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Cultural Representations of Youth in 1960s-1970s South Korea

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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My dissertation analyzes the youth representations in 1960s and 1970s literature, popular music, film, and discourse using interdisciplinary research. Beyond the demographic category as a part of society, youth is a modern symbolic signifier; it has been politically or culturally separated from and opposed to the existing society, while it has integrated and represented the entire society in a way that appropriates the future of the society. Thus, the representation of youth can be defined as a society's constitutive exception and metonymy. In South Korea, which belatedly began modernization, the challenge of modern nation-building and various ideas about modernization were mainly submitted through representations of youth. These representations were also significant because they contained common sentiments and affects that were the remnants and scars of the compressed modernization. First, I demonstrate how the youth representations combined with the student vanguard concept reveal the postcolonial challenges of the localization of Western modernity and South Korea’s belated attempts to catch-up to the modernization of the Western world. Then, I explore the way popular music and films

created a shared structure of feeling and imagined a united society at a time when the gaps between class and gender increased in South Korean society through an analysis of the changing representations of lower-class young men and poor young women. Finally, the last chapter reveals how the autobiographical memoirs of young female factory workers in the late 1970s changed the symbolic function of youth and raised the question about the artistic norm of literature by embodying common sentiments and breaking the student vanguard concept. Together, the youth representations in various media constitute the epistemological and affective landscape of the developmental dictatorship and provide a social imagination of contemporary South Korean society.

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Introduction

Korean Youth as a Collective Subject towards Western Modernity

In *Faust*, which represents Western modernity, it is youth Mephistopheles gave Faust as the first gift. As a potential that enables you to do anything, youth is a perpetual change, a movement without a pause, and the desire for growth and development. And these youthful attributes represent modernity itself as a new epoch. As Moretti points out convincingly, "youth is chosen as the new epoch's specific material sign .... because of its ability to accentuate modernity's dynamism and instability. Youth is so to speak, modernity's 'essence', the sign of the world that seeks its meaning in the future rather than in the past."[1]

Youth was chosen as the sign of modernity because it shares the structure of a specific temporality. Modernity is not just another age in a homogeneous temporal succession. Koselleck demonstrates that as an unprecedented epoch and the age of newness, it is essentially different from any others. In his view, after the French Revolution, modernity turned into the conception of movement that expressed the time of history itself. It is not a period as part of the flux of successive temporality but the movement that cannot be taken hold of through past experiences; rather, it "lend[s] the whole of the past a world-historical quality."[2] Modernity as newness puts an emphasis upon the future disproportionately. The past is not a closed entity but a bundle of

[1] Franco Moretti. *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*. London: Verso, 2000. 5.
[2] Reinhart Koselleck. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. Trans. Keith Tribe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. 240.

unfinished narratives whose meanings will have been determined only in the movement towards the future. The utopian wish for the future also brings about the acceleration of temporality through the conviction that the future will be qualitatively different from the past. Thus, most salient in Western modernity is the unprecedented temporality of the experience of newness, that is, the temporality that constitutes historicity.

In Korea as in other areas of non-West, however, modernity means the experience of newness through the encounter with the West. Korean modernity was formed through the retranslation of the late 19th century Japanese translation of Western modernity. According to Yanabu Akira, Japanese modernity did not refer to an age, but had a value-related meaning that sometimes implied a good Western civilization and sometimes a bad Western civilization that should be overcome. And yet, it would be right to say that good and bad were nothing more than two sides of the same coin of Western directedness since the standard of the normative judgment itself already was the West. Japanese modernity was thereby used to exhibit an explicit attitude of Western civilization.[3] Things were not that different in Korean modernity. For Koreans, modernity was goal-oriented in that it saw modernity as the goal to reach and Western-directed since it assumed Western civilization to be the yardstick of modernity. Thus, non-Western modernities have entirely different temporalities from that of the West, though both are constituted by historical temporality. As mentioned above, modernity absolutely emphasizes the importance of the present as the time of newness.

[3] Yanabu Akira. "Kŭndae: chiogŭi kŭndae, hŭimangŭi kŭndae" [Modern: The Modern is a Hell, The Modern is a Hope] *Pŏnyŏkŏ Sŏnglipsachŏng*[Translation in Modern Japan]. Trans. Sŏ Hyeyŏng. Seoul: Ilbit, 2003.54-72.

Though the newness of the present is absolutely important, however, the West can reconstruct its own history by assigning a unitary narrative to the past, the present, and the future from the perspective of the present. Therefore, Western modernity need not deny its own past, even though it declares to break with it. Rather, it constructs its historical temporality by giving meaning to the past through the present. However, the non-West is incorporated into the modern world in the encounter with the West, accepting it as the standard of modernity. Thus, the non-West breaks with its own past, denying its own identity. For the non-West, the West counts as its telos or its future and its own identity and, contrary to the West, its present as a past that must be abandoned. Thus, while Western modernity created a continuous as well as a separated temporality, Korean modernity as a non-West modernity only experienced the break with its own past and the denial of its own identity in the encounter with the West. Thereby, Korean modernity was a modernity with a colonial disposition that denied of its own identity. In addition, it has the characteristic of the colonial entanglement of time and space. The newness of Korean modernity took place through a confrontation with the newness of Western modernity by putting its present into the premodern as the past of the West. Western modernity, on the other hand, dealt merely with the experience of temporality. In Korea, youth as the sign of modernity thereby had a different meaning from the youth of the West. As a foreign conception, it was imported along with modernity via Japan in the 1890s[4] and translated into Korean as the neologism "*ch'ŏngnyŏn*" [youth], which

[4] In 1880, *Seinen* (青年) first appeared as a translation of young, youth, and young men when Kozaki Hiromichi translated YMCA (Young Men's Christian Associations) into *kirisuto kyō seinenkai* (基督教青年会). In Korea, similarly, *ch'ŏngnyŏn* first appeared as a translation of youth to refer to Christian youth

explosively began to be used around 1905. It should be noted that those who actively introduced this new idea into Korea were early Christian organizations in Korea and some Korean students in Japan.[5] It was these two groups who were the first to experience Western civilization and enthusiastically spread the term as a representative notion that stood for Western modernity. "New science," "new civilization," and "new knowledge" among others – words that included "new" implied much the same as those of the West. In this vein, *ch'ŏngnyŏn* established itself as the term that referred to a modern subject who tried to achieve Western modernity in a still unenlightened premodern Korea.

Contrary to the concept of youth in the West and its symbolic meanings of mobility and indeterminacy among others, from its origin, youth in Korea had a definite telos: to run after and catch up with Western modernity. Youth was the medium by which Western modernity was delivered to a Korea still lying dormant in the past. Thus, to the extent that the term "youth" conveyed Western concepts, whether positive or negative, political or cultural, it signified foreign influence, specifically from the West. This was true even when the source of the term was not explicitly stated, regardless of the impressive rhetoric used to promote it. Though the notion of youth in Korea has its own history and ramifications, its variations still model themselves on the West. This is why youth can be said to be a key representation that most reveals epistemological colonialism, which has had a decisive effect on Korean modernization.

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organizations in 1897. (Yi Kihun. *Ch'ŏngnyŏna, ch'ŏngnyŏna, uri ch'ŏngnyŏna* [Young Men, Our Young Men]. Paju: Tolbegae, 2014. 47)

[5] So Yŏnghyŏn. "Ch'ŏngnyŏngwa kŭndae: *Sonyŏn* ŭl chungshimŭro"[A Discourse on Young Men and Modernity:A Focus of *Sonyŏn*]. *Journal of Modern Korean Literature*. Vol.6 No.1. 2005. 46-49; Yi Kihun.79-85.

Another fundamental characteristic of Korean youth is its collectivity. In other words, Korean youth emerged as a generation, not as an independent individual. Generation here refers not to birth cohort but to a symbolic category as a mechanism of subjectification. Generation is an abstract category in the sense that it abstracts from various substantial differences such as class, gender, region, and race. Therefore, when youth as a generation is opposed to the older generation, that is, to all the generations that came before it, it is an opposition that is abstract – one in which the homogenized younger generation confronts the society as a whole.

Korean youth was formed through this abstract opposition, whereby it functioned by standing for the future of Korean society and confronting the present of the existing society as a sort of a constitutive exception through which to imagine the union of the whole society. Korean youth, thereby, as a part of a society has represented the society as a whole: a group that, as a particularity, simultaneously has stood for the universality of Korean society. Youth representation as a collective subject that appears frequently in Korean modern history is the product of this symbolic operation.

In Korean modern history, influential political events have often been described in this symbolic way, particularly in postwar South Korea. However, in the empirical dimension, such events-for example, political or economic generational conflicts- rarely occur. The representative cases are the April Revolution in 1960 and the Pro-Democracy Movement in 1987. The younger generation as a collective subject is essentially both exclusive and inclusive. The dominant representation of Korean youth has been young male university students living in Seoul since the colonial era, and this hegemonic

representation was the outcome of the exclusion of the young people in the poorest class, the working class, females, and those from regions outside of the capital.

Youth was established as a collective generation in Korea mainly because it was not only accepted in the time of national crisis around the early 1900s just before annexation to Japan, but it also solidified in the Japanese colonial period. Korean youth representation was determined vis-à-vis the modern nation: youth was a collective subject of nation building and as a modernization project in Korea. Thus, this representation as the collective vanguard leading the nation became a metonymy of the nation whose function was to stand for and unite the nation as a whole.[6]

Mujŏng [The Heartless], often called the first Korean modern novel, is a classic example in which such youth representation of the early colonial period can be seen. There are various types of young people in the novel. Yi Hyŏngsik is an English teacher who returned from studying abroad in Tokyo. Sŏnhyŏng, who was brought up in a Christian home and received a modern education, is his fiancée. Yŏngch'ae, a ruined *yangban*'s daughter, became a *kisaeng* in order to save her father. Pyŏnguk, a modern girl who came back temporarily from studying in Tokyo, encounters Yŏngch'ae on a train and helps her. Although they have their different backdrops and stories, the novel ends when they show their resolute dedication to their country after collectively helping the

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[6] The declaration of "Chosŏn ch'ŏngnyŏn tongniptan," [The Korean Young People's Independence Organization] which was proclaimed just before Korea's March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 by Korean students in Tokyo, is the good example of youth professing to be the representative of the nation. The very first sentence of this declaration, which was supposed to be written by Yi Kwangsu, is as follows:

> The Korean Young People's Independence Organization declares, on behalf of the 20 million Korean people, the independence of the Korean nation, doing so in front of all the countries in the world, which have already secured the triumphs of justice and freedom.

The representativeness of youth for the nation is clear, and justice and freedom mean the same as the independence of a nation in this declaration.

residents of Samnangjin which had been damaged by a flood.[7] As in *The Heartless*, youths in colonial Korea were imagined as those who are willing to break with the nation's underdeveloped past and construct a modern civilization for the future. Thus, they are an abstract and homogeneous generation, regardless of whatever positions they hold, whichever gender they have, wherever they come from, whatever they do, and so forth. The only key indicators that unite them are their attitudes and goals: to oppose the older generation, separate from the backward past, and move towards Western modernity.

In conclusion, Korea as a latecomer was faced with the task of running after and catching up with Western modernity as its model. It was essential to overcome internal substantial differences and consolidate the society as a whole in order to accomplish it. That is, nation needed to be imagined as a totality. Youth as a homogeneous generation was adopted and interpellated as the most suitable representation for national integration in that it represented a break with the past and moving towards the future.

Youth under the military regime of Park Chunghee in postwar South Korea

To deal with the historical period of the 1960s to the 1970s in South Korea properly, it is important to understand these characteristics of youth representation. In this period, the Park Chunghee military regime was in power in South Korea. In the current dominant narrative about this era, South Korea succeeded in rapid economic growth at the cost of

[7] These young guys who were determined to live for the nation all go abroad to study. Hyŏngsik and Sŏnhyŏng go to America, Pyŏnguk to Germany, and Yŏngch'ae to Japan. They all do so, because to live for colonial Korean nation, it is essential to learn developed Western civilization and deliver it to Korean nation. The future of Korean nation depends on these young students abroad as national pioneers. The enlightenment of Korean nation by Western civilization indicates the direction of modern development towards which Korean nation would move.

political democracy and received the military dictatorship. This narrative of opposing politics to the economy is based on the classic way of establishing the relationship between two big political affairs in the early 1960s. It is against this backdrop that citizens started the April Revolution to fight against the rampant corruption and illegal election of the Syngman Rhee regime, the result of which led to his resignation in 1960. On May 16th, only a year after, Park Chunghee staged a coup with some young officers. Park's long-term military dictatorship followed, taking anti-Communism and developmentalism as two cornerstones of his regime. The dominant narrative thereby opposes these two political events that represent democracy and dictatorship, respectively, stating that the failure of the former brought out the latter. The current understanding of the opposition of politics to the economy in the process of modernization in South Korea comes from this narrative.

Contrary to this current narrative, however, the Coup group claimed at the time that their military coup d'état would succeed to the April Revolution. It turned out that the interim government and its ensuing ruling Democratic Party were no different from the Syngman Rhee regime. They not only failed to eliminate the corruption of the former government but also failed to implement key reform policies due to their lack of ability. In this particular circumstance, Park Chunghee and his associates orchestrated a coup, arguing that it was a crucial measure to eradicate corruption and, in fact, continue the legacy of the April Revolution. It is worth noting that they deliberately employed the representation of youth to achieve a clean break from the past. They borrowed the symbolic resources entirely from the April Revolution, which was characterized by the

generational conflict between the morally pure and upright younger generation and the corrupt and depraved older generation. This generational opposition formed the dominant rhetoric of the April Revolution. During the revolution, this representation of youth as the righteous vanguard of the nation and the guardian of democracy was formed. Ready to embrace this rhetoric, Park Chunghee justified the coup by professing that it was the young officers' revolution to break with the past and move towards the future. In summary, Park Chunghee appropriated youth representation by putting forward young people as the agents of social change and claimed that the April Revolution and the May 16th coup were both the events that defied the corrupt and incompetent ruling group, even if, in truth, the two political events were antithetical affairs that protected or destroyed democracy. The coup did not run into national resistance or counterattack early on mainly because its leaders claimed to be the proper heirs of the revolution,[8] taking advantage of youth representation as its symbolic resource.

However, this signification of youth was just a discursive construction formed by the April Revolution. Rather, the word "youth" had very negative implications just before the revolution in South Korea.[9] Youth was generally represented as anti-Communist far-right young people throughout the 1950s, who were in reality self-armed terrorists akin to gangsters. *Chosŏn minjok ch'ŏngnyŏndan*[Korean National Youth Association], which

[8] When May 16th Coup happened, it was supported by the majority of intellectuals and university students except some intellectuals such as Ham Sŏkhŏn. Even *Sasanggye,* a contemporary famous liberal journal, openly supported the Coup.

[9] Under general mobilization system, which began with the outbreak of the Pacific War in the late colonial era, typical youth representation was Imperial Forces, volunteer soldiers to be deployed in the front line by the call of Japanese Empire. That is, youth representation in this era was completely subjected to the ideology for mobilization of Japanese Empire and Imperial power discourse. Therefore, it is extremely rare that colonial Korean young men were represented in the positive except for Japanese propaganda films. Similar tendency was also repeated after the liberation.

had been organized under the sponsorship of US military government, and *Taehan ch'ŏngnyŏndan*[Korean Youth Corps], which had been founded by Syngman Rhee himself, were notorious for using illegal power and committing violent and terrorizing assaults, robberies, assassinations, and the like without hesitation.

Interestingly, the representation of youth in the 1950s was distinct from university students as a group. Youth as a categorical term was applied to anti-Communist political gangsters and violent veterans who were very often encountered in the streets, whereas college students were viewed as an over privileged group who fell for American-style pop culture and were eager to go to America.[10] This division of these groups, both viewed in a negative light, continued until the late 1950s, only a few years before the April Revolution. The image of youth would soon change with the April Revolution.[11]

The Reduction of Youths to University Students

It has been said that college students, especially male college students from Seoul, were the heroes of the April Revolution. Even if they were the group bestowed with all the accolades, the real historical development of the revolution tells other stories. During the revolution, fierce demonstrations occurred in Taegu, Masan, Kwangju and other cities.

[10] University students was a privileged few until the late 1950s. The dominant image of them was draft dodgers, and they were perceived even more negatively when contrasted with disabled soldiers after the Korean War. University students were accused of being overprivileged, since National Assembly even decided to shorten the service period of them by one year in 1957. "Are university students the privileged class?" *Sasanggye*. Oct. 1957. p.247.

[11] Yi Min, a film star in the 1950s, almost monopolized the role of a young elite strongly influenced by American culture, whose typical instance was Ch'unho, a college student in *Chayubuin* [Madame Freedom] (Han Hyŏngmo, 1956). On top of it, he consistently played the role of an Americanized male elitist in *Aein* [Lover](Hong Sŏngki, 1956), *Shillagwŏn ŭi pyŏl* [A Star in Lost Paradise] (Hong Sŏngki, 1957), *Pionŭn narŭi ohu3shi* [Three o'clock in the Afternoon on a Rainy Day] (Pak Chongho, 1959), *Kŭ yŏjaŭi choega anida* [It's not Her Sin] (Shin Sangok, 1959).

Middle and high school students were involved in the demonstrations much more systematically than college were, and a wide range of young people from the lower class, including women and the urban poor, persistently participated in them. These stories were deleted in the standard history, and the last phase of the revolution in which university students from Seoul finally began to take part was chosen as its representative memory.[12]

As the revolution was recorded and memorialized by college students in Seoul, youth once again came to represent college students emerged as the guardians of justice and democracy as well as defiant subjects. Therefore, it would be right to say that the April Revolution, or rather the politics of record and memory concerning it, created university students as the youth generational subject, regardless of their actual participation in the revolution. This dominant representation of youth as male college students and pure intellectuals with a strong sense of justice was greatly influential both politically and socially throughout the era of Park Chunghee regime after the student movement was set in motion at college campuses in the early 1960s. The youth as university student representation connoted a generational subject who would lead the underdeveloped Korean society to Westernized development in which values like freedom, democracy, and social justice would be realized.

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[12] For the course of the April Revolution, see Charles Kim. *Youth for Nation: Culture and Protest in Cold War South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2018. esp. ch. 5. On the memory politics of the April Revolution, see the following: Kim Miran. "Chŏlmŭn sajadŭlt'ŭi hyŏngmyŏnggwa chŭngbaltoeŏbŏrin kŭ/nyŏdŭl: 4wŏrhyŏngmyŏngŭi chaehyŏn pangshikkwa paejeŭi susahak"['Young Lions' Revolution and The Lower Classes' Evaporation: Representation of April Revolution and Rhetoric of Elimination].*Feminism and Korean literature*. Vol.23.2010; So Yŏnghyŏn. "Taehaksaeng tamnonŭl pora: 419 chŏngshinŭi soyugwŏne kwanhan ilgoch'al"[Look at the Discourse of College Students: On the Ownership of 419 Sprits]. *Literature and Society*. vol. 23. No. 1. Feb. 2010.

