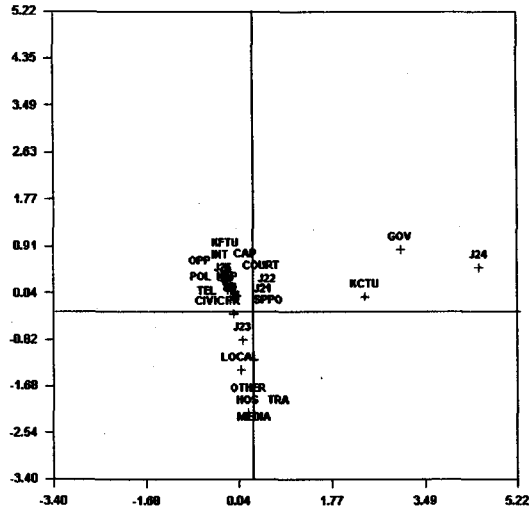
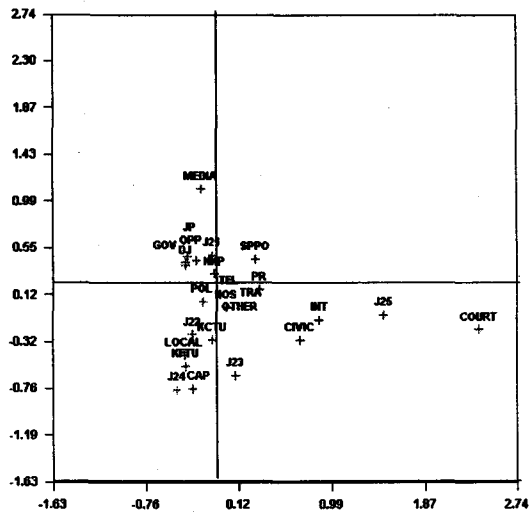


Figure 6. Correspondence Analysis for the News Actors over Time
(Plot 3 for the *Hankyoreh Daily*)



resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 60.4% of the variance. There is a significant cluster in the network. This cluster was made up of J21, J22, J23 and J25, and integrated with most political institutions such as the ruling party, opposition parties, President and presidents of opposition parties. However, J24 was extremely isolated from the main cluster. Like the results of the narrative analysis, as the crisis was intensified over the general strike, the mainstream newspaper focused on the summit talk between President and opposition parties to close the crisis. As a result, the *Chosun Ilbo* used a lot of political actors in the final plot. At the same time, most labor unions were excluded in its coverage of the general strike.

For the progressive newspaper, the correspondence analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution accounting for 65.6% of the variance in the network. The positions of the actors over time are presented in Figure 6. There were two clusters in the network. The first group included J21, and was closely related to most of political institutions. This grouping is based on the summit talk. The other group was consisted of J22, J23 and J24, clustered with labor unions such as the KCTU, the KFTU and local private unions. The results imply that the *Hankyoreh Daily* tried to resolve the crisis by relating civil society such as labor unions and civic organizations with political institutions including the ruling and opposition parties and President.

Discussion

Using the narrative and the correspondence analysis, this

study explores how the analysis of the actors in news texts can explain differences between mainstream and progressive newspapers. The results of narrative analysis on the general strike revealed that there were significant differences in constructing, developing and resolving the crisis between two newspapers. During the first phase of the general strike, the *Chosun Ilbo* focused on the nation's competitiveness and public discontent and the resulting inconvenience. In contrast, the collective narrative of the *Hankyoreh Daily* was workers' right, representing the KCTU as a main actor in the construction of this event.

During the second wave of the general strikes, the mainstream newspaper developed political symbols such as illegality, portraying labor unions as counter-democratic institutions. In contrast, the progressive newspaper denied the illegality of the general strike, pointing to the legal and ethical justification of the strikes. In the final phase of the general strike, both newspapers have different interpretations on the closure of the crisis. For the *Chosun Ilbo*, the summit talks between opposition leaders and President without labor unions were the crucial turning point of the general strike. In contrast, the *Hankyoreh Daily* focused on the constitutionality of the majority party's railroading of new labor bills, relating the Constitutional Court to civil society. Simply, the results of the narrative analysis suggest that the mainstream and progressive newspapers understand social issues in contrasting ways, using different collective narratives and opposite discursive structures.

The results of the correspondence analysis revealed structural changes in the array of the actors over time between two newspapers. During the construction phase of the crisis, the main actors were mainly consisted of both political institutions and labor unions for the mainstream newspaper, while they were labor unions

for the progressive newspaper. In the second plot, the main actors for the mainstream newspaper were changed from labor unions to political institutions. For the progressive newspaper, the positions of the actors over time show that although the progressive newspaper was temporarily focused on the possibility of resolving the crisis by the political negotiation, it began to encompass overall civic participations on the general strike. Similarly, the results of the final plot shows that the *Chosun Ilbo* used a lot of political actors in closing the crisis, excluding labor unions in its coverage of the general strike. For the progressive newspaper, the correspondence analysis implies that the *Hankyoreh Daily* tried to resolve the crisis by relating civil society with political institutions.