A suitable example of how Park Chunghee made use of this representation is in the official titles of the April Revolution and May 16th coup which were referred to as the April 19th *Haksaengŭikŏ* [Students' Democracy Movement] and the May 16th Military Revolution, respectively. The narrative contained in two names is as follows: Students are those who ought to be educated in school for the future. They came out into the streets with righteous heart for safeguarding democracy but now must return to school to study hard so as to be faithful to their own duties. Young officers, strong-willed and competent to run a state, will finish the revolution that the students started. The official ideology of the military government implied that students should abstain from real politics and limit themselves to criticizing and analyzing it, without any desire for political power. This expectation, in turn, disciplined university students and confined them to campus. It was one of the crucial strategies of the cultural politics of the government for nullifying the student movement discursively and depoliticizing the culture of college students by defining youths-university-students as those who only belonged to the future and detached themselves from the present political power. In fact, it was the common notion of contemporary South Korean intellectuals after the April Revolution, and all Park Chunghee did additionally was to put forward young officers as those who would run the state.

The military government established the developmental system of mobilization, arguing that the eradication of poverty through modernization was an unfinished problem the April Revolution did not fully solve. The government actively utilized youth representation as its ruling ideology. Youth was signified primarily as the collective

subject of modernization who had the task of overcoming poverty and economic backwardness, and its dominant forms were the *chaekŏn ch'ŏngnyŏn* [rebuilding young man] of the early 1960s and the *Saemaŭl ch'ŏngnyŏn* [New Village young man], the leader of *Saemaŭl* Movement of the 1970s.[13] Youth here was the name of the symbolic subject who would break with the past of poverty and anticipate the future of economic development.[14] A typical instance of such a figure was the protagonist, Yongi, in *Ssal* [Rice] (1963) directed by Shin Sangok. This male hero, as an archetypical representation of New Village youths culminating in the 1970s, succeeds in rural modernization, which had been blocked by premodern shamanism, and creates an irrigation system that will lead to a good harvest that young soldiers help with.[15] Conversely, Park Chunghee's ruling ideology addressed young people and university students as those who opposed a diligent work ethic and engaged only in leisure activities, such as "doing a go-go dance or something like that, and singing loudly with a blushed face after heavy drinking." This ideology also characterized them as individuals who were not truly "Korean," as they supposedly undermined the enthusiasm of rural residents and the New Village

[13] For the New Village Movement, including youth mobilization, see the following: Kim Yŏngmi. *Kŭdŭrŭi saemaŭrundong: han maŭlgwa han nongch'on undonggarŭl t'onghae pon minjungdŭrŭi saemaŭrundong iyagi*. [Their New Village Movement: The Story of the People's New Village Movement Through One Village and One Rural Activist].Seoul: P'urŭnyŏksa, 2009 ; Oh Yusŏk ed. *Pakchŏnghŭi shidaeŭi saemaŭrundong: kŭndaehwa, chŏnt'ong kŭrigo chuch'e*[The New Village Movement in the Park Chunghee Era: Modernization, Tradition, and Subjects]. Paju: Hanurak'ademi, 2014.

[14] Young college students as practical intellectuals to develop technology and productivity can be also included in it.

[15] It is also remarkable that when workers were interpellated as the pillar of modernization by the Park Chunghee regime, they were not associated with youth. They were completely excluded from youth discourses. They were allotted the military metaphor of "warriors" rather than youths, since they had to work like machines in accordance with the rules. Though they thereby were beings that lost even their youth, female factory workers resisted this dominant representation and animated totally different kind of youth. I will analyze the female workers' autobiographical writings in chapter 5.

Movement."[16] Thus, the Park Chunghee regime positively took advantage of youth representations, starkly contrasting the New Village youths of the country with youths/university students of the city as a developmental ideology for mobilization.

Though the military government attacked youths/university students through this negative comparison with rural youth, this ideological discourse did not have a great deal of influence over the people. Rather, the representation of youth as the spearhead of the pro-democracy movement, which was a counter-discourse against the military regime, was socially supported more than the representation of youth of the government. However, it also shared the elitism of the representation of youths/university students, which excludes and marginalizes other youth representations, like workers and lower class young men, by confining the representation of youth to college students. Thus, the counter-discourse was ideologically entangled with the implicit complicity in the oppression of the people including the emerging working class and the urban poor by the military regime. Meanwhile, while the political tension increased after the mid-1970s, a new tendency appeared in the counter-discourse in which solidarity with *minjung* [people]was emphasized, and *minjung*, rather than youths or college students, were put forward as new resistant subjects.

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[16] See the part of Park Chunghee's speech: "I can't believe how young people in the cities could do this like going there, doing a go-go dance or something like that, and singing loudly with blushed face after heavy drinking, while farmers are working in a sweat now. ..... They must have been young guys, students or whatever. ..... I don't know if they are Koreans or not, and what part of national they are, but all I want is that they don't do such a thing as spoiling the passion of village people and New Village Movement, but, nevertheless, I mean, I don't understand why they do things like that without playing in a low key. It is not that they do that because they are all uneducated or inconsiderate. Rather, they went to high school, and to university." (Park Chunghee. "The Speech at the New Village Income Increase Promotion Conference (May 18, 1971)." *Pakchŏnghŭi taet'ongnyŏng yŏnsŏlmunjip vol.4* [President Park Chunghee's Speech Collection 4]. Seoul: Presidential Archives, 1973. 228.

Against this theoretical and historical background, I analyze various youth representations in various kinds of South Korean cultural texts during the Park Chunghee era such as films, popular music, media discourses, and the autobiographical writings of female workers. In both English and Korean scholarship, there has been very little research on youth representation in this era. In English scholarship, the majority of the works on this era have been concentrated in political science, sociology, and economic history, and in the case of Korean scholarship, rare research on youth representation has usually focused on the male figures appearing in the canonized literary works by writers such as Ch'oe Inhun, Yi Ch'ŏngjun, and Kim Sŭngok. In general, these characters are young male intellectuals, especially college students, living in Seoul. The male protagonist appears as a helpless and prematurely old college student, a young man who is disillusioned at the failure of the revolution and does nothing but explore abstract ideals, or a misogynous young man one who only can become a subject through the violence against and exploitation of a woman. My dissertation pays attention to and actively restores marginalized cultural texts rather than focus primarily on these canonical works in order properly to reveal the dynamics and political nature of contemporary culture eclipsed by this hegemonic representation of youth. Youths in these texts expose the dreams, desires, and shared feelings contained in the lives of contemporary people beyond the ideals of Westernized modernization in the hegemonic youth representations, whether liberating values like democracy and freedom and justice or developmental ones like affluence and economic growth. Therefore, my job is to excavate and explore what has been buried and excluded during compressed modernization and at the same time to reconstruct the era of

the authoritarian regime from the perspective of cultural politics by analyzing marginalized youth representations of lower class young men, young girls from the country, female factory workers, and so forth. In this context, my dissertation amounts to an academic attempt to comprehend the era of the military government in the realm of cultural studies, a topical area that has been largely unexplored in Korean studies.

This dissertation borrowed many insights from the discussion of youth culture before and after the April Revolution in Charles Kim's *Youth for Nation*. By analyzing the ideas and discourses of South Korean intellectuals and students from the 1950s to the early 1960s, Kim characterizes postwar South Korean postcolonial discourses as two schemata: "wholesome modernization" as a specific mode of modernization in South Korea and the "student vanguard" as a modern subject. My study deals with the era of the Park Chunghee regime, which comes after the period Kim's volume discusses, and sheds light on the ideological function of youth representation by referring to the student vanguard schema in particular. In addition, the present dissertation shares a lot with Namhee Lee's *The Making of Minjung* which discusses the people's movement from the 1970s to the 1980s. Chapter 5 in my study, which addresses how emerging working class appropriates youth culture and how it created its own youth representation, is much indebted to Minjung as the conceptual project of *The Making of Minjung*. In the analysis of the youth representation of the 1970s, my dissertation has much in common with Lee's *Minjung* project to make *Minjung* a collective subject who confronts the crisis of historical subjectivity. While these two volumes deal with the April Revolution of 1960 and the people's movement of the 1980s, respectively, two crucial political events in

Korean modern history, not only does my study temporally consider the period of the developmental dictatorship between the aforementioned two political protests, but it also illuminates youth representation in this era, focusing on ordinary popular culture rather than on any major political affairs.

The first chapter analyzes youth representations in 1960s South Korean films including Kim Kiduk's *Maenbal ŭi ch'ŏngch'un* [Barefooted Youth] (1964) and Chŏng Chinu's *Ch'ou* [Early Rain] (1966) by comparing them with the French New Wave films and Japan's *taiyōzoku* [sun tribe] films. Against this distinctive historical background, 1960s South Korean youth romance films explore the other meanings of the same icons and conventions in this genre. The icons of American consumerism, for example, like a dance hall, motorbikes, and luxurious cars produce new effects in different mise-en-scènes and camera movements. Above all, they show young lower-class men who are eager for success but are frustrated with the harsh social reality, unlike the French New Wave films and Japan's *taiyōzoku* films, which emphasize young men's cultural resistance and symbolic rejection against the older generation's values. Desperately seeking a better social status, Korean male heroes release their youthful energy and desire without reserve and sometimes even act violently. It means that South Korean youth romance films highlight class conflict rather than generational conflict.

The second chapter explores the discursive path from 1960s student power discourse to 1970s youth culture discourse. This chapter constitutes the discursive backdrop of the youth representations in 1970s popular culture texts, which are analyzed

in chapters 3 and 4. South Korean intellectuals formed the student power discourse after the mid-1960s, reporting in great detail American and European student demonstrations. This discourse did not only remove the revolutionary Third-Worldism of the Global Sixties and the political elements such as Vietnam war protests in Western student power, but also introduced this student power as the cultural rebellion of the younger generation against the older one. Twisted by cultural factors such as drugs, free sex, and hippies' lifestyle, the discourse was transformed into the 1970s youth culture discourse. The latter defined youths to be only university students and evaluated their culture with the yardstick of American youth culture. When the debate on youth culture, tried to erase the political nature of the culture of college students under the Yushin regime through demarcating youth culture as a solely cultural discourse, it simultaneously revealed its epistemological colonialism in which the West was viewed as the only standard of social and cultural phenomena in South Korean society.

The next chapter argues that the 1970s youth culture was, in fact, more expansive than the discursive proposal discussed in the second chapter. 1970s youth culture included the cultural practices of a wide range of urban young people rather than simply the culture of college students. This chapter shows that *p'okŭ* [modern folk] music as a youth culture phenomenon was an effective medium by which the feelings and emotional landscapes of the 1970s were shared. I analyze the affects of popular music and *p'okŭ* songs in particular, which were very popular among contemporary youth. The 1970s youth culture, American-influenced *p'okŭ* music especially delivered a shared sentiment of compassion for the fragile and the poor through simple and easy melodies and the

lyrics of childlike innocence. These shared feelings and emotions influence not only a generational distinction but a new notion of politics and social belonging. Although the production of *p'okŭ* songs rapidly shrank due to a massive crackdown by the Park Chunghee government in 1975, this over-suppression ironically provided the *p'okŭ* music scene with an unexpected opportunity to incubate its political aspects. Banned *p'okŭ* songs began to be utilized as one of the main resources of protest songs to come in the 1980s. This is how Korean modern *p'okŭ* music invited us to reconsider the dichotomy between the political and the cultural by passing its ability to emotional empathy for the weak on to *minjung* culture in the 1980s.

In the fourth chapter, I will illustrate why sexually exploited women appeared as the dominant cinematic representation of youth in the 1970s against the backdrop of the analysis in the third chapter. My main subject of analysis here will be two commercially successful films: Yi Changho's *Pyŏldŭl ŭi kohyang* [Heavenly Homecoming to Stars] (1974) and Kim Hosŏn's *Yŏngjaŭi chŏnsŏngsidae* [Yŏngja's Heydeys] (1975). This 1970s youth cinema described how young female heroines from lower classes were impotently degraded to victims of a coldhearted society. The thematic matter expressed the criticism of the ruthless inhumanity of the rapidly industrializing Korean society and suggested new ethics of compassion. Moreover, the affective experience of these films is intensified by the stylistic elements including flashbacks, montages, and most of all, soundtracks. With visual shock tactics such as the effective use of montage, young women's bodies became the field on which contradictions of industrialization converge.

In the last chapter, I will explore the trajectory of the most challenging youth during the 1970s by analyzing young female factory workers' memoirs. These texts offer insight into the way women, who were often devalued for their youth, femininity, and labor, were able to redefine their own worth and identity through the acquisition of class consciousness and their transformation into dignified female workers. These memoirs transcend conservative definitions of literature by posing critical questions about the motives of the writer and the reader. The style of writing in these memoirs engages the reader, and the writer and reader appear to be in sync. It embodies both personal and collective experiences through a first-person narrative that includes both singular and plural voices. This approach creates a sense of community among the readers, allowing them to participate and engage in the narratives in a more meaningful way. Ultimately, these memoirs challenge the idea that the positions of the author and the individual are predetermined, instead showing how these roles are continually reconstituted. These memoirs not only serve to bring marginalized experiences to light, but they also have a performative function in creating and maintaining a reading and writing community.

In South Korea, which belatedly began modernization, the challenge of modern nation-building and various ideas about modernization were mainly submitted through representations of youth. These representations were also significant because they contained common sentiments and affects that were the remnants and scars of the compressed modernization. Together, the youth representations in various media constitute the epistemological and affective landscape of the developmental dictatorship and provide the social imagination of contemporary South Korean society.

Chapter 1

Trajectories of Postwar Youth: 1960s South Korean Youth Romance Films Compared with Japanese Youth Films and the French New Wave Films

This chapter attempts to read into the unconscious desire of contemporary youth conveyed in South Korean 1960s youth romance films, drawing parallels with youth cinema from postwar France and Japan. South Korean 1960s youth romance film (*ch'ŏngch'un yŏnghwa*)[17], which addressed love, wandering, and the frustration of young people, has been generally understood as a popular genre irrespective of the historical context of turbulent sociopolitical changes that contemporary Koreans had undergone: Liberation, the Korean War, the April Revolution, and the Military Coup in 1961. However, as Korean film historian Yi Yŏngil appropriately mentioned, 1960s youth romance films should be called "1960s' specialties," since it was during this period that they emerged and grew as a genre - one that characterizes the 1960s[18]. This chapter interprets South Korean youth romance films in the contemporary historical and political context by considering how the representation of "rebellious youth" as a global sociocultural phenomenon appeared on the scene differently in South Korea, France, and Japan.

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[17] *Ch'ŏngch'un yŏnghwa* [youth romance film] of 1960s South Korea refers to films that were actively produced between 1963 and 1967 for young audiences. These films focused on the dreams, desires, ambitions, frustrations, and romances of young protagonists. While the term "*ch'ŏngch'un yŏnghwa*", the translated term of Japanese *seishun eiga*, was used in the 1950s, it wasn't until the 1960s that it formed a cycle as a distinct film genre. As I will analyze in more detail later, the youth romance films of the 1960s often featured a common plotline: the love story of a poor young man and a rich college girl.

[18] Yi Yŏngil. *Han'gukyŏnghwajŏnsa* [The History of Korean Cinema]. Seoul: Sodo, 2004. 390.

Rebellious Youth as a Postwar Phenomenon

The late 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of rebellious youth as a phenomenon that occurred simultaneously, especially in first-world capitalist nations. The image of spoiled and naughty youth such as Marlon Brando and James Dean became globally popular via Hollywood movies, and the appearances of similar bad young guys emerged nearly simultaneously around the world: Teddy-Boys in England, *Blouson Noir* in France, *taiyōzoku* in Japan, and so forth.[19] Their characteristics and actions were virtually the same; they all denied the established moral values of their own societies and purposefully ignored the wishes of their parents. They also took pleasure in consumerism and sought nihilism and moral disorder. Youth was thus simultaneously problematized in a number of countries during this period.

While Hollywood movies like *Rebel without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) and *The Blackboard Jungle* (Richard Brooks, 1955) were influential, they were not the sole exemplars of rebellious youth. Rather, countries other than the US developed their own representations of youth that stemmed from their own societies. In Japan for instance, *Season of the Sun* (*Taiyō no Kisetsu*, 1955), Ishihara Shintaro's sensational debut novel which depicts rich and amoral young people, was hugely popular and instantly adapted for film. The popularity of the book and the film coined the term *taiyōzoku* [sun tribe] which referred to the postwar generation of cynical, decadent, and immoral young men.

[19] Many countries saw the emergence of various rebellious youth subcultures, such as the Teddy Boys in England. These subcultures were characterized by their distinctive fashion styles and a penchant for petty crime. For example, the Teddy Boys refers to male youths in delinquent gangs who had adopted Edwardian-era fashion such as tapered trousers and long jacket. They challenged the conservative values and social norms of postwar society and were often the subject of moral panic in the media. See Jonathan Sperber. *The Age of Interconnection: A Global History of the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford UP. 2023. 314-318.

Youth representations in many countries outside the USA represented problems specific to their societies in spite of their superficial similarities to Hollywood films.

Youth as a postwar social phenomenon, which could be said to be the first global one as well, has been explained mainly through these two historical and social factors: the extraordinary postwar boom in the capitalist world economy and the change in demography due to postwar baby boom.[20] As designations like the "Glorious Thirties" (*Les Trente Glorieuses*) and Japan's economic miracle illustrate major capitalist countries underwent dramatic economic growth in the postwar era and entered mass consumption societies in the early 1970s. As Eric Hobsbawm argues, this implied "a globalization of the USA as the model of a capitalist industrial society."[21] In addition, as the distribution of the population changed, the purchasing power of the younger generation grew, creating a youth market. The cultural tastes of young people ceased to be confined to youth subculture and instead came to dominate society at large. Youth culture played a significant role in driving social change and profound cultural transformation, which challenged the established norms and values of the older generations and was involved in the feminist and sexual liberation movement, the challenges to familial values, and the criticism against the class divide and racism.[22]

This rough description might certainly serve as a comprehensive backdrop for analyzing the representation of rebellious youth, but it does not answer why this figure

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[20] In the United States, the baby boom began during World War II, See Elaine T May, "Myths and Realities of the American Family." *A History of Private Life vol 5*. eds. Antoine Prost and Gerard Vincent. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991. 60.
[21] Eric Hobsbawm. *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1995. 263. For the explanation of the overall post-war economic boom, see chapter 9.
[22] Hobsbawm sees that this youth culture, which began in the late 1950s, has a connection with revolutionary politics, and describes its peak as the street of May 1968. (Ibid. 323-334)

emerges as a dominant signifier in many countries after the Second World War. This chapter characterizes this youth figure as a "*postwar"* phenomenon. This characterization should not be taken just as a temporal one. Rather, I aim to show that the sociocultural appearance of rebellious youth is capable of betraying what this period was.

Not only is it difficult to summarize how many changes the Second World War caused worldwide, but describing global change in the postwar era is also complex given the differing ideological stances and positions each country occupied during the war.[23] Old European empires as victorious nations were able to maintain their glory at least partially even after the war and sought to retain their imperialistic status, although they handed the initiative over to the USA, the emerging hegemonic state. For example, France, which had been defeated by Germany during the Second World War and recaptured Paris even after the allied victory, took the termination of the Second World War to be the opportunity to reoccupy its former colonies, and began the First Indochina War against Viet Minh in 1946. Immediately after the defeat, in what was until then known as French Indochina, France entered the 8 year Algerian War which led to another defeat. In this way, the collapse of victorious empires was not a one-time event but gradually occurred until the late 1960s. Defeated empires, on the other hand, were immediately stripped of their colonies as soon as the end of the war was declared. For example, Japan lost control of its colonies from the Philippines and Indonesia to the Korean Peninsula and was ruled by the U.S. Military Government until 1952.

[23] The meaning of "postwar" in each country is different depending on whether it was a victorious country or a defeated country, or was it occupied by a victorious country or a defeated country.

For the USA, victory in the Second World War allowed the nation to begin neocolonial expansion as the leading country in the capitalist world economy, and with the USA's goals of expansion came the development of the Cold War regime that divided the participants of the Second World War into ideological blocs of capitalism and communism led by the USA and the Soviet Union, respectively. In their own ways, other countries were doomed to align with either power and came under the influence of the USA or the USSR under the system. Old, defeated empires were now subordinated and subjected to the strategies of world rule of the victorious powers, especially the USA. Having handed the initiative over to America, victorious European empires slowly began to lose their moral prestige due to the exposure of their dark sides, whether they were political, economic, ethical, or military, and as a result, they were no longer able to retain their hold on their non-European colonies. A great number of new independent states as well as the countries still struggling for national liberation in the so-called Third World were destined to begin the restoration and (re)building of their own nations under the influence of the Cold War regime. In this way the postwar period was both the end of one war and the beginning of a new one, a chaotic age in which prewar imperialistic order was reshuffled under the influence of the USA with old foes becoming new friends.[24]

The postwar period also ushered in positivity and ideas of renewal, hope, regained peace, rebuilding, and economic growth in such significant ways that complicate our understanding of the era and serve to mask certain operations of power and significant

[24] Just as the term "postwar" does not have a single meaning, neither does the term "Cold War." In Europe, the war was frozen, a "cold war," but in the newly independent non-western states, brutal civil war, genocide, and political terrorism were rampant, and in many cases, this extreme violence was related to the American anti-communist hegemony. See Heonik Kwon. *The other Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

global restructuring. However, given these complex situations, various ideas around the postwar era, like a new start, hope, regained peace, rebuilding, economic growth, and so forth, rather distort and twist our understanding of this era in a deflective manner.

The representation of rebellious youth functions as a sign that shows us how a certain society problematized and sought to solve the issues it confronted in the postwar era. However, this sign reveals to us different meanings according to the distinct situations of each society.

Moreover, the representation of rebellious youth was not limited to societal problems in the postwar era. As many researchers point out, the key concept of French New Wave cinema is youth. Newly emergent young directors in the postwar period treated youth as one of their crucial themes.[25] Similarly, in the same era, young Japanese directors including Masumura Yasuzō, and Ōshima Nagisa,, whose films were later called the Japanese New Wave, also broke the Japanese film traditions of masters like Kurosawa Akira and Ozu Yasujirō and chose youth film as their own genre.[26] In the 1950s, after the wildly successful run of *Season of the Sun*, several movies about rebellious youth were produced and "*taiyōzoku* was coined a genre."[27] Japanese youth film came from *taiyōzoku* [sun tribe] movies and developed as a genre.

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[25] See the following: Richard Neupert. *A History of the French New Wave Cinema*. Madison; University of Wisconsin Press, 2007. 13-17; James Tweedie. *The Age of New Waves: Art Cinema and the Staging of Globalization*. Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2013. 46-47 and 54-56; Geneviève Sellier. *Masculine Singular: French New Wave Cinema*. Durham; Duke University Press, 2008. 44-55; Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema*. London; Routledge, 1993. 231-235.
[26] David Desser. *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema*.Bloomington; Indiana University Press, 1988. 39-41
[27] Donald Richie, *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film: A Concise History, with a Selective Guide to Videos and DVDs*. Tokyo; Kodansha International, 2001. 153.

When it comes to South Korea, youth romance film was the most commercially a successful movie genre, but it began with a plagiarism dispute. The first film in this Korean genre was Yi Sŏnggu's *Chŏlmŭn p'yojŏng* [A Young Look] (1960) but it was not well received. Then, with the simultaneous big successes of *Kajŏngkyosa* [Private Tutor](Kim Kiduk, 1963), based on Ishizaka Yōjirō's novel, *Hi no Ataru Sakamichi* [A Slope in the Sun] (1958) and *Ch'ŏngch'un kyosil* [The Classroom of Youth](Kim Suyong, 1963), based on another novel by the same writer of *Aitsu to Watashi* [That guy and I] (1961), youth romance film was established as a film genre in South Korea. According to Yi Yŏngil, South Korean youth romance films were one of the most noteworthy cinematic trends in the 1960s, dealing with "the younger generation's frustrations and setbacks,"[28] but some of them were accused of being "unidentified or plagiarized" from foreign (most commonly, Japanese) screenplays.[29]

It was thus a generally accepted critique that youth romance film was no more than an indiscriminate importation of foreign film that was unsuitable for Korean soil. According to this criticism, youth romance film, as a cultural phenomenon dealing with rebellious youth, was considered unsuitable for South Korea as an underdeveloped country in comparison to advanced capitalist countries where it was prevalent.[30] Therefore, 1960s South Korean youth romance film illustrating similar issues to the youth film genre in other national industries were considered to be nothing more than a

[28] Yi Yŏngil. 2004. 390.
[29] Ibid. 395.
[30] In 1962, South Korea was a poor country with a per capita income of only $92 and had completely different socioeconomic conditions from the first world capitalist countries that entered a mass consumer society due to post-war high economic growth. (Statistics Korea. *T'onggyerŭl T'onghae Pon Kwangbok 70 Nyŏn Han'guksahoeŭi Pyŏnhwa Haesŏl P'yŏn* [Changes in Korean Society For 70years of Independence Through Statistics, Explanations]. Daejeon; Statistics Korea, 2015. 68.

wrongly transplanted product. This cultural importation was all the more problematic in that it arrived in South Korea via Japan.

It is certain that it is impossible to deny the influence of foreign, particularly Japanese, movies on South Korean youth romance films. In a sense, this genre is itself said to have been established by the transplantation of Japanese *seishun eiga*, and it is true that the genre name of youth romance film (*ch'ŏngch'unyŏnghwa*) is indeed its translation. Although South Korean youth romance films were certainly influenced by international trends, it would be overly simplistic to suggest that their reception was uniformly accepting or that they merely imitated foreign films, particularly Japanese ones. Instead, they often incorporated these influences into a distinctly Korean context and created something unique. Surely, it followed an internationally widespread sociocultural phenomenon and its concomitant film genre, but it recreated them in a Korean way. South Korean youth romance film endeavored to express or represent the desire of contemporary South Korean young people below the surface of mere apparent transplantation. To read into this desire will require an understanding of the historical and political context of South Korea in the 1960s.

In the following section, I will analyze how youth is represented in major texts from 1960s youth cinema in France, Japan, and South Korea. While Korean films depicted similar postwar modernity themes as those of other countries, including Americanized consumerism and deviant young males, they carried a distinctive emotional weight due to South Korea's historical context. Having endured Japanese colonial rule and the devastating Korean War, South Korea's experience was unlike that of any other country,

and its youth romance films reflected this. As such, the representations of youth in South Korean films were infused with a particular set of meanings and emotions that set them apart from their counterparts in France and Japan.

Anti-heroes in the Americanized Capitalist World

Breathless (Jean-Luc Godard, 1959) centers on young egocentric figures, who are true only to their own desire, paying no heed to social authority. In the beginning of the film, Michel Poiccard (Jean-Paul Belmondo), the male protagonist, steals an American officer's car in Marseilles and runs away to Paris. He wants to pick up money from his friend and see his girlfriend Patricia who came from New York. Michel desires the American cars he steals, is fascinated by his American girlfriend, and wants to live like the American movie star he always mimics. Michel imitates what he views on the screen. In a famous scene, when Michel is in front of a movie theater, he gazes at the advertisement for Humphrey Bogart's 1956 film *The Harder They Fall*. Michel utters the name "Bogey," and the camera shows a close-up of Bogart's headshot in the window before cutting back to Michel's face. Michel mimics Bogart's signature gesture while never taking his eyes off the photo, in an almost ritualistic manner.

All the Michel's actions in the film have no motive and meaning. His stealing cars, running away, murdering a policeman, and being shot, all seem like imitations of American crime movies rather than his real life. Michel acts as if he does not know ways of life other than those of imitating American movies, as if he lives his life for the sake of making scenes in B movies.

In *Breathless*, what Michel desires are just two American things. One is American cars. As a car thief, Michel habitually steals American automobiles, reflecting the obsession of young French men at the time with American vehicles.[31] *Elevator to The Gallows*, Louis Malle's 1957 film, also bluntly shows how much French youths were enthusiastic about them. Louis (Georges Poujouly), a rebellious teen, with his girlfriend Véronique (Yori Bertin), steals the male hero Julien Tavernier's (Maurice Ronet) Chevrolet Convertible and runs away. He recklessly races against German businessman Horst Bencker's Mercedes 300 SL, the fastest car commercially available in the 1950's on the highway,[32] although as a bad and clumsy driver, he can barely handle this great though outdated American automobile.

The other object of Michel's desire is Patricia, an American girl. She is a mysterious object in Michel's eyes as well as in the spectator's eyes throughout the film. She is a young and superficial American student in Paris and always wants to confirm her independence, though she lives on her parents' money.

The audience is left unsure of the truth behind Patricia's words and actions throughout the film, as she displays a contradictory attitude. For instance, in a hotel room scene, Patricia tells Michel that she is pregnant, but Michel appears indifferent. Patricia then admits that she made up the pregnancy to gauge his reaction. Whether or not she is

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[31] As Kristin Ross mentions, in the post-war era, the French, especially young people were completely fascinated by automobiles, a symbol of new abundance, American lifestyle, speed and thrills. (Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995) 44-46) In the postwar France, a car makes "a complete transformation in European consumption patterns and cultural habits." (Ibid, 38)

[32] Tom Keiser. "The Importance Of The Automobile In Elevator To The Gallows." *Cinémathèque Internationale of Philadelphia*,. https://cinemathequeip.wordpress.com/2011/08/04/the-importance-of-the-automobile-in-elevator-to-the-gallows/. Accessed Feb. 20. 2020.

truly pregnant is left unresolved, adding to the film's mysteries. The central mystery of the film is whether Patricia truly loves Michel. After escaping from the detectives in the theater and reuniting with Michel, they search for a hotel to spend the night. While browsing a newspaper, Patricia discovers that Michel is a wanted man, as well as married. Despite this, she appears unfazed and even excited to be on the run with a fugitive who is being hunted by the police for killing an officer. However, in a shocking twist, she ultimately betrays Michel, leading to his demise. The audience is left to wonder if Patricia ever truly loved Michel, or if she was simply using him for her own purposes. The ambiguity surrounding Patricia's character and motivations is part of what makes the film so compelling and memorable. If Michel could be taken for a gangster in *noir* films, Patricia could be a *femme fatale*.

In this film, however, all of the American elements are mixed with French ones. Above all, when Michel wants to be a Humphrey Bogart-style gangster, he seems to be more like the absurd Meursault from Albert Camus's 1942 novel *The Stranger*. In this renowned novel, one of the most memorable scenes is the murder where Meursault, the male protagonist, kills an Arab man. Camus masterfully paints a picture of an intense sun that seems to have a commanding influence on Meursault's actions, leading him to commit an act that has no apparent motive or intention.[33] Michel in *Breathless*, as a replication of a young man holding a gun under the scorching sun, captures the similar

[33] The following is the depiction of the sun in the murder scene:
The scorching blade slashed at my eyelashes and stabbed at my stinging eyes. That's when everything began to reel…It seemed to me as if the sky split open from one end to the other to rain down fire. My whole being tensed and I squeezed my hand around the revolver. The trigger gave; I felt the smooth underside of the butt; and there, in that noise, sharp and deafening at the same time, is where it all started. I shook off the sweat and sun. (Albert Camus. *The Stranger*. Trans. Matthew Ward. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. 59)

feeling, as the heat and brightness of the sun seem to have an almost palpable effect on the character's actions and state of mind. On the road to Paris, for example, Michel happens to find a gun in the stolen car and aims the gun at the sun, saying, "The sun is beautiful." He then shoots a policeman who has chased him and runs away again. In Patricia's room, Michel asks if she has ever thought about death. Having learned of her betrayal, he rejects his friends' suggestion to make a quick getaway and accepts his death as if it were predestined fate. His actions do not only break free of causal chains but are also without any motives and goals. His death seems to be preordained like a role. All of them cannot be explained by the film's American elements or Hollywood narrative structure.

Band of Outsiders (Jean-Luc Godard. 1963), like *Breathless*, borrows the plot of American film noir. As with most films of his, this movie's narrative is simple and insignificant: a story in which indiscreet young people, Odile (Anna Karina), Franz (Sami Frey) and Arthur (Claude Brasseur), plan to steal a large sum of money from Mr. Stolz who is living in the residence of Odile's aunt and plan to run away to the Americas. Their awkward robbery seems to mimic American crime movies.

In a unique and delightful way, this film also portrays how American and French cultures are intwined with each other in postwar French society: Franz and Arthur meet Odile, an adorable young girl, in an English class at a private institute. They want to learn English, but do not study seriously, rather continuously behave like school children. Arthur writes a note and passes it to Odile. "Tou bi or not tou bi contre votre poitrine, it iz ze question." Here, Shakespeare's famous line is turned into a playful sexual flirtation

between Arthur and Odile. For them, English is the English of American pop culture such as western films, B-rated crime films, and comics, not the English literature and high culture of Shakespeare, Eliot, and Hardy, as their teachers say. Franz and Arthur are fans of American pop culture and engage in role-playing activities. Franz adopts the appearance and demeanor of a 1950s gangster, while Arthur enjoys reading comic books. They also enjoy playing an extended game of "Billy the Kid," using finger guns and pretending to die dramatically. At a cafe, Odile orders a Coca Cola and she and Arthur imitate Chaplin's finger dance from *The Gold Rush* (1925) before the famous dancing scene occurs.

The iconic Louvre scene is another example of the intertwining of American and French culture, as well as high culture and popular culture. Before their burglary, Franz, Arthur, and Odile mark time by dashing headlong through the Louvre. Franz suggests the adventure after reading about an American who completed it in just 9 minutes and 45 seconds. Godard's approach to American culture in this scene is both ambivalent and subtle. As they sprint through the museum, the trio occasionally glance at the paintings and take in the statuary, as if mere seconds might be enough to digest those great works of art. Reducing culture to the basest form of consumerism, only Americans would behave in such a manner. Nonetheless, they are delighted with their American-style record-breaking performance, knocking two seconds off the old record held by "Jimmy Johnson of San Francisco." The Louvre scene highlights how American pop culture, running like a child through the corridors of a cultural heritage site, triumphs over French high culture by energizing the lives of young people in postwar France. It also reveals

how youth often passe by great art, which merely decorates the halls and does not actually change their lives.

Death is shown in this film as a scene in American genre films a similarity to how it is portrayed in *Breathless*. Arthur and Franz imitate a gunfight from Western movies earlier in the film. Arthur acts like he's being shot to death, saying, "On the 13 July 1891, Billy the Kid was shot in the back by the Sheriff of Tombstone Pat Garrett..." The scene where Arthur is dying from the gunshot of his uncle during the burglary of Mr. Stolz's money is depicted as a repetition of the aforementioned gunfight game. Moreover, Arthur's death seems not serious but absurd, since it is depicted like a scene in a Western with Franz and Odile onlooking from a distance paralleling the spectatorship of a movie. In the last scene, Franz and Odile are on the ship towards Brazil together, and the film ends with this narration: "The tropical adventure story of the two lovers will unfold within the next movie with Technicolor and Cinemascope."

These films show that while French tradition of defeat and occupation is involved in a declined history, America is related to a new beginning towards the future. America counts as the object of their desire that gives them the fantasy of consumerism, leisure, superficial affluence, and instant fulfillment. This fantasy stands for a new lifestyle for the future in contrast to the serious and existential French-style. The mixture of postwar France with American style consumeristic fantasy can be viewed as an index of the instability and chaos that postwar French young people confronted.

For postwar Japanese young people who experienced the defeat and U.S. military rule, what is American is linked not only to capitalist affluence and consumerist desire but also to something more serious. In postwar Japanese youth films, rather than mere imported lifestyle, Americanization or the borrowing of American elements means a radical transformation of themes such as the Westernized body, sexuality, and Japanese identity.

When it comes to Americanization, unlike French New Wave cinema, Japanese youth films focused on the depiction of the body and sexuality. As Tsurumi Shunsuke mentions, it was not until U.S. military rule that Japanese people learned how men and women interact with one another other through observing American soldiers, since it had been immoral for men and women even to walk side by side in traditional Japanese society. He argues that the greatest change in Japanese society due to U.S. military rule was that of the lifestyle around the relationship between sexes.[34] Indeed, a display of affection on screen in Japan was not allowed before 1945, and after the war, David Conte, a censor in the U.S. occupation authorities, went so far as to force Shochiku studio and Daiei studio to produce movies containing kiss scenes.[35] To put it another way, free love and sexual expression themselves represented the new age that Japanese were taught under U.S. occupation.

Taiyōzoku movies chose areas around the sea as their backdrop in order to display young bodies in swimsuits, especially Westernized almost naked female bodies.

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[34] Tsurumi Shunsuke. A Cultural History of Postwar Japan: 1945-1980. London: KPI, 1987. 11

[35] Mark McLelland. "Kissing is a symbol of democracy! Dating, Democracy, and Romance in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952". *Journal of the History of Sexuality.* Vol. 19, No. 3, 2010. 517–520; Sato Tadao, *Ilbonyŏnghwa Iyagi* [The Story of Japanese Cinema]. Trans.Yu Hyŏnmok. Seoul: Tabomunhwa, 1993. 240.

Motorboats and water skis replace the automobiles of French movies, and the sea in the hot sun and luxurious resorts the streets in the city of Paris. While Godard's films view New York as representative of America, *taiyōzoku* movies depict it as the California coast with young people in baggy trousers, Hawaiian shirts and sunglasses. Japanese youth films in this period, including *taiyōzoku* movies, normally address young university students' deviation from cultural norm, pleasure, excessive sexual expression and sexuality in particular. According to Michael Raine, contemporary Japanese reviews of *taiyōzoku* movies made common use of the words such as "foreign," "postwar," "sex," and "violence."[36]

Crazed Fruits (1956) directed by Nakahira Kō can be considered as a perfect exemplar of *taiyōzoku* movies in this respect. It describes a devastating love triangle between two brothers, the older Natsu (Ishihara Yujiro) and the younger Haru (Tsugawa Masahiko), and a beautiful young lady named Eri (Kitahara Mie). The film is remarkable for its depiction of young university students' daily delinquency and hedonism with the scene of drinking, dancing, an amusement park, a jazz club, and motorboating or waterskiing young bodies in swimsuits. In this film, the younger generation and the older generation clearly correspond to American culture and Japanese culture respectively. And the opposition of young people against their parents is visualized as their indulgence in American culture. Natsu and Haru's house, for example, is a Japanese traditional one that is characterized by tatami mat flooring, sliding doors, and wooden engawa verandas. On the other hand, Frank's house, where Natsu and his friends, including Haru, gather, is a

[36] Michael John Raine. *Youth, Body, and Subjectivity in the Japanese Cinema 1955-1960*. 2002. The University of Iowa, Ph. D. Dissertation.143-144

completely Western-style building. Here, they often throw luxurious dance parties to jazz music.

Frank and his house evoke the Cold War politics of postwar Japan by directly addressing the problem of the identity of Japanese young people who have grown under U.S. occupation. Being mixed-blood, Frank, played by the Danish-Japanese actor Okada Masumi, is the only one with an English name in the movie, and he lives alone having been abandoned by his American mother and Japanese father after their divorce. However, he is so rich that he possesses a luxurious house, a car, a motorboat, and a yacht and is willing to provide Natsu and his friends with his house as a gathering place. Frank's house, an American luxurious mansion in Hayama Bay, evokes both U.S. military occupation of Japan in the postwar era and its resultant material affluence in Japan. Also, Frank, who is neither American nor Japanese, embodies how Japanese youth suffered identity crisis and cultural confusion. The scene at the jazz club Blue Sky illustrates these issues. When a waiter in the club takes Natsu's party's order, all but Frank order a cocktail, a whisky, or something similar. When it is Frank's turn, the waiter takes the order in English (although he did in Japanese until now) because he mistakes him for an American. Frank orders Shōchū in Japanese, however.

> Waiter: Irassaimase, nanika…[Welcome, what are you having…?]
> Friends: Ginko and Coke, Whisky soda, High ball, Black and White straight…
> Waiter: Sochira wa? [And you?] Oh, excuse me sir. What would you like to have, sir?
> Frank: Shōchū, aru? [Do you have shōchū?]
> (39:38-39:51)

As this ironic scene demonstrates, that postwar Japanese young people look down on Japanese identity and are addicted to American culture does not imply that they simply

acknowledge the U.S. occupation of Japan and indiscreetly accept its influence. The same club scene subsequently shows the way they are ambivalent to American power. When Natsu happens to find Eri dancing with an American middle-aged man, mise-en-scène and camera angle are bluntly suggestive of the way Japan is under U.S. occupation. The club is divided vertically with Americans drinking and dancing on the second floor, including Eri and her partner, while the Japanese stay downstairs. The camera is located downstairs, necessitating that the Japanese to look up at the Americans and their Japanese wives, visualizing the hierarchical relationship between America and Japan.

Eri is the most problematic figure in this scene. Natsu discovers that his innocent brother's love interest has a history of dating multiple boys and is currently married to a wealthy middle-aged American businessman. Although the audience is given limited information about Eri's husband, we can surmise that he must be highly affluent and influential, as evidenced by his possession of a luxurious car and magnificent residence, as well as his marriage to a young and attractive Japanese woman. The filmmaker here self-consciously expresses the way Japan is subordinated to America by gendering the hierarchical relationship, implying Japanese youth's self-contempt and an inferiority complex about America.

If the theme of Americanization for the postwar Japanese younger generation directly addresses what Japaneseness is, what Americanization in South Korean 1960s youth romance films becomes expressed as is a Westernized subculture of young people in such films as *Maenbarŭi Ch'ŏngch'un* [The Barefooted Youth](Kim Kiduk, 1964),

Wihŏmhan Ch'ŏngch'un, [Dangerous Youth] (Chŏng Ch'anghwa, 1966), *Oinŭi Kŏndal* [Five Scoundrels](Yi Sŏnggu,1966), *Ch'ou* [Early Rain] (Chŏng Chinu, 1966). Interestingly enough, what is American in these films emerges as a South Korean youth culture with a clear class division. American culture is portrayed as lower-class young men's culture in these movies. A cliché of these movies is the scene in a bar or dancehall in which a poor male hero drinks or dances to cheerful rock-n-roll or twist music with joyful dancing young men and women in the background. Twist music and dance scenes become conventions of South Korean youth film irrespective of their narrative function.

American pop culture's depiction as a culture of the lower class provides quite a contrast to high culture in these movies. One of the most noteworthy features of this South Korean film genre is the choice of a lower-class young man as the male protagonist, as we will see, and it is American pop culture that always dominates the visual image the world of lower-class young men. Here, the theme of Americanization in Korean youth romance films is not directly opposed to Korean identity, unlike in French New Wave or Japanese youth cinema, but rather functions as an indicator of class conflict. Consequently, the theme of Americanization is less important in this South Korean genre in comparison to its central role in French New Wave and Japanese youth films.

The South Korean film *The Barefooted Youth* is an adaptation of the Japanese film *Dorodarake no junjo* [Mud Spattered Purity] (Nakahira Ko, 1963) but contains obvious differences from its reference text.[37]It is these elements of difference that delineate the

[37] Regarding South Korean youth films' plagiarism of Japanese films, see the following: Yi Wusŏk, *1960nyŏndae Ch'ŏngch'unyŏnghwa Hyŏngsŏng Kwajŏnge Taehan Yŏn-gu*.[A Study on Building of the Chungchoon Film Genre in 1960s].2003. Chungang University. M.A. Thesis, 6-11; Chung Chonghwa, "The Topography of 1960s Korean Youth film: Between Plagiarism and Adaptation," *Journal of Japanese*

differences Korean and Japanese films of the genre. In this respect, this work is distinct from, for example, *The Classroom of Youth*, which tried to mimic the typical genre characteristics of Japanese youth films. Of these features in *The Barefooted Youth*, the most important in this context is that American pop culture is involved in class division. In this film, it is linked to lower-class young people through a sharp contrast with European classic culture. The basic narrative is a sad love story between the daughter of a diplomat, Joanna (Ŏm Aengran), and a scoundrel, Tusu (Shin Sŏngil), who dies at the end of the film. The class difference between them is visualized in various ways. While Tusu's life is illustrated through the dancehalls full of young men and women licentiously dancing to upbeat rockabilly music, pro wrestling matches, and a boxing magazine, Joanna's world is depicted through the music of Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, classical music concerts, and the Bible. Next door to Tusu's apartment lives Madam Shin, an ex-*yanggongju* [western princess][38], and Jackie, a mixed-blood child conceived between Madam Shin and an American soldier, who pesters Tusu to buy his cookies and call him "daddy." Thus, cultural signifiers surrounding Tusu belongs to American pop culture from the U.S. army base, which contrasts sharply with those of upper-class high culture surrounding Joanna.

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and Korean Cinema, (Vol.8 no.1,2016); Chung Chonghwa."Mode of Cinematic Plagiarism and Adaptation." *Korea Journal* (Vol.57 No.3,2017)

[38] The term "*yanggongju*" is a euphemism for women who prostituted themselves after the Korean War, primarily to US soldiers.

Family, Generational Conflict, and a New Masculine Subjectivity

In French New Wave cinema, youth have no family. They look like beings thrown out in the world, appearing out of the sky without any origins. In *Band of Outsiders*, Odile lives with her aunt, but the relationship between them seems like nothing more than that of strangers, and Arthur goes so far as to be shot to death by his uncle. In *The Cousins* (Claude Chabrol, 1959), Charles (Gérard Blain), a young man from the country who is new to Paris, often writes warm letters to his mother but is portrayed as an exceptionally archaic being among French young men in the postwar era.[39] His cousin Paul (Jean-Claude Brialy), who has lived in Paris, is an exemplar of young Parisians who are interested in nothing but ceaseless parties, wanton sexual life, and pleasure and thrill seeking. On the contrary, the innocent and romantic Charles is a good son who struggles not to go against his mother's wishes and studies hard for his exams. Yet, there is no place for beings like him in postwar Paris; this is why Charles's tragicomic fate that ends with his absurd death at the hands of Paul who accidentally shoots him.

Breathless' two main characters are self-absorbed and indifferent to the world around them, including each other. They represent the parentless postwar youth, where one is a gangster without a past and the other is an American student. Her affluent parents in America are paying for her to live in Paris, but she claims she wants to be independent, stating, "I don't know if I'm unhappy because I'm not free or if I'm not free because I'm unhappy."

[39] The conversation between Charles and an old man, a bookstore owner reveals how different Charles is from the young people in Paris. As soon as Charles says that he is reading Balzac's novels, the old man catches that Charles is a provincial man, and says it to him. Then, the old man and Charles lament that young people only read thrillers and sex stories and do not read novels such as Balzac's and Dostoevsky's. In this scene, Charles's literary preferences characterizes him as a traditional French, not a young Parisian.

This portrayal of youth without family is also related to the emergence of new female figures in the French New Wave. According to Sellier, familial values are "mostly absent" in the female representations of the French New Wave.[40] Two-thirds of the heroines don't mention their parents, and eight are married, but six of them are adulterous. There is a rare presence of a mother figure in French New Wave cinema, with only five heroines out of 24 having a child, but the New Wave mother is portrayed as monstrous, as seen in *The 400 Blows* (François Truffaut, 1959).

Therefore, youth in French New Wave cinema, who seem to have neither parents nor family, appear to live in their own, playful, pleasure-seeking, and consumerist world. Nevertheless, they often hold the older generation responsible for political issues including the Algerian War, the biggest issue in contemporary French society. However, this gesture is only superficial. A typical example of such shallow criticism is seen in *Elevator to the Gallows* (Louis Malle, 1958), where young people attack the older generation but are entirely indifferent to the war.[41]

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[40] Geneviève Sellier. *Masculine Singular: French New Wave Cinema*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2008. 148.

[41] As Neupert points out, the placement of Louis Malle in the French New Wave remains a subject of ongoing debate among film historians. Some argue that Malle's influence was minimal, while others position him at the center of the French New Wave. Nevertheless, there is a strong tendency to view Malle as a precursor to the French New Wave with his *Elevator to the Gallows*. (Richard Neupert. *A History of The French New Wave Cinema*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2007. 85-89)
In this chapter on French New Wave cinema, I analyze *Elevator to the Gallows* and include it in my discussion. As many film scholars have pointed out, the film shares commonalities with other New Wave films, including its low-budget production, use of location, music by Miles Davis, iconic actress Jeanne Moreau, and crime film plot. Moreover, my main focus is not on the significance of the French New Wave itself but rather its representation of postwar French youth. The film provides a characteristic and typical representation of postwar French youth and shares characteristics related to this theme with other films of the French New Wave.

Elevator to the Gallows consists of two subplots. First is Julien and Florence's desperate love story. Julien who has just killed Simon Carala is trapped in an elevator after the murder. Florence (Jeanne Moreau), who is waiting for her lover, Julien, wanders the streets during the night. The second subplot is Véronique and Louis's love story that runs parallel to Julien and Florence's story. Louis and Véronique steal a luxury car and commit murder on impulse. However, Julien is mistakenly considered to be a suspect in the murder of Louis and Véronique because they pretend to be M. and Mme. Tavernier after stealing Julien's car. Thus, Louis and Véronique seem to be the younger doubles of Julien and Florence. In other words, their story repeats Julien and Florence's story in a distorted way, which fits with their generation.

Julien, the male protagonist, was a paratrooper during the Indochina and Algerian Wars. Thus, Louis has to pretend to be a war hero, when he encounters German businessman Horst Bencker (Iván Petrovich), a rich German businessman who raced Louis in his Mercedes sports car at a motel. During dinner, Horst offers expensive champagne to Louis and Véronique, commenting that the brand was not available during the occupation. Louis responds by stating that his generation has other things than champagne on their mind, such as the four years of occupation and the wars in Indochina and Algeria. The scene has an ambivalent political dimension, as Horst is an affluent former Nazi who occupied France and is ultimately shot by Louis after sneering at him for stealing his Mercedes. Neither Horst nor Louis are characters that the audience can empathize with. Louis appears indifferent to the war and avoids taking responsibility for

his generation's role in France's involvement in the wars in Indochina and Algeria. Moreover, he seems that his own generation also suffers from the consequences of war.

The younger generation's ambiguous attitude toward the French colonial wars can also be seen in Godard's *The Little Soldier*, which was banned in 1960 when it was made because it dealt with the Algerian War straightforwardly but was finally released after the war in 1963. As a deserter, the male protagonist Bruno (Michel Subor) acts as an agent of the OAS (Organisation de l'armée secrète) while he's in Geneva and carries out political maneuvering to block the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) of Algeria. He is skeptical of politics and feels at peace in art, although his life is surrounded by assassination, terrorism, and torture. He talks about Louis Aragon's poems and Paul Klee's paintings and mentions the most suitable time to listen to Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven while ironically suspending any judgments about the Algerian War, despite his being tortured and committing an assassination. In the middle of extreme political violence, Bruno says this: "In the thirties, young men had a revolution. For example, Malraux, Drieu La Rochelle, Aragon. We have nothing. They had the Spanish Civil War. We have no war. Aside from ourselves..."

This film's political ambiguity is all the more prominent because the whole story is told through Bruno's flashback from an unspecified time and place. Since Bruno's voice-over narration is told regardless of visual images both in the beginning and ending of the film, the whole story seems to be Bruno's introspection. After he meets Veronica (Anna Karina), who works for the FLN, and falls in love with her, he wants to leave for Brazil with her. But Veronica is tortured to death by his OAS colleagues. Even though Bruno

has expressed his love for Veronica throughout the movie, in the last scene where he learns of her death, he says, “One thing I've learned is not to be bitter. I was just glad to still have so much time left.” The narrative form of *The Little Soldier* leads both the Algerian War and the girl that he loves to be a mere means of a young man’s internal investigation.

In French cinema, rebellious youth view France’s defeat in World War II as well as the Indochina and Algerian Wars as independent of themselves, and themselves as being originless, thrown out in the world. They differentiate themselves from their parents who are responsible for the war and reveal their new orientation concerning values and lifestyles, deriding and subverting those of the older generation. However, attitudes such as these are no more than mauvaise foi of postwar French youth who attempt to evade the responsibility of sixteen years of colonial wars, let alone World War II, and insist on their innocence in relation to these wars. In French representations of rebellious youth, there are no traces of the young generation’s acknowledgement to being in debt to the past (and the present), particularly the colonial wars directly linked to the material well-being that they are enjoying, even though France was at the height of the Algerian War. This crafted ahistoricism produces a sense of temporality of the absolute present, figuring them as absolutely free atomistic individuals, stripped of any historicity, without any visions for the future, and only enjoying mere present desires. While France in the postwar era copes with its historical debt to colonialism through the wars, by ascribing responsibility to their parents, the filmic representations of youth define themselves in terms of aspects others than politics, like Bruno's high arts in *The Little Soldier* as well as American pop

culture and its consumerism of, say, fast cars. Thus, a deeper reading of the representations of rebellious youth that postwar French directors produced allows us to see political self-deception hidden in the trimmings of apoliticism and cultural signs. This symbolic sleight of hand illustrates how postwar French society attempted to evade responsibility through a rewriting of an originless new generation.

While French New Wave cinema revolved around atomistic youth, Japanese youth films centered on family, particularly familiar conflict between the parental and young generations. The former helplessly obeys the established social order and lies to the latter about its own wrongdoings, whereas the latter violently defies the social institutions created by the former.

Ichikawa Kon's film *Shokei no Heya* [Punishment Room] (1956) is one youth film that describes this theme in the most extreme and controversial way of films in the genre. Katsumi (Hiroshi Kawaguchi), the male hero, is a young university student who is angry at the helpless older generation and believes that he should do whatever he pleases. This is why he nonchalantly and guiltlessly commits offenses like robbery, drugging and raping a woman, and getting into gang fights. However, Katsumi's unethical deviations are not depicted as criminal or psychopath but as an attempt to break through the deep resignation and powerlessness widespread in postwar Japanese society and anger directed toward to the older generation that unconditionally accepted social values. Though the narrative revolves around the opposition between young university students, including Katsumi, and the older generation, it imbues the younger generation with a rebellious

spirit by portraying the latter in a negative manner. The characters in the parental generation are all illustrated as timid, helpless, irresponsible, and indifferent to everything but their prestige and immediate gains: Katsumi's father is weak and obedient and kowtows to anyone in his bank job, his mother wants to maintain the illusion of family harmony even while knowing that her son is a rapist, and a professor is only interested in the publishing of his book rather than in teaching.

The conflict is also emphasized visually. The opening sequence, for instance, features a documentary-like crowd scene in which a number of university students enthusiastically watch a university baseball game in a stadium. The scene of young, vital, and energetic fans abruptly shifts to a scene in which a middle-aged man (Katsumi's father) is standing in the middle of some farmland, evidently in agony. He goes so far as to travel to the edge of Tokyo to attract new clients, despite ill health. Subsequent visual contrasts are made to spatially differentiate the lives of Katsumi and his parents such as between Katsumi's home with the domestic as a representation of his parents and Ginza and Shinjuku, bars, a rugby field, and dance party scenes as a representation of Katsumi. Katsumi's home is always illustrated as a claustrophobic narrow space using low-key lighting, and this characteristic of the space is all the more remarkable because, whenever Katsumi talks to his parents, the screen is filled with medium shots and close-up shots. The film's use of front close-up shots of a single character effectively portrays the lack of communication within Katsumi's family. The suffocating, full shots of the characters convey their intense emotions of anger, frustration, and hatred towards one another. Furthermore, the high-angle camera shots used in interior scenes create an oppressive

atmosphere, adding to the brokenness of the family dynamic. On the other hand, the space of university students and Katsumi is open and exuberant. The university students' dance party scenes in which young men and women swing dance passionately to lively music are filmed in high-key lighting with wide angle shots of the dance hall. Katsumi's character is depicted as independent at home, but outside of it, he is just one of a group of young college students. The contrast between the raucous crowd shots of college culture and the oppressive atmosphere of his home highlights the generational conflict faced by young men in contemporary society. Given the horrific immorality and violence exhibited by Katsumi and his friends in the film, some viewers may interpret these visual techniques as creating emotions that make young men's violence acceptable.

When his mother asks Katsumi about his job planning after graduation, he replies that he does not want to live like his father and cries out, "He and his kind are dead inside! Not me! I'm going to live! I'm going to rebel!" His father subsequently goes to the hospital vomiting blood – a marker of Katsumi's parental generation's helplessness, conformity, and lack of individual desires which are the characteristics that provoke Katsumi's anger.

The problem is that Katsumi's "lively life" cannot be accommodated in the existing order and must express itself through violence, particularly to women. Excessive sexual objectification of and violence to women are not limited to *Punishment Room* but are generally present in Japanese youth films, including *taiyōzoku* films. Even in Oshima Nagisa's *Cruel Story of Youth* (1960), which intentionally mocks and twists the conventions of *taiyōzoku* films, is the major motif of rape. The gendered depiction of

youth in postwar Japan illustrates only men who do not conform to the established moral values and social norms and defy Japanese gerontocracy count as rebellious youth. Almost every global youth film, including those from the French New Wave, generally portray young women as mere sexual objects and young men as the only representatives of the new age. However, what is unique about Japanese youth films is that they utilize the motif of male domination through the rape of women in order to show the younger generation's distinctiveness. In other words, the sexual politics of the domination of women is required for the emergence of a new male subject who could overcome the obedient parental generation.

Yoshimi Shunya argues that Japan was instantly castrated and feminized when America began to play the role of absolute male patriarchy in Japan after its defeat and subsequent U.S. military occupation. In other words, the emperor as well as nationalist masculinity in Japan was denied and emptied out by these simultaneous events. Yoshimi subsequently states that "Japan" began to emerge as a male subject again in the late 1950s, though the emperor itself was still castrated.[42] He explains Japan's restoration of masculinity in terms of rapid economic growth at the time, but this is not a sufficient explanation. How could obedient salarymen, "Japanese males as economic animal"[43] recover the overwhelming masculinity that they experienced during the occupation? It seems more convincing to view the reconstruction of masculinity in this era as the actual

[42] Yoshimi Shunya et al. *Naengjŏn Ch'ejewa Chabonŭi Munhwa* [A Cold War Regime and Capitalist Culture] trans. Hŏ Boyun et al.Seoul; Somyŏngch'ulp'an, 2013. 67-68.
[43] Ibid.

embodiment of sexual politics implicit in postwar youth films — males violently dominating females.

Postwar Japanese youth films treat even a deviant young man in *Punishment Room* who attempts to break moral and legal norms as if he were a victim of his own society, because they address youth problems mainly from the perspective of generational discord. The Japanese social order that treated individuals as parts of a machine and coerced obedience remained consistent before and after the war. The parental generation, which was mobilized to the front by the emperor's orders, now docilely conformed to American military occupation and tutelage. The focus on utility of the Japanese national subject is why rebellious youth are viewed as the innocent victims of the still oppressive Japanese society who must confront the normative social order and their irresponsible parents and advocate for their own desires and freedom.

However, postwar Japanese youth films produce a fantasy of the younger generation that is totally free from the responsibility of the war by flattening the complicated political situations in postwar Japan to the opposition between generations and the victimization of the young generation. This fantasy performs the ideological function of concealing the real victims of the Japanese imperialistic war, such as the *Zainichi* and residents of Okinawa, which became an internal colony with the U.S. army's occupation, and makes possible the appearance of a new kind of the male subjectivity that postwar Japanese required.

The most important aspect in South Korean youth romance films, compared to French and Japanese counterparts, is the fact that young male heroes have no parents. That is, they are all orphans: Young Toksuri in *Heukmaek* (Yi Manhŭi, 1965), who lost his father, and went to the South during the Korean War, Duktae and his younger sister in *Dangerous Youth,* Seyŏng in *Yeraisyang*, (Chŏng Ch'anghwa, 1966), the five young men in *Five Scoundrels* who live together behaving as siblings, as well as Sŏktu in *Pult'anŭn Ch'ŏngch'un* [A Burning Youth] (1966) and Tushik in *Hŭkparŭi Ch'ŏngch'un* [Black-haired Youth] (1966), which are two films in Kim Kiduk's film series about youth.

It was with the big hit of *The Barefooted Youth* that this genre convention specific to Korean youth romance film was established.[44] Unlike Japanese youth films that featured generational conflict, subsequent films in the Korean genre have featured male protagonists with no parents. But they are also different from the atomistic individuals ejected from society in French New Wave cinema protagonists, since they regard the absence of parents and family as a big lack and struggle to fill the loss. In other words, the characters in French youth films place no importance on their family while the biggest psychological problem in Korean films of the genre is that the absence of family. The narratives of the Korean youth romance film genre are fundamentally driven by the desire to overcome the protagonists' state as orphans and to create a family. If a young man falls in love with a young woman, they are compelled to make a family through marriage. The main characters in *Five Scoundrels* are, for instance, five young men who

[44] South Korean youth romance films before *The Barefooted Youth*, including *The Classroom of Youth* (1963), which plagiarized or adapted Japanese youth films, reiterated Japanese youth films' genre rules such as a decadent life and delinquency of rich young man suffering from their parents' adultery or generational conflicts.

share a special bond among themselves like real brothers, though they all live an idle life. Hoil promised to marry Ongnan, the sister of Yongt'ae , the leader of their group, but tries to emigrate to Brazil, since he is afflicted by the fact that he was born out of wedlock and abandoned by his father.

Though South Korean young men come on the scene as violent and rebellious, the reason for such behavior is fundamentally different from that is French and Japanese youth films. Most Korean male heroes appear as lower-class young men like gangsters. They are likely to do some wrongdoing owing to their poor surroundings. That is, their misdemeanors and crimes stem from their social position, not from their collision with the older generation. In *The Barefooted Youth*, the male protagonist Tusu, whose father died in prison and whose mother was a prostitute, refers to himself as "a scoundrel, like a cancer in our society" when speaking to Joanna. After dropping out of school, he sinks into the back alley of violence and crimes and lives in bars full of smoke, dance halls of swing dance and rockabilly music, and sensual and seductive bar girls, but his life journey should be understood in terms of social class, not as the cultural rebellion against the older generation.

Class conflict, at the center of this genre narrative, is based on lower-class young men's intense desire for social success and its setbacks and failures. As Pyŏn Insik mentioned at the time, "most writers in Korea were completely occupied with creating the images of youth who attempted to take an elevator instead of a staircase."[45] Likewise, Yi Yŏngmi notes that South Korean 1960s youth romance films "contain the story about

[45] Pyŏn Insik. "Hoejŏnŭija, Erebet'a Insaengŭi Han'gyejŏm"[A Swival Chair, The Limitations of Elevator Life]. *Yŏnghwa TV Yesul* [Cinema TV Arts]. Oct. 1966. 95.

social success through marriage, whose protagonists are, in many cases, 'male Cinderellas,' or, 'Cinderella men'."[46] Thus the main plot in South Korean youth romance films is about a poor and orphaned young man who tries to marry a rich and dignified girl to improve his social status. In most cases, this desire for upward mobility surely ends in failure. The best example of these tragic endings is *The Barefooted Youth*. In this movie, Tusu and Joanna's love story ends with them running away together to kill themselves because they cannot overcome the class divide.

The social status of the male protagonist is highlighted in the scenes where he comes into contact with his affluent love interest. The narrative is almost the same as that of *Mud Spattered Purity*, its original, but some scenes are inserted that are not related to the original. One case is the scene where Tusu and Joanna eat western food. When Joanna asks her friend's mother for Tusu's job and then they all meet, Tusu drinks soup and eats steak with his hands because he does not know about Western table manners. Another instance where the difference in class is clearly illustrated is the scene of Tusu's and Joanna's funerals. In this scene, Akari (Twist Kim), a friend of Tusu's, drags Tusu's dead body along after Joanna's splendid funeral procession. Tusu's body is not only covered with a piece of a straw mat, but it is also barefoot. These two scenes both bring the class divide between Tusu and Joanna into stark relief.

Though the South Korean films share the representations of rebellious youth with French New Wave films and Japanese youth films, South Korean youth romance films

[46] Yi Yŏngmi. *Han'guktaejungmunhwasa, Shinp'asŏngŭ-ro Ikta Changhanmongesŏ Moraeshigyekkaji* [Reading a History of Korean Popular Arts Through *Shinp'asŏng*: From *Changhangmong* to *Sandglass*]. Seoul; P'urŭnyŏksa, 2016. 286.

head towards the opposite direction to French and Japanese films. Young men in South Korean films actively accept and follow social orders and values. The lower-class male protagonists don't want to deviate from the social order and want to settle down successfully. This means that the capitalist ethos, the optimistic view of anyone being able to succeed with their effort, began to spread in South Korea, which had just begun capitalist industrialization, unlike the advanced capitalist countries which experience postwar high economic growth. For example, *Hoejŏnŭija* [A Swivel Chair] (Yi Hyŏngp'yo, 1966) features Chŏngsu (Shin Sŏngil), a young man who is abandoned by his father as an illegitimate child. After his mother died that she could not afford to pay medical bills, he lives only for success. Chŏngsu does everything to get a high office in his company to the extent that he sends his girlfriend to his boss.

Early Rain is a movie that explicitly focuses on the desire for upward mobility and the frustration of young lower-class man. Ch'ŏlsu (Shin Sŏngil), a mechanic at an auto repair shop, and Yŏnghŭi (Mun Hŭi), a maid at the French ambassador's house, meet by chance. As a man with a strong passion for success, Ch'ŏlsu introduces himself as the son of a wealthy businessman and performs as if his customer's luxury car was his own. Yŏnghŭi, wearing a French raincoat given to her by her owner's daughter, also introduces herself as the French ambassador's daughter. Every rainy day, they have romantic dates and talk about their dream of forming a happy family, but the truth of their mutual deception is revealed and leads to a violent catastrophe. What Ch'ŏlsu wants is not just economic wealth. He has received financial help, including college tuition and living expenses at the cost of being the lover of a wealthy middle-aged woman. After meeting

Yŏnghŭi, however, Ch'ŏlsu resolutely ends the relationship though he still needs her money and says, "With you, I can't fill my dream." Ch'ŏlsu persistently asks Yŏnghŭi to marry him. Once they get married, he says, he can persuade her parents, the French ambassador and his wife. Ch'ŏlsu longs for not only money but also a family background of high status such as that of the French ambassador's family. Thus, Ch'ŏlsu's desire to marry the French ambassador's daughter is because it would allow him to obtain a high social position. Marriage with a woman of a high social rank will create a wealthy, powerful, and high-ranking family for the impoverished Ch'ŏlsu. Therefore, as his aspiration and expectations for social success go down to drain after hearing Yŏnghŭi's confession, Ch'ŏlsu explodes in anger and frustration. He brutally assaults and rapes Yŏnghŭi. The relentless assault on Yŏnghŭi reveals how desperately a lower-class young man is eager for social success and advancement.

As such, young men in South Korean youth romance films do not just desire consumeristic satisfaction and material affluence but rather seek to solve their most significant deficiency – the absence of family – through legal marriage. Therefore, even if these young men enjoy an entertainingly licentious life with bargirls, they are eager to rebuild their families and connect with new parents to compensate their lost parents through legal marriage.

The desire of young men in youth romance films to be incorporated into their wife's powerful family and to restore family relations through marriage cannot be understood as separate from the fact that South Korea went through the Korean War after liberation from Japan's colonial rule. Kwon Heonik points out that the Korean War is "a

combination of several different kinds of war": it was a civil war; it was an international war between the U.S and China; it was a part of the global conflict called the Cold War.[47] Aside from this characteristic of the Korean War, he emphasizes there is "another Korean War."[48] It is characterized by the relentless assault against the civilian population, which cannot be understood by the general concept of war between armed forces. Thus the Korean War, more than any other war, directly destroyed intimate relations, such as family, friends, and communities; "the Korean War's social, human-relational sufferings illustrate not only the general human condition in the wars of the twentieth century but also the particular character of the Korean conflict."[49] The Korean War forced young South Korean men to lose their parents, destroy family relationships, and threw them into the world alone. The anger, delinquency, and violence shown by young South Korean men hid their desires to restore strong family relationships and settle down in a stable social order – a tendency that is hard to explain without knowing the particularly devastating consequences of the Korean War.

Postwar youth films have common symbols of rebellious youth and the tastes of American pop culture in France, Japan, and South Korea. However, the differences in the geopolitical context of each country since 1945 are the basis for a differentiated historical and political reading of postwar youth representations beyond superficial similarities. Expressed through youth representation in postwar French New Wave cinema and

[47] Kwon Heonik. *After the Korean War*. Cambridge University Press, Kindle Edition.2020. 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

Japanese youth films is the underlying desires of first world capitalist countries with high economic growth is to break with the colonial past and replace politics with economic growth and consumerism. On the other hand, youth representation in South Korean films reveals the desire to build a stable social order and restore the lost familial relationships caused by the Korean War.

Chapter 2

Discursive Transformation of Cold War Colonialism: From Student Power to Youth Culture

Young people's defiance in post-war first world capitalist countries did not stop at the cultural representation of "rebel without a cause" against the conservative pressure of social conformism but developed into a radical anti-establishment political movement that culminated in the 1968 movement. University students poured into the streets from major Western cities, including Paris, Rome, and Berlin, pledging anti-imperialist and anti-war peace in all areas of politics, economy, society, education, and culture. Furthermore, the events that took place in the Czech Republic during the Prague Spring demonstrated that the revolutionary spirit of 1968 was not limited to first world Europe. Additionally, the anti-government protests of Japanese college students, who shocked the world with their fierce demonstrations as part of the *Zenkyōtō* movement, contributed to the global character of the rebellion that marked that year.

The foreign affairs during the rebellion were immediately reported under the name of "student power" by South Korean intellectuals such as journalists and young professors. However, the way they accepted them in South Korea was unusual. They were not only understood as events in Western Europe and the US but also as cultural resistance of affluent young people against the older generation rather than as radical political protests challenging the regime itself, though in the late 1960s, youth revolts occurred globally, and were not irrelevant to the political themes raised by the New Left.

If the student power discourse culturally colored young people's political movements, the subsequent hippie discourse completely erased the political traits of the radical anti-establishment movement of Western youths who dreamed of total transformation of life itself by introducing the hippie lifestyle as a decadent rebellion against the human alienation in Western civilization and a psychological resistance against the older generation. Thus, cultural discourse completely replaced political discourse, and radical political movements began to be less and less thematized in South Korean society.

The debate on youth culture in the early 1970s emerged in this context. On the one hand, South Korean liberal intellectuals shifted to discussing Korean political and cultural situations, but on the other hand, this shift was an extension of their cultural transformation that reduced the political meaning of radical Western student movements. They designated newly emerging popular culture at the time in South Korea as "youth culture," and, based on this, began to discuss the culture of college students. They were met with fierce opposition from college students, in that they placed commercial popular culture enjoyed by young people at the center of university culture and assigned positive meaning to it, overlooking the political nature of the Korean student movement, which fought against the dictatorship amidst political tension. They signified youth culture as a new costume worn by the political student movement or as the nonpolitical freedom of the younger generation to reject cultural authoritarianism, but it turns out that their views were a watered-down version of cultural politics that ignored the struggle against the

dictatorship or even led to anti-communist liberalism that actively advocated Yushin regime.

Examining discourses on South Korean youth culture as well as on Western youth movement illustrates how their depoliticized culturalist approach was embedded in the colonialist episteme strengthened by the Cold War regime. These discourses are colonial in that they perceive Western values as absolute by universalizing the West and modernity was made synonymous with the West, but they are also *Cold War colonial discourses* in that they internalize a highly narrow ideological representation caused by Cold War antagonism in which nothing is taken to be positive except for American-style liberal democracy and capitalist development, and other social values are viewed as less advanced or antagonistic, not as competitive, alternative or optional.

In this chapter, I first show how deeply Cold War colonialism was internalized by South Korean liberal intellectuals by diachronically examining the discursive trajectory from the student power discourse to the youth culture debate. I will then demonstrate the way it worked ideologically in the discourses presented by those intellectuals during the youth culture debate by analyzing them specifically.

Overlapping Decolonization and the Cold War

In the 1960s, young people took to the streets in Paris, Rome, Berlin, San Francisco, etc., with slogans such as “All Power to the Imagination” and “Demand the Impossible,” rejecting social norms and exhibiting their objection to racial, social, and political injustices through resistance. Some signifiers of the third world such as the Vietnam War,

Ho Chi Minh, the Cuban Revolution, and Che Guevara appeared with the students as symbols highlighting the rebellions of young people in the first world represented by a series of events that occurred in Paris in May 1968. Of course, the prevailing understanding of the student revolts in developed countries as a radical cultural revolution contains some truth about the revolutionary 1960s. However, this understanding of the student rebellion centers on only the experiences of the first world, overlooking the post-colonial national liberation movement of the third world, which was a major axis and driving force of global revolts in the 1960s.

Since the late 1990s, scholarship on the revolutionary 1960s has overcome the research trend that privileged the experiences of Europeans and Americans, expanding and stimulating a larger perspective of focusing on global experiences.[50] Recent studies have investigated the exchange of revolutionary ideas and movements that spread within the non-West as well as the impact of the non-West on the West, including the Vietnam War, the Cuban Revolution, China's Cultural Revolution and Maoism, and the history of African decolonization in the 1960s.[51]

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[50] See Chen Jian et al eds. *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building.* London New York: Routledge, 2020; George Katsiaficas. *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987; Jeremi Suri, ed. *The Global Revolutions of 1968.* New York: W. W. Norton, 2007; Samantha Christensen and Zachary Scarlett eds., *The Third World in the Global 1960s*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012; Mirjam Shatanawi and Wayne Modest eds., *The Sixties: A Worldwide Happening.* Eindhoven, The Netherlands: Lecturis, 2015; Elaine Carey. *Protests in the Streets: 1968 across the Globe*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2016; Tamara Chaplin and Jadwiga Pieper Mooney. *The Global 1960s: Convention, Contest and Counterculture*. Abingdon New York: Routledge, 2017. See also *The Global Sixties: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. This journal was launched in 2008 and focused on the concept of the global and the long Sixties.

[51] For more on this recent research trend about the Global Sixties, see Martin Klimke and Mary Nolan. "Introduction: The Globalization of Sixties." Chen Jian et al. eds., *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building*. London New York: Routledge, 2020

At the same time, this perspective of the Global Sixties also extends the revolutionary 1960s to the period from the late 1950s to the first half of the 1970s without privileging the year of 1968, a particularly meaningful year in Europe. The concept of the long sixties underscores post-World War II decolonization and national liberation aspirations in the Global Sixties.[52] In this context, Charles Kim mentions that the April revolution in South Korea, which overthrew the Rhee Syngman regime, could also be part of the Global Sixties.[53]

When looking at the revolutionary sixties from the perspective of the Global Sixties, another crucial point is that this period was a time when postwar decolonization and the Cold War regime overlapped. In order to integrate Cold War studies and Postcolonial studies, in his pioneering book *The Global Cold War*, Westad views the postwar world order from not a traditional U.S.-Soviet Union political system confrontation, but from a confrontation between the shared modernization project of two

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[52] For example, in "Periodizing the 60s," Jameson suggests that the 1960s began in 1957 with the battle of Algiers and Ghana's independence (1972-4) and when the crisis of capitalism resumed. (Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s." *Social Text.* No. 9/10. 1984. 180-184), The periodization of the long sixties slightly depends on the researcher's emphasis. If the scholar put an emphasis on the Vietnam War, which played a central role in the US and European experiences, the sixties begin in 1954 when the division of Vietnam in Geneve was determined to 1975, the year of the fall of Saigon in the Vietnam War. For some scholars who underscore the third worldism as non-alignment movement, the sixties begin with the 1955 Bandung conference and span to 1974 when the United Nations adopted the Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (Martin Klimke and Mary Nolan, 5).

[53] Charles Kim. *Youth for Nation: Culture and Protest in Cold War South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018. 19.

The April Revolution of 1960 received so much attention that major events were reported by the US media in almost real time. It was also known as one of the major Asian anti-establishment revolutions in the US. Kachiaficas quoted Thomas Hayden, one of the authors of the Port Huron Statement, and the chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1962: "I was exhilarated when I saw young people our age overthrew the dictator Syngman Rhee. Through that movement, I learned the history of the Cold War for the first time. Those events challenged our naïve belief that our parents were fighting for a free world. I can tell you that movement helped inspire SNCC [the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] and the black movement in the South. Two days after Syngman Rhee's forced resignation, SDS held its first meeting." (George Katsiaficas. *Asia's Unknown Uprisings Volume 1: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century.* Oakland: PM Press, 2012. 136)

giant powers and the decolonization project of the third-world.[54] According to Westad, contrary to the view of the traditional American and European-centered Cold War studies, the political ideologies of the US and the Soviet Union were not unilaterally instilled into the newly independent states but were a complex combination of interactive trades or compromises. In the process, the geopolitical plans of the US and the Soviet Union had to be transformed by the third world countries' own developmental projects. When the geopolitical interests of two giant powers were crucial, they could not help but to interfere directly and violently in the domestic internal affairs as seen in Indonesia's US-backed anti-communist massacre in 1965-1966.

However, South Korea, one of the newly independent nations with the task of decolonization, had common conditions with other the third world countries but was in a complex situation as an ideological showcase of US hegemony in the divided Korean peninsula. In general, the term "third world" refers to underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries with a colonial past in Asia, Africa, and South America after the second World War. However, from the view of the newly independent countries in these regions, the term "third world" did not refer to the category for the geopolitical and ideological affiliation of a country. Rather, the third world was comprised of political spaces where

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[54] Odd Arne Westad. The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005

Wallerstein has also argued early on that the Cold War regime was a complete dominance of US hegemony in the global capitalist system and the Soviet Union functioned as a sub-imperial partner of US hegemony. He claims that the very strength of US hegemony was based on the geopolitical stability of the Cold War weakened the US hegemony; the Vietnam War and the 1968 Revolution were evidence of the decline of US hegemony. For Wallerstein, the 1968 Revolution was a world revolution due to the accumulation crisis of the global capitalist system and the weakening of US hegemony. See Immanuel Wallerstein. *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; *The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World*. New York: The New Press. 2003; For the 1968 Revolution, see also Immanuel Wallerstein, "1968 Revolution in the World-System: Theses and Queries" in *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: The New Press, 2000.

ideology and hegemony conflicted and competed over the postcolonial future of the countries, including their own state-led economic developmental projects. As is well known, the theory of development like the modernization theory conflicted with counter-discourses such as dependency theory submitted by the third world. There were a wide range of developmental models adopted by newly independent countries. The notion of the third world indicated not only political choices of postcolonial countries but also national aspirations for their futures to be achieved through political choices. The beginning to Vijai Prashad's influential book, *The Darker Nations*, exemplifies this: "The Third World was not a place. It was a project."[55] According to Prashad, the notion of the third world was a project that encompassed ideas, discourses, institutional practices, and organizations by the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in order to realize the hopes and the dreams of the liberated new world. However, in South Korea, which was still at the forefront of both the Cold War and the hot war in a state of armistice after the Korean War, was thwarted in its attempts to conduct its own liberational postcolonial project of third worldism. This unfortunate position of South Korea was supported by the fact that only two Koreas and Taiwan was not invited to the monumental Bandung Conference in 1955 in which 29 third world countries participated.[56]

Under the Cold War regime in East Asia, South Korea's decolonization was inevitably unable to be properly achieved. After 1945, the dissolution of the Japanese

[55] Vijay Proshad. *The Darker Nations*. New York: The New Press, 2007.xv

[56] South Korea's position in the international political order of the time is not an exceptional peculiarity of South Korea, but rather a typical example of the postcolonial Cold War in which the postcolonial process was achieved by extreme violences such as massacre and civil war, as stipulated by Kwon Heonik. (Heonik Kwon. "The Postcolonial Cold War." Benjamin de Cavalho, Julia Costa Lopez and Halvard Leira eds. *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations.* London: Routledge, 2021, pp. 379~386. See also his *The Other Cold War.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

empire was accompanied by the splitting of the Korean peninsula into two zones of occupation: the US-controlled South Korea and the Soviet-controlled North Korea. Finally, this division resulted in the Korean War. Within the frame of the San Francisco system, which was established in 1951, South Korea was continuously forced by the United States to form an alliance with Japan, its former colonizer.[57] Eventually, after coming to power in a coup, Park Chunghee normalized diplomatic relations with Japan in 1964 and decided not to mention the issue of colonial compensation anymore. Thus, South Korea was faced with not only the twisted national challenge of decolonization under the entrenched Cold War anti-communist regime but also the aftermath of the Korean War.

Cases in point that illustrate the complex distortion of decolonization under the Cold War regime in South Korea are South Korean society's opposite responses to the 1965 Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty and the South Korean dispatch to the Vietnam War. The Korea-Japan Agreement, part of the US East Asian strategy, fundamentally undermined the legitimacy of the Park Chunghee administration, which prioritized national development. Following the proposal of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, university students held fierce protests which led to the Park Chunghee administration's declaration of martial law on June 3, 1964 to suppress the protests. However, the protests

[57] The post-war US occupation of Japan aimed at dismantling the Japanese Empire, and de-militarizing Japan changed its top goal to prevent Soviet influence by using Japan as a base for the Cold War bloc in East Asia in the wake of the Chinese communist revolution of 1949 and the Korean War. The post-war treatment of forgetting the colonial and war atrocities of the Japanese Empire was established through the San Francisco system in 1951. For further information, see the following: Michael Schaller. *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, esp. p16; Howard Schonberger, "U.S. Policy in Post-War Japan: A Retreat from Liberalism." *Science & Society* Vol. 46, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 39-59.

had still not been suppressed by the time the Korea-Japan agreement was ratified by the National Assembly in December 1965 more than two years later.[58] Park Chunghee was determined to send troops to the Vietnam War as a possible way out of the government's crisis. The first troops were deployed in 1964. Unlike the US, Japan, and many European countries, South Koreans rarely argued about sending troops to Vietnam, not to mention anti-war movements, until South Korea decided to withdraw from combat in 1973. During the eight years of South Korea's support of the US in the Vietnam War, South Korea sent the largest number of troops to Vietnam among allies of the US, though South Korea had no direct interest in the Vietnam War. Surprisingly, there had never been any discourses of opposition to joining the war or any antiwar protests during the 8 years. There was little social resistance, such as anti-war movements by intellectuals, the media, and college student groups, or opposition to the dispatch of troops. Rather, the majority of the people fully supported Park Chunghee's pledge of support to the US in the Vietnam War. Therefore, Park Chunghee took advantage of the participation in the war and the alliance between the US and South Korea to turn the corner and further used them to stabilize his rule. As such, the Korean people's responses to the two events under the US hegemony of the Cold War were in dramatic contrast.

[58] As the protests against the Korea-Japan agreement were so fierce, the US believed that Park Chunghee could be ousted by the Korean people. Samuel Berger, the US ambassador to South Korea, even warned Park Chunghee that he could lose his rule unless Kim Chongp'il, who was in charge of normalizing Korea-Japan diplomatic relation, was removed from the office. See Park Taegyun, "5 pu Hanirhyŏpchŏng Ch'egyŏlgwa Kim Chongp'il Chegŏgyehoek" [Part 5 The Korea-Japan Agreement and the Elimination Plan of Kim Chongp'il]. *Ubanggwa Cheguk: Hanmigwan'gyeŭi Tu Shinhwa* [Ally and Empire: Two Myths of Korea-US Relations]. Paju: Changbi, 2006.

Cold War Colonialism

What made it possible for the Korean people to strongly support participation in the Vietnam War? At that time, the discourse of participating in the Vietnam War was summarized in two ways. First, South Korea's national security concerns were a major justification for South Korean involvement. Most people thought if the South Korean troops were not dispatched, the US troops in Korea would be withdrawn and sent to the Vietnam War. The withdrawal of the US forces in South Korea and the weakening of the military alliance with the US were the security threats that South Koreans feared the most. Second, the Vietnam War was considered to be a great opportunity to achieve capitalist economic development, part of which would be funded by economic aid from the United States. South Koreans were eager to repeat Japan's experience in which Japan took advantage of the Korean War to achieve rapid economic development from the postwar ruins. In short, participation in the war was justified through the Cold War geopolitical situation and developmentalism, which was the cause of the full support of the entire society.

In this way, a strong ideology of what we could call *Cold War colonialism* was in place under the strong influence of the Cold War in South Korea at the time, in which, unlike in other newly independent countries, American-style liberal democracy and capitalist development are assumed as the only alternatives in the performance of decolonial tasks. From an epistemological point of view, colonialism initially implied a cultural project to reduce other civilizations with different origins and histories to Western civilization by changing the geographic space of the West, or more precisely,

Western Europe and the United States, into the time of modernity and thereby, based on the idea of linear development thereby universalizing modernity. The Korean Peninsula also came under the influence of Cold War colonialism which imposed Western lifestyles as the standard of modernized life as the peninsula was incorporated into the capitalist world system with the opening of the port. However, colonialism took a new turn in South Korea when the Korean peninsula came under the strong influence of the East Asian Cold War after the Korean War and the ensuing entrenched division. As the Cold War, based on the anti-communist ideology, was consolidated in South Korea, constant fear of war and security threats and the intensified dependence on the US as a pole of Cold War antagonism began to settle in, and American institutions and culture became increasingly prioritized. Given this, Cold War colonialism, as a derivative of colonialism formed with the establishment of the Cold War, can be defined as a highly narrow ideological representation in which nothing is taken to be positive except for American-style liberal democracy and capitalist development. Thus, a narrow perspective was settled in South Korea in which other social values like social democracy or Third World nonalignment, to say nothing of socialism, were taken as less advanced or antagonistic, not as competitive, alternative, or optional.

Cold War colonialism can be generally defined as the epistemological premise of South Korean intellectuals who thought that postwar South Korean society should develop toward American modernization. The first epistemological challenge encountered by these intellectuals was the Western student revolt in the late 1960s. It was almost impossible for them to understand that college students, as the elites of advanced

Western countries supposed as a model of South Korea, staged radical and violent demonstrations, in so far as they were obsessed with Cold War colonialism.[59] The Western student revolt in the 1960s was thereby a big epistemological obstacle that Cold War colonialist South Korean intellectuals needed to overcome, and the response of South Korean intellectuals demonstrates how Cold War colonialism worked in the intellectual field of South Korea.

Student Power Discourse

South Korean intellectuals had a special interest in the student activism of Western countries in the 1960s. From the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1964 to the first campus revolt in 1960s America, most university student protests in the US and European countries were thoroughly reported in South Korean newspapers. Since 1968, when student protests erupted in many Western countries, a myriad of features, contributions, and discussions on the student movements as well as translated articles from foreign media flooded South Korean newspapers and magazines.[60] The introductions and

[59] The following *Tongailbo* editorial epitomizes this perception:
Foreign university students do not demonstrate. It is a backward phenomenon for university students to protest instead of studying. In other developed countries, it is unthinkable for university students to make a disturbance and clash with the police. College students in other developed countries respect social order. They are apolitical.
When the students' protests once swept through campuses in Korea, many intellectuals said this. Korean college students were unusually interested in politics and contrasted with students in advanced countries who were not. Recently, however, it has come to our attention that university students have been protesting in other developed countries as well. ("Segyemunjehwahanŭn Sedaemunje" [Generational Problem as Globalized Issue]. *Tongailbo.* May 16, 1968. 2)

[60] The first magazine to introduce Western student activism with the most interest was *Sasanggye*. The *Sasanggye*'s first article about Western student activism was Han Sŭngju's "Pŏk'ŭlri K'aemp'ŏsŭŭi Chŏngch'iundong: Miguk Taehagŭi Ch'oegŭn Haksaengundongi Ŭimihanŭn Kŏt"[Political Activism at Berkeley: What Recent American Student Movements Mean] on the issue of September 1965. *Sasanggye* published a special issue on western student activism titled "Segyehaksaengundonggwa Urihagwŏn"[The Student Movements of the World and South Korean Campus] and collected ten related writings. The

explanations of the Western student power of the sixties were mainly led by journalists, such as correspondents abroad, and professors who had experience studying abroad. In addition, some books discussing the student rebellion in Western countries were published, forming the "student power" discourse in the South Korean intellectual community.[61] South Korean intellectuals developed the student power discourse by surprisingly continuing heated analysis and discussions on Western student activism.

The development of the student power discourse partly resulted from the significance of the South Korean student movements, which were intensified by protests

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magazine printed another special issue on the topic in August 1969 with six writings, including Nam Chaehŭi's introduction to American student activism and the translation of Seymour Lipset's "The Possible Political Effects of Student Activism." *Sedae* published the special issue titled "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏ" [Student Power] which had six articles in April 1969. In the same month, the monthly *Asea* also printed the special issue on the student activism with nine writings including a discussion on the topic with Kim Kyŏngdong, Kim T'aegil, Kim Hyŏn, No Chaepong, Yi Sangun, Yi Sanghŭi, Sŏnu Hwi and Ch'oe Chŏngho.

For other important writings on western student activism, see the following: Cho, Kah Kyung. "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏŭi Chŏngshinjŏk Chiju: Marŭk'ujeŭi Isanggwa Hwanmyŏl."[The Anchor of Student Power: Ideal and Disillusionment of Marcuse] *The Monthly Chungang*, Dec.1968; Han, Wansang. "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏnŭn Ch'immuk'anŭnga?"[Is Student Power Silent?] *The Monthly Chungang*, May 1973; Hoffmann, Stanley. "Ch'amyŏŭi Chŏnmang: Sŏnjin'guk Taehagŭi Kyŏngu" [Participation in Perspective: in the Case of Developed Countries] trans by Pu Wanhyŏk. *Sassanggye* Apr. 1970; Kang, Dongjin "Segyeŭi Haksaeng Seryŏk."[Student Powers in the World] *Sedae*, Jul. 1968; Kim, Hyŏnghyo. "P'ŭrangsŭ Haksaengundongŭi Ch'ŏrhak: Saeroun Segyerŭl Wihan Isanggwa Kach'i."[Philosophy of French Student Movements: Ideal and Value for a New World] *Asea*, May 1969; Ko, Yŏngbok et al, "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏŭi Sasang; Taehagŭi Komin."[Ideology of Student Power: Trouble of Universities] *Shindonga*, Sep.1969; Marcuse, Herbert. "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏwa Naŭi Ch'ŏrhak."[Student Power and My Philosophy] *Sedae*, Jan.1969; Opitz, P.J. "Hip'iron: Churo Chŏngch'ihyŏnsange Taehan Koch'al."[Theory of Hippies: Focusing on Political Activism] *Shindonga*, Nov. 1968; Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. "Tŭrŏra Miguk Ch'ŏngnyŏndŭra."[Listen, American Youth] *The Monthly Chungang*, Nov.1968; The Editorial Board, "Segye Haksaengundongŭi Pyŏnmo."[The Transformation of the World Student Movements] *Sasanggye*, Jul. 1968; Welch, Paul. "Migugŭi Sahoemunje. Tongsŏngae: Kaduro Chinch'urhan Tongsŏngae."[American Social Issue, Homosexuality: Homosexuality in the Streets] *Sedae*, Mar. 1966; Yi, Mankap and Yi Honggu. "Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏ." [Student Power] *Sedae,* Apr. 1969.

[61] The first article in which the term "student power" appeared was "Migukŭl Hwipssŭnŭn Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏ"[Student Power Sweeping the U.S.] (*Chosunilbo*. Oct. 26, 1967. 6), but since 1964, tons of articles introducing the US student movements and the New Left were published. For books analyzing student power, see the following:

Cho, Kah Kyung et al. *Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'auŏ* [Student Power]. Seoul: Paeyŏngsa, 1969; Ch'oe, Chŏngho. *Chŏlmŭni Chŏlmŭnnomdŭl: Hyŏndaemunmyŏnggwa* Han'guk [Young Men, Young Guys: Modern Civilization and South Korea]. Seoul: Hyŏndaesasangsa, 1970; Kim Chongbin. *Yŏngp'awŏ* [Young Power]. Seoul:Shinhyŏnshilsa, 1971.

against the normalization of Korea-Japan diplomatic relations in 1964. College students had immense significance for postwar South Korean society. They were the "vanguards" and prime agents leading South Korean society and the representatives of young people as a new generation.[62] College students were the most organized and active opponents of the Park Chunghee dictatorship; they most vehemently revolted against it when Park Chunghee revised the Constitution in 1969 to stay in power forever.[63] In addition, college students were attracted to public attention because they were social elites leading South Korean society. For example, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, daily newspapers assigned their columns for reporting college news such as campus events. The influential monthly magazines for intellectuals including *Sasanggye*, *Shindonga*, *Sedae*, etc. had many features related to college issues. In this light, the student power discourse could be seen as an attempt by South Korean intellectuals to understand South Korean college students by referring to Western student activism.

This intention to construct the student power discourse is evidenced by the fact that most writings about student power have a similar structure. The writings first describe in detail the aspects of Western student protests, then explain or analyze their social, cultural, and political backgrounds and their overall significance. Lastly, they

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[62] Charles Kim analyzes that the student vanguard schema, which was produced by intellectuals, positioned postwar students as core social and political agents of national history. He shows that the schema not only activated the April Revolution of 1960 but also continuously played a vital role to end the dictatorial regime. For a detailed analysis of the student schema, see Kim, Charles, *Youth For Nation*, esp., Ch. 3.

[63] The political group that carried out the most vehement democratization movement against the dictatorial regime was college students. This is because the working class was weak under the anti-communist regime of the Cold War in postwar South Korea, and other activist groups like progressive NGOs could not organize people strongly enough to challenge the dictatorship. After the mid-1970s, even when various social movements and activist groups such as the urban poor, farmers, workers, and Christian activist organizations grew together and evolved into the *minjung* movement, students were at the center of the alliance as well as the spearhead of the democratic protests. Thus, the Park Chunghee regime had to silence college students to stabilize its rule.

compare Western student protests with South Korean student movements and discuss what the future of South Korean student movements should be. Their conclusions end with guidance and advice to South Korean students. This shared writing structure demonstrates that the student power discourse was developed not only through intellectual interest in Western student activism itself but also by the need for a conceptual frame to judge South Korean student movements. In other words, the formation of the student discourse in South Korea shows the influence of Western epistemological colonialism on South Korean intellectuals who relied on a western frame to understand South Korean society. Because of this colonialist perspective of the intellectuals, the student power discourse was not able to provide effective sources to understand and support 1960s South Korean student movements. The student power discourse was similar to an exhibition full of importers of Western knowledge rather than a meaningful discursive resource for South Korean society.

The emphasis on the superiority of Western student power as the yardstick by which South Korean student movements were measured resulted in distorted understandings of both Western student activism and South Korean student movements. For example, in the discussion in the September 1969 issue of the *Shindonga* article "Taehak ŭi Komin Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏ ŭi Sasang" [Trouble in Universities: Ideologies of Student Power], the contributors shared the opinion that student movements in underdeveloped countries had political characteristics while those in advanced countries had cultural characteristics. Accordingly, the resistance of students in Asia, Africa, and South America was political in that students were fighting colonialism or a dictatorship,

whereas the resistance of students in affluent and democratic Western countries was cultural in that it was aimed at consumerism, bureaucracy, and social alienation. Thus, they concluded that the student movements in an underdeveloped country like South Korea would disappear along with the economic development of the country, but they were concerned that the South Korean students would exhibit the same chaotic and violent tendencies that were seen in their Western counterparts. This concern led them to emphasize that college students must be well-guided and they should not to reject legitimate social norms and social order.

South Korean intellectuals regarded the student protests in Western countries as the psychological rebellion of the younger generation in the student power discourse. They noted that violent and radical protests by young people in different Western countries occurred simultaneously. The simultaneity of these protests that occurred in many locations in the West was explained by the generational characteristics of young protestors. Regardless of the specific location, be it Paris, San Francisco, and Berlin, and despite differences in the protest slogans in the streets, student protests were fundamentally the younger generation's psychological resistance to the older generation. According to South Korean student power discourse, the reasons young people in the West radically rebelled against social norms were consumerism, inhumane bureaucracy, and alienation produced by abundant Western civilization. Thus, the student rebellion broadly raised the question of Western civilization itself and specifically expressed the younger generation's repulsion against the immorality and hypocrisy of the older generation.

As South Korean student power discourse considered Western student rebellions to be common social pathological phenomena experienced by advanced Western countries and as side effects accompanying the development of civilization, it is repeatedly emphasized that Western student power has no political ideology. In the South Korean student power discourse, understandably, political elements of radical resistance to social injustice such as racism and sexism as well as opposition to the Vietnam War, were ignored. Even when violent protests were mentioned, it was repeatedly emphasized that the protests had nothing to do with Marxism and Socialism. For example, Western students' enthusiasm for socialist revolutionaries including Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, and Mao Zedong was treated as a naive and romantic inclination based on their ignorance about the realities and atrocities of communism. As such, the revolutionaries of the third world were merely cultural symbols chosen as part of the rebellion against their older generations in advanced countries.[64] Remembering Michel Foucault's statement that silences "are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses," the absence of the Viet Nam War in the discourse played a critical role in shaping the discourse itself and directly pointed out the Cold War cultural politics.[65]

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[64] The conversation between Kim Eunguk, a Korean American writer, and Sŏnu Hwi in *Chosŏnilbo* on June 6, 1968 explicitly criticized American students' anti-Vietnam War protests. Using his authority as an American university professor, Kim argued that the New Left students in the US were the "major troubles of universities" and "self-righteous dictators" who had a simple concept of good and evil. He emphasized that the students' Vietnam War protests resulted from their ignorance about communism. According to Kim, the students turned a blind eye to the Viet Cong's atrocities and blamed only the president of the United States on the basis of "their personal hatreds." The talk, filled with malicious and simple anti-communist rhetoric, is a clear example of how South Korean intellectuals viewed American student activism, especially the Vietnam war protests. (Kim, Eunguk and Sŏnu, Hwi. "Ch'amyŏmunhakkwa Chŏnjaenggwa Chishikkyegŭp"[Committed Literature, the War and the Intellectuals]. *Chosŏnilbo*, Jun. 6 1968. p.5)

[65] Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1, An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1978. 27.

Therefore, the student power discourse reveals the Cold War colonialism of South Korean intellectuals in the 1960s because it shows how South Korean intellectuals' colonial frame underwent a transformation under the Cold War. The student power discourse is a clear example of the influence of Neo-colonial relations between South Korea and the US and shows how South Korean intellectuals relied entirely on Western experiences to build an interpretational frame for socio-cultural phenomena occurring domestically. This frame is also based on the modernization theory that underdeveloped countries should follow the Western model of modernization. However, Western student rebellion was also an opportunity for South Korean intellectuals to rupture their colonial mindset. For them, Western student rebellion was a social problem for developed counties to overcome and an example of what South Korea should avoid. The student power discourse demonstrates that intellectuals found a way to deal with Western society's failure through the Cold War frame. The follies of Western young people who did not experience communism could be ignored in South Korea, which underwent the Korean War – a war that fought against communism. In this way, South Korea's colonialism of following the Western model transformed into a more strengthened form of Cold War colonialism.

Contrary to Western students' political revolts, South Korean student power discourse was a depoliticized discourse because of the Cold War framework. The student power discourse excluded anti-Vietnam War movements, support of Western students, and enthusiasm for national liberational movements in third-world countries. This exclusion proves that the student power discourse was based on the Cold War framework.

In the student power discourse, there were few mentions of the Vietnam War protests – the major issue of Western student protests. When anti-war slogans appeared in South Korean discourse, they were treated as romantic and ideal symbols along with the hippies' "love" and "peace." Western students' political arguments such as opposition to imperialist interventions by France and the United States and criticism against the military-industrial complex were hard to find in any writings. Likewise, Western students' support for third worldism and their zeal for alternative ideas such as Maoism were deleted from the student power discourse.

Another example of the depoliticization of the student power discourse is its tendency to treat the US student movement separately from the civil rights movement. In the student power discourse, the civil rights movement was defined as a political movement of black people unrelated to student power and was mainly described as violent protests and riots. For example, the June 1968 issue of *Shindonga* introduced the civil rights movement through photos of ruined urban landscapes under the title "The Place Swept by the Black Riot" (Hŭgin p'oktong i ssŭlgo kan chari). "Black Riot" was the most frequently chosen phrase when reporting the civil rights movement in South Korean media.[66] There were more articles criticizing the violence and radicalization of

[66] For example, the headlines of the following articles explicitly show this distinction between the civil rights movement and the student power in the media: Yŏ, Yŏngmu. "Ŏngk'ŭl T'omŭi Pittullin Punno, Nanp'ok'an Kŏmŭn Yŏrŭm"[Distorted Anger of Uncle Tom, Violent Black Summer]. *Tongailbo*, Jul. 26 1967.4; "Che 3ŭi wigi Kŏmŭn P'oktong" [The third Crisis Black Riot]. *Chosŏnilbo*, Apr. 7 1968. 3; Sŏ, Chŏnggyun. "Kwagyŏkŭro Ch'idannŭn Min'gwŏn" [The Civil Rights Movement is Becoming Radicalized]. *Tongailbo*, Apr. 9 1968. 3.
Compare the headlines of the following articles about student power from the same period: Sim, Chongku. "Miguk Chŏlmŭnidŭl: Seryŏk'wahanŭn Taehaksaengŭi Sahoech'amyŏ" [Young Americans: College Students' Social Participations Become Influential]. *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*, Nov. 13 1967. 3; "Segyemunjehwahanŭn Sedaemunje" [Generational Problem as Globalized Issue]. *Tongailbo*, May 16 1968. 2; "Miguk Chŏlmŭniwa Chisŏng" [Young Americans and Intellectuals]. *Chosŏnilbo*, Aug. 1 1968.5.

the civil rights movement than writings about its legitimacy in correcting social injustice. The reports on the civil rights movements mainly utilized negative modifiers, especially emphasizing their violence and disorder in the South Korean media. Consequently, the South Korean media considered the civil rights movement to have inevitable limitations because of its violent ways, even though its cause was clearly justified. In this way, the civil rights movement was treated differently from the US student movements, which were described as young people's rebellions against the older generation.

Youth Culture Discourse

The discourses on hippies appeared in South Korea a little later than those on student power. The former served as a bridge that conveyed the settlement of the latter in the late 1960s to the youth culture debates in the early 1970s.

Hippies were first introduced in South Korea with an article titled "The New Rebellious Generation of Hippies in America" in the *Chosŏnilbo* on May 28, 1967.[67] From this first report until the early 1970s, there was a boom in mass media analysis of hippies in the West.[68] Initially, hippies were treated separately from student power, but

[67] Kang, Ujŏng."Migugŭi Sae Panhangsedae Hip'ijok"[The New Rebellious Generation of Hippies in America]. *Chosŏnilbo*, May 28 1967. 6.

[68] The following are major magazine articles on hippies:
"Ilbonŭi Marihwana P'at'i"[Parties with Marijuana in Japan], *Sedae*, Aug, 1970; Ha Kilchong. "Changbalgwa Kit'awa Mayagŭi Shidae: Hyŏnjiesŏ Pon Hip'iŭi Saengt'ae" [The Age of Long Hair, Guitars, and Drugs: Hippie lifestyle in America]. *Sedae*, Jul. 1971; Han Tongse. "Hip'iwa Sŭt'yudŏnt'ŭ P'awŏ"[Hippies and Student Power]. *Sedae*, Mar.1970; Hwang Tonggyu. "Hip'idŭl, Kŭdŭrŭi Kohyang Saenp'ŭranshisŭk'o" [Hippies, Their Hometown San Francisco]. *Yŏsŏngdonga*, Jan. 1968; Kim Hyŏnghyo. "Sŏnghyŏngmyŏnggwa Munmyŏngŭi Chirhwan"[Sexul Revolution, a Disease of Civilization], *Sedae*, Aug. 1970; Opitz, P.J. "Hip'iron"[On Hippies]. *Shindonga*, Nov.1968; Oh Kwangsu. "Hwansangsedaeŭi Sŏngp'ungsok"[Sexual Practices of Illusionary Generation], *Sedae*, Aug. 1970; Yi Chongsŏk, "Haep'i Sŭmok'ŭ"[Happy Smoke], *Sedae,* Aug. 1970; Yi Kapsu, "P'ŭriseksŭŭi Wŏnsanji Bukgu"[Origin of Free Sex, Northen Europe]. *Sedae*, Aug. 1970; Yun Myŏngro, "Hip'ijokkwa Palk'in Yurŏbŭi Pam"[A Night in

gradually both came to be discussed together under the key phrasing of "the young generation's resistance to the older generation." Around 1970, when the media coverage of student power had rapidly disappeared, the number of articles on the free and indulgent life of Western university students related to hippies increased remarkably; their main topics were hippies' lifestyles including long hair and dirty clothes, hippie culture such as flower power, young adult sexuality centered on free sex, and marijuana. In this way, the hippie discourse replaced the student power discourse.

Although the student power discourse and the hippie discourse developed separately with different emphases, both equally tend to depoliticize youth politics. While the former depoliticized the Western student movement by misrepresenting it as inter-generational conflict such as youth defiance against the immorality of the older generation, the latter completely erased the politics of the counterculture by emphasizing the hippies' rebellion against the alienation of human beings in Western civilization. Hippies were described as romanticized escapists of modern society. As a result, cultural discourse completely replaced political one. This discursive trajectory shows how South Korean intellectuals continued to transform the voices of Western young people, demanding the change of the existing system itself into a cultural discourse by removing the political nature of the student rebellion.

After 1971, there was neither the use of the term student power in the media nor any great interest in hippies. Instead, discussions about South Korean youth culture took their place. South Korean intellectuals were interested in the Korean situation and

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Europe With Hippies]. *Shindonga*, Apr.1970.

focused on South Korean youth culture. The new culture of Korean youth, which was clearly influenced by American youth culture including jeans, long hair, and the huge popularity of American modern folk songs, began to spread widely across South Korea. When the intellectuals paid attention to the new popular culture, they easily considered it to be a new college student culture – a localized version of Western youth culture because of the apparent similarities. Nam Chaehŭi's "Ch'ŏngch'un munhwaron: Chŏlmŭn sedae ŭi munhwa hyŏngsŏnggo"[Youth Culture Discourse: Cultural Formation of Young Generation] in the March 1970 issue of *Sedae* clearly shows this discursive transition. This essay serves as an important bridge between the booming student power discourse in the late 1960s and the youth culture debate in 1974 and the turning point in which the former discourse changed into the latter.

In his writing, Nam Chaehŭi first looked back on the history of the Korean student movement and diagnosed its current situation. Then, like other liberal intellectuals, he compared its characteristics with those of the student movement in developed countries. According to Nam, the South Korean student movement was fundamentally different from its Western counterparts. Student movements in South Korea, an underdeveloped country, pursued nationalism and democracy as conventional truths identical to those of the older generation, while student movements in advanced countries not only opposed the values of the older generation but also pursued various ideals shown by youth culture, including the hippie lifestyle, underground newspapers, and their own heroes such as Joan Baez and Herbert Marcuse. His conclusion from the comparison is the following: South Korea's youth culture was not yet a true youth culture

because the young generation had no different ideals and perspectives from the older generations. However, the bud of South Korean youth culture was emerging, so the formation of South Korean youth culture was imminent. He emphasized that South Korean youth culture should develop differently from "free sex" or "student power." He added, to develop desirable youth culture, freedom of the university press ought to be guaranteed.

Nam Chaehŭi's essay not only refashioned the previous student power discourse and hippie discourse into a new youth culture discourse but also provided the major conceptual tools for youth culture discourse by taking South Korean youth culture as the main theme. His writing is an extension of the previous discourses on Western youth, reinforcing the pattern of depoliticizing Western student activism. He describes the Western student movement as a part of youth culture, reducing youth activism to an apolitical, Oedipal revolt. What should be noted more in his writing, however, is that he starts by looking back on the history of the South Korean student movement and discusses the possibility of developing South Korean youth culture as a conclusion. He argues that the "monolithic and monochromatic South Korean student movement"[69] should be developed more creatively and diversely and finds its possibility in new popular cultures such as modern folk songs. This is an argument that overlooks and neutralizes the specific political role that college students played in post-war South

[69] Nam Chaehŭi. "Ch'ŏngch'un munhwaron: Chŏlmŭn sedae ŭi munhwa hyŏngsŏnggo"[Youth Culture Discourse: Cultural Formation of Young Generation]. Son Seil ed. *Han'gungnonjaengsa 4: Sahoe, Kyoyuk*[Controversies in Korean History vol. 4: Society, Education]. Seoul: Ch'ŏngnammunhwasa, 1980. 197.

Korean society and, at the same time, constitutes a cultural discourse in which politics is removed.

Youth Culture Debate Overview

The debate on youth culture emerged in this context. South Korean intellectuals who participated in this debate centered on discussing how to view the nature and significance of everyday South Korean university culture against the background of the newly emerging popular culture of young people at the time against the yardstick of American youth culture. This nascent culture was designated "youth culture" and taken as a major culture of university students in South Korea. Intellectuals remarkably tended to overlook the political nature of the Korean student movement and placed commercial popular culture at the center of university culture. Cold War colonialism was embedded in their view of college student culture.

During this period, a new consumer popular culture influenced by American popular culture was gaining huge popularity among young people in South Korea. Long hair was so popular that the Park Chunghee government cracked down on it in the name of wiping out the decadent social trend in August 1970, and fashion styles such as jeans, hot pants, and miniskirts exploded in popularity. People enjoyed listening to folk songs accompanied by the acoustic guitar and the number of beer halls and music rooms in which it could be heard rapidly increased in Myeong-dong and other places. New pop culture products that matched the new tastes of young people also gained great popularity. the representative work was the popular novel *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*

by Ch'oe Inho, a 27-year-old young writer at the time. The novel, which had already drawn much attention when it was serialized in the *Chosunilbo* in 1972, gained huge sales when it was published as a book the following year, and Yi Changho's filmic adaptation was also a huge box office success. This work served as the momentum for the outpouring of novels and movies of a similar style that were clearly differentiated from the cultural tastes of the older generation.

Kim Pyŏngik's article titled "Today's Young Idols,"[70] which signaled the start of the youth culture debate, was written when this trend came to be recognized as the mainstream of Korean pop culture to the extent that it challenged the cultural order of the older generation head on. Although the article's goal was to simply introduce a new pop cultural trend, it aroused such an unexpected discursive explosion that almost all media outlets were covered with articles related to youth culture. College students, the very group who were reported to enjoy youth culture, were zealous detractors, claiming that the new trends could not be a college student culture.[71] Even Kim Pyŏngik himself later said, "I hardly expected that young people, in particular, would make such harsh criticism and setdown, and that the debate would be a hot issue for other daily newspapers, broadcasts, magazines, university newspapers, lecture discussions, and university festivals."[72]

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70 Kim Pyŏngik. "Onŭllarŭi chŏlmŭn usangdŭl" [Today's Young Idols].*Tongailbo*. Mar. 29, 1974.5.
[71] The views of these students at the time can be found in various newspaper articles.
See "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa ododoego itta" [Youth culture is misleading]. *Kyŏnghyang Shinmun*, May 7. 1974; "YMCA Chuch'oe Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa Kangyŏn"[Youth culture lecture hosted by YMCA]. *Hangukilbo*, Apr. 24. 1974; " Kyunghee Univ. Haksul Kangyŏn Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwaron"[Theory of youth culture: academic lecture hosted by Kyunghee university]. *Hangukilbo*, May.1.1974.
[72] Kim Pyŏngik, "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwawa Maesŭk'ŏm"[Youth Culture and mass communication]. *Munhwawa Panmunhwa* [Culture and Counterculture]. Seoul: Munjang, 1979. 213.

This article became such a hot topic because Kim Pyŏngik did not stop at emphasizing the importance of this new cultural phenomenon, and went one step further, claiming that it was a new culture of college students to "circumvent and overcome political setbacks and social defeatism" and "a new costume in the 1970s worn by the youth movement from Yukdang and Chunwon through 3.1 Movement and Gwangju Student Movement to 4.19 and 6.3 Demos."[73] In other words, he saw youth culture not just as a consumer culture but as a cultural mode of a new political movement which inherited the legacy of the political student movements on the Korean Peninsula. Later, he argued that his attempt to incorporate South Korean youth culture into the genealogy of the student movements on the Korean Peninsula had been aimed at localizing American youth culture. He said his intention had been to enable Korean people to "endorse other political and social activism" by advocating the lifestyle of the younger generation.[74]

College students fiercely opposed his argument. According to them, "*T'ongbŭlssaeng,*"[75] as mere superficial entertainment, cannot count as a genuine culture of the young generation who is considered to be the future of the nation[76] nor can it be part of the genealogy of Korean political student movement. Rather, they viewed it as a distortion, far from a succession, of the 6.3 generation — "a means of escapism that

[73] Kim Pyŏngik. Ibid.
[74] Kim Pyŏngik. Ibid. 215.
[75] "*T'ongbŭlssaeng*," as an acronym for acoustic guitar, blue jeans, and draft beer, represented young urban people's cultural tastes and everyday lives at the time.
[76] Chŏng Chŏngki. "Saengmaekchumani chŏnbuga anida. Ihaehagi himdŭn ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa chindan."[Draft Beer Isn't the Only Youth Culture. A hard-to-disagree-with Youth Culture Diagnosis].*Tongailbo.* Apr. 15, 1974. 6.

serves as a punching bag to vent their anger"[77] and pseudo-intellectual "abuse of good young people to increase their product value."[78] Assuming that "the rich American youth culture and the Korean youth culture are essentially different," they argued that the latter "should serve as a catalyst for renewing Korean history and revitalizing Korean society."[79]

To understand why college students reacted strongly against the article, we need to consider the political situation in this period in which the Park Chunghee administration's control over universities reached its peak. College students were the strongest opponents to the Yushin regime, which began with Park's revision of the constitution in 1972 to allow him to stay in power interminably and granted him sweeping executive and legislative control. As alliance closures and protests against the Yushin regime continued at major universities across the country, starting with Seoul National University in October 1973, Park Chunghee invoked the first emergency measure to ban any discussion on the Yushin Constitution in January 1974. Nevertheless, students formed a nationwide student movement organization National Democratic Youth-Student League (*minju ch'ŏngnyŏn haksaeng ch'ongyŏnmaeng*) in 1974 and planned a large-scale demonstration. On April 3 of the same year, the president responded by declaring emergency measure No. 4 and arresting, imprisoning, and the wanted list. Amid such oppression and direct targeting of university students as anti-government rebels, it was no wonder that university students' responses to Kim

[77] Ma Kwangsu. "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwabip'an" [Critique of youth culture]. *Yonsei Chunchu.* May. 20. 1974.
[78] Ma Kwangsu. Ibid.
[79] "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa ododoego itta"[Youth culture is misleading]. *Kyŏnghyang Shinmun.* May 7. 1974. 5.

Pyŏngik's article were hostile. The designation of what were viewed to be frivolous trappings as the representation of a population directly in the government's line of fire was clearly antithetical to the realities of college students and their commitment to democratization. Thus, Kim Pyŏngik's discourse on youth culture was not something that college students at the time could positively accept.

Other journalists, professors, and university students additionally participated in the debate. Liberal journalists and professors such as Nam Chaehŭi and Yi Ŏryŏng, who had introduced the Korean public to the youth movement in the West, and Ch'oe Inho, a popular young writer, advocated youth culture through various media. On the other hand, college students consistently presented their opinions against the youth culture discourse through the university newspaper as well as the mainstream media. On top of that, social scientists such as Han Wansang, Im Hŭisŏp, and Noh Chaepong, who returned to Korea after receiving degrees in the US, and progressive theologians such as Sŏ Kwangsŏn and Hyŏn Yŏnghak participated to add theoretical discussions.

Epistemology of the Cold War Colonialism in Youth Culture Debate

The youth culture debate vanished into thin air in less than a year despite the fiery clash of positions. It was natural that the discourse on youth culture did not have vitality in that it was, from the beginning, not a spontaneous discourse based on actual socio-cultural phenomena in South Korea but a discursive formation transplanted by Cold War colonial intellectuals and artificially spread by the media. In this regard, it can be said that the

significance of the debate lies rather in the confirmation of the Cold War colonialist epistemic horizon, which had constituted the knowledge field of South Korean society.

It is true that in the early 1970s, new cultural tastes of the younger generation emerged in South Korea that were qualitatively different from those of the older generation and a new culture that reflected such tastes became very popular with young people. However, to acknowledge the occurrence of this new cultural phenomenon is one thing and to assign a positive socio-historical meaning to it is another. The youth culture debate was triggered when Kim Pyŏngik did the latter. Given that he had introduced the culturally inflected student rebellion in the West since around 1970, his high evaluation of the possibility of youth culture was not new. However, he went one step further in the article in question, arguing that his advocacy of South Korean youth culture was an attempt to "endorse other political and social activism."[80] He expected South Korean youth culture to play the same socio-political role as American youth culture did in the US.[81]

However, his expectation was nothing more than false in that South Korean youth culture was placed in a different context from the American one. As we saw in Chapter 1, while the representation of youth as rebellious implied a resistance to conservative pressure of social conformism in the postwar first world, it strengthened the maintenance of social order and the restoration of family in 1960s South Korea. South Korean youth culture was only a new commercial culture enjoyed by young people through mass media or consuming spaces at the time whereas Western youth culture was a counterculture that

[80] Kim Pyŏngik. 1979. 215.
[81] Kim Pyŏngik. Ibid. 220-221.

dreamed of overthrowing the existing regime.[82] It is easy to deduce that Kim Pyŏngik's approach to understand South Korean pop culture through the lens of Western counterculture did not deviate from the colonialist episteme in which all is judged using the criterion of the West, although he assigned positive significance to Western counterculture unlike other liberal intellectuals who sought to downplay the meaning of Western rebellion due to concerns about political instability.[83]

Furthermore, when he claims that his advocacy of youth culture is an attempt for political activism in South Korea, his argument is based on his thesis that culture is more fundamental than politics. Kim Pyŏngik contends that cultural resistance is more fundamental than political resistance, citing the Woodstock Festival as an example. He insists that the novelty of art and intelligence is permanent as long as culture exists, whereas "secret political organizations emerge only under particular circumstances as they aim at resistance movements to escape from dictatorship or foreign oppression and

[82] However, exceptional cultural productions such as Kim Minki's protest folk songs also constitute a stream of youth culture. Moreover, after youth culture was expelled from the popular culture market because of the Marijuana Incident, youth culture developed as a source of emerging *minjung* culture. Youth culture in the 1970s will be analyzed in more detail in the next chapter.

[83] Among the intellectuals involved in the debate, young social scientists, such as Han Wansang, Im Hŭisŏp, and Noh Chaepong who became professors after graduating from the US took a negative attitude toward South Korean youth culture, contrary to Kim Pyŏngik. However, they revealed another mode of colonial perception as well, though they took a different position from him on youth culture. In general, they argued that South Korean youth culture was fundamentally different from Western youth culture and that there was no youth culture in its own sense in South Korea, because, as a popular cultural phenomenon, it is only a temporary generational culture and a subculture so does not have the counter-cultural character of Western youth culture. This is how their argument were also based on the colonial episteme in which South Korean youth culture was judged in the yardstick of American youth culture. Surely, there was a difference of opinion between them. While from a conservative point of view, Im Hŭisŏp, and Noh Chaepong took a negative stance towards youth culture as popular culture, Han Wansang criticized that South Korean youth culture had no political resistance.

therefore lose their significance when their goals are achieved or when the political system is opened as in a liberal democracy."[84]

Presupposing the opposition of politics and culture, Kim Pyŏngik prioritizes counterculture over political movement. However, separated from political movement in this way, counterculture no longer functions as a culture that opposes the existing system. In his advocation of counterculture, no matter how much he insists that cultural resistance is eternal unlike temporary political resistance, this kind of culture is only an apoliticized culture within the existing political order. This cultural politics, regardless of its intentions, tended to be a justification for turning away from the struggle for democracy against the Yushin regime at the time.[85]

Ch'oe Inho, a 29-year-old novelist at the time, was another positive advocate of youth culture. As soon as the youth culture dispute arose, he published the "Youth Culture Manifesto," according to which Korean youth culture is the result of efforts by young people who reject the existing authority and hierarchy to "bridge the gap between the minds of a few elite and the silent public."[86]He puts forward the freedom or individuality of the younger generation as a core value of youth culture, opposing the

[84] Kim Pyŏngik. "Han'gugŭi chŏlmŭmidŭl 1"[Young People in Korea 1]. *Chisŏnggwa Panjisŏng* [Intellectual and Anti-intellectua]. Seoul: Minŭmsa. 1974. 230

[85] His thesis is in line with the general position of young liberal literary critics who were active in the quarterly *Munhakkwa Chisŏng* [Literature and Intelligence], in which Kim Pyŏngik participated as well, after the late 1960s. According to them, important political events in South Korea should be signified as the emergence of cultural modernity in Korean society, rather than as a series of upsurging political movements. April Revolution, for example, should be meant to be the emergence of a modern self-conscious individual with interiority. When it comes to literature, they are concerned with the autonomy of the culture and art and put an emphasis on the individuality of the literary subject as a modern individual. In terms of this, it would be natural that Kim Pyŏngik views youth culture as a cultural resistance to stagnant and inert Korean society, and furthermore as a driving force for social change that is on a par with, or rather more important than, political movements.

[86] Ch'oe Inho. "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwasŏnŏn"[Youth Culture Manifesto].*Hangukilbo*. Apr. 24. 1974.5.

cultural authoritarianism or uniformity of the older generation. However, his discourse conceals that his freedom is nothing but anti-communist freedom as a ruling ideology premised on the Cold War regime.

Although he continued to state his position on youth culture in discussions[87] and columns after "Manifesto,"[88] it is his travel journal that most clearly reveals his thoughts on youth culture. Ch'oe's travelogue was written during his travels abroad with the *Hangukilbo*'s president Chang Kiyŏng and sponsored by the newspaper. It was serialized in the *Hangukilbo* for about six months from July 3, 1974. It was soon published as a book titled *Maenbarŭi Segyeilchu* [Barefoot Travel Around the World].[89] Since it contains records of Ch'oe's personal experience of the scene of Western youth culture and his talks with Western youths, it clearly shows his views on youth culture and illustrates the way his youth culture discourse is influenced by Cold War colonialism.

The inclusion of "around the world" in the title itself reveals how Cold War colonialism structures the globe. Ch'oe's destinations of travel were limited to major European and American cities with communist Eastern European and third world

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[87] Ch'oe Inho invited to participate in many roundtables on youth culture as a front man of youth culture and advocate for it. See the following articles: Noh Chaepong, Yi Ŏryŏng et al. "Han'gugŭi Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwat'ŭi T'oron: Yuhaenginya Panhanginya"[Youth culture discussion: fashion or rebellion]. *Shindonga*, Jul. 1974.; Im Hŭisŏp, Ch'oe Inho et al. "Choyonghan ach'imŭi narae sangnyuk'an sŭt'ŭrik'ing ŏttŏk'e pona"[How should we see Streaking landed on the country of morning calm].*Chosŏnilbo*. Mar. 17. 1974. P.5

[88] Starting with the "Youth Culture Manifesto," Ch'oe Inho wrote a column on youth culture in *Hangukilbo* every Wednesday for about two months (Apr. 24-Jun. 29) titled "Chŏlmŭni segye" [World of Youth].

[89] Ch'oe Inho. *Maenbarŭi Segyeilchu* [Barefoot Travel Around the World]. Seoul: Yemungwan. 1975. In the 1960s and 1970s, overseas travel journal was a genre that was very popular in South Korea, because most of the people, except for businessmen, diplomats, students who was approved to study abroad by the government, were not allowed to travel abroad for security reasons. Most of its authors were successful writers. Unlike the ordinary people, they were permitted a privileged opportunity, but this could not be without a price. As long as the government's permission was required, the travel journal could not be anything other than government friendly or anti-communist propaganda. In this way, the military government was able to make highly sophisticated propaganda booklets and distribute them to the public by having writers produce stories that suit its taste.

countries eliminated as possible travel destinations from the outset.[90] Using "around the world" as a descriptor for hist travels is an expression of the geographical imagination limited by Cold War colonialism as a complex of Eurocentrism and Cold War anti-communism.

In addition, as an advocate of youth culture, he focuses on introducing the culture of young people in Europe and America in his travel journal.[44] The first thing that stands out here is his longing for the West, a free society. The main things he paid attention to when traveling were marijuana, free sex, and hippies, and the most repeated themes in his book are Western sex cultures encountered in each city.[91] As such, for him, Western youth culture is distortedly understood as an open and free sex culture. He travels from place to place in the West and plainly expresses his blatant envy of such sex culture.

However, when he turns away from private freedom toward the political consciousness of Western youth, his real thoughts on the youth culture discourse are revealed. When he expresses a strong dislike for the leftist political slogans hanging in front of a historical building in Portugal where the Carnation Revolution of 1974 that would end 50 years of fascist rule is in full swing, he reveals his anti-communist ideas and when he asserts, "Such slogans are written everywhere in Portugal or Italy where the

[90] To be precise, he also visited Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Thailand. However, except for Thailand, they had no more meaning than a stopover.
[44] The title of the serialized travelogues is " Ch'oe Inhoŭi segyeilchu: Segyeŭi chŏlmŭnisogesŏ"[Ch'oe Inho's World Travels: In the youth of the World].
[91] For example, in his travelogues the episodes with the following titles are about hippie lifestyles, free sex and marijuana: "Looking for a Boyfriend" (Zurich), "Carmen and Don Quixote" (Madrid), "Free sex for Foreign Currency" (Copenhagen), "Sex, Ship Hotels and Solzhenitsyn" (Amsterdam), "Hippie's Mecca" (Amsterdam), "Triumph of the Sex Movie" (Paris), "Greeting Cards and Telephone Sex" (USA).

standard of living is low among European countries,"[92] he reveals a colonial attitude that prioritizes modernization. Furthermore, he confesses that he "is not interested in politics"[93] but cannot accept the proletarian movement because of dirty political slogans that ruin the beauty of the ruins.[94] This illustrates a typical liberal ideology that attacks the left under the pretext of aesthetics. In addition, he introduces the American college students and hippies he met in Boston and San Francisco in detail. When he says that the politics of Western youth culture are nothing but youthful irresponsibility in the guise of a radical attack on social problems and that hippie culture that originated from the Vietnam War is "a kind of anachronism that attacks the absurdity of the previous era to the extreme,"[95] he reveals his Cold War colonial consciousness here too.

This Cold War colonialism is manifested as blatant anti-communist liberalism in a conversation with a Swedish young man whom he met by chance in a Swedish dormitory. Trouble arose when the young man who found out that Ch'oe Inho was a Korean novelist mentioned "poet Kim" as a Korean Solzhenitsyn.

> "You have Solzhenitsyn in your country, too."
> "Who's that?"
> "Poet Kim."
> A Korean proper noun that came out of a foreign student's mouth. A word of name. I felt totally exhausted. What can I say to these guys.
> With this short tongue, and my poor English, what can I say to him? But how could I speak ill of my country, together with them, going along with their vague curiosities. No, absolutely not. I definitely said that day. Don't insult my country vaguely. What do you guys know? You are now excited by the Red China boom.

[92] Ch'oe Inho, 1975. 104. The title of his Portugal travelogue is "Dirty and Beautiful Economically Lagging Island."
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ch'oe Inho. 1975. 270.

> You shouldn't curse my country relatively irresponsibly. I talked. I talked about my country like a government spokesman, like a paid government spokesman.[96]

Poet Kim here is Kim Chiha, who was a representative resistance poet in the 1970s and imprisoned at the time. When he ran into Solzhenitsyn who had escaped from the Soviet Union in Switzerland and when he met a Tibetan young man in Oslo who escaped from Communist China, he pondered on freedom and ruminated on its value. But when the young man in Stockholm calls Kim Chiha who had been imprisoned for crying out for freedom a South Korean Solzhenitsyn, Ch'oe becomes so furious that he cannot sleep. He cannot stand that this guy thinks of Kim Chiha as a fighter of freedom. In his view, the Swedish guy is just one of the ignorant young men in Europe excited by Maoism ("the Red China boom"). Like Park Chunghee's spokesman who detained Kim Chiha, he ardently defends the Yushin regime.

His inverted position of advocating the dictatorship in the name of freedom – a dictatorship that takes freedom away – is more obviously revealed in his short story "Terrifying Plural,"[97] in which Ch'oe Chunho, the author's proxy as the narrator and main character, is a novelist who returned to a college campus after being discharged from the army right before the proclamation of the Yushin regime. Fierce demonstrations to abolish the tightened military drill are taking place on campus, but he remains a bystander who takes a step back from the affairs because he considers both the oppressive dictatorship and the student activists fighting against it to be a "terrifying plural" since they both suppress individual freedom by imposing an oppressive order of a group on

[96] Ch'oe Inho. 1975. 170-171
[97] Ch'oe Inho. "Musŏun poksu"[Terrifying Plural]. *Sedae*. Nov.1972.

individuals. However, as a liberal individualist, his criticism ultimately aims at the activist students fighting against the dictatorship. The story ends when Oh Manjun, a former student movement leader, determines to quit the movement and join the military under the influence of Ch'oe Chunho, vowing to become a model soldier who watches North Korea all night long.

In this way, Ch'oe Inho chooses individual freedom over freedom of thought and expression, which are two types of freedoms that cannot be said to have equal weight. Basic political rights can be restricted in a situation where the two Koreas confront each other. This perverted consciousness cannot be explained unless we contextualize it in relation to Cold War anti-communism. This is the way his liberalism is essentially an anti-communist liberalism and a perverted consciousness under the Cold War. It functioned, in complicity with the efforts of the military dictatorship to maintain the regime, as an ideology of advocating dictatorship, and as rather explicit propaganda for it.

The youth culture discourses of Kim Pyŏngik and Ch'oe Inho erased the politics of university students who were the strongest resistance to the Yushin regime. While Kim Pyŏngik overestimated the significance of liberal cultural discourse by deleting the political realm from youth culture, Ch'oe Inho only revealed that liberal youth culture discourse was nothing more than Cold War anti-communism of the Yushin regime.

Given the state of youth culture discourses at the time, it is only natural that college students – the very population who were said to enjoy youth culture – became the most active critics. They not only took issue with the very name "youth culture" but also were angry at putting consumer popular culture of an "unknown nationality" into the

mainstream of college student culture. The following article in a university newspaper, titled "Now is the Time for the True Voice to be Heard," clearly shows their position.

> A word like a specter is haunting the surface of our society these days. It exists, but its historical and linguistic origin is unknown. It is used, but even its identity and meaning are not clear ... What is the name of this new specter? It is youth culture, that is to say, the culture colored with splendid rhetoric of youth ... This awkward and translated word perhaps comes from a foreign country. Or rather, it would be better to think of it as an acute and sensual adaptation of an alien pioneering social scientific talent that has bravely imported foreign terms about decadent resistance like hippies, free sex, marijuana, and so on. It would be a correct observation that this absurd term is spread everywhere because the unfitted foreign formula was applied to this completely different country. That is why the dumb acoustic guitar or blue jeans absurdly stand for youth culture.[98]

Initially, this article points out that the name "youth culture" itself is "an awkward translation of a foreign term that smells butter." To understand this, it should be understood