Likewise, the news actors and discourses of both papers during the 1996 general strike were highly distinguishable. In their interpretive structures, while both newspapers reported on the same event, they covered the general strikes with reference to different cultural codes. That is, the discourses of the labor participation were consistently represented and were justified as having democratic attributes through the progressive media, while those discourses were considered as having anti-democratic codes for the mainstream newspaper. With regard to the relational structures among the news actors over time, the results of the correspondence analysis reveal that the mainstream newspaper tended to focus on the relationships among political institutions such as the ruling party, the opposition party and President in resolving the crisis. However, the progressive newspaper appeared to focus on the relationships between civil society including labor unions and civic organizations, and political institutions.

The results of this study, while limited in scope, nevertheless have some implications to the fields of news coverage about

major events. First, these findings are consistent with the results of several previous studies(Bright et al., 1999; Jacobs, 1996; Kwak, 1999). They found that the mainstream and minority news- papers including alternative, ethical or progressive have represented the major issues in a different way. Second, using discourse and narrative analysis, this study explored the differences of discursive structures between newspapers in representing the interests of the marginal groups. Given that most mainstream newspapers tend to cover major social issues with very similar(Reese et al., 1994), it will be useful to observe the discursive differences among the various kind of newspapers based on the narrative analysis. Third, in order to examine social issues within the context of larger civil society, it will be useful to combine the narrative analysis with the relational analysis. The narrative analysis has strength in exploring the interpretive process, while the relational method can explain the duality of socio-political issues and the actors.

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■ 국문초록

본 논문은 1996년 노동법 개정을 둘러싼 노동계의 총파업에 대해 보수적 성향을 갖는 조선일보와 진보적 성향을 갖고 있던 한겨레가 어떠한 방식으로 이러한 쟁점을 재현하고 해석하는지를 분석했다. 당시의 노동계 총파업은 내부적으로는 민주화에 따른 시민사회의 성숙과 외부적으로는 글로벌라이제이션에 따른 국가 간 경쟁의 가속화라는 두 가지 정치경제학적 요인이 교차하는 공간에서 일어났으며, 동시에 광범위한 국민적 지지를 확보한 파업으로 그 상징적 의미를 갖고 있다.

이와 같이 주요 사회적 쟁점에 대한 두 신문 간의 차이를 분석하기 위해 질적 분석 방법인 서사분석(Narrative Analysis)과 양적 분석 방법인 조응분석(Correspondence Analysis)을 사용했다. 서사분석은 사건의 발생과 진행 그리고 결말 과정에서 대립되는 행위자의 상징적 담론을 분석함으로써 사회적 쟁점에 대한 신문사 간의 뉴스보도의 차이점 또는 유사성을 구분할 수 있으며, 조응분석은 주요 쟁점에 대해 행위자들이 어떠한 방식으로 서로 연계되는지를 파악함으로써 역동적으로 총파업에 대한 행위자들의 관계의 변화를 공간적으로 탐색할 수 있는 장점을 갖고 있다.

서사분석 결과, 두 신문은 각각 서로 다른 서사구조를 기반으로 주요

행위자의 담론적 기호를 정반대로 구성하고 있었다. 사건 발생 단계에서는, 두 신문이 각각 국가 경쟁력 강화와 노동권 보호를 중심적인 서사구조로 설정해 차이를 보였으며, 대통령 및 여당과 민주노총이 대립적인 행위자로 설정되었다. 사건의 발전 단계에서는, 총파업의 불법성과 적법성 문제에 대한 갈등을 기본 서사구조로 제시한 채, 노동계를 포함한 시민사회와 정부기관이 대립적인 행위자로 등장했다. 사건의 갈등 해소 단계에서는 문제 해결을 위한 방법으로 두 신문이 대통령과 야당 지도자간의 정치적 해결과 노동법 통과에 대한 위헌론 제기를 중심으로 한 노동단체들의 지속적인 연대를 중심 서사구조로 각각 제시했다. 이 시기에서 주요 행위자들의 대립관계는 종료되었다.

조용분석 결과, 사건 발생과 위기 고조 단계, 그리고 갈등 해소 단계 등 모든 시기에서 두 신문의 주요 행위자 구성에 있어서 차이가 나타났다. 다시 말해, 조선일보는 기본적으로 총파업을 둘러싼 문제의 구성과 발전, 해소 과정에서 정당이나 대통령, 야당 지도자 등과 같은 정치 관련 행위자를 강조하고 있었다. 반면에, 한겨레는 대체로 모든 사건 진행 단계에서 노동 관련 단체들과 시민단체의 역동적인 연대와 활동에 초점을 맞추고 있는 것으로 나타났다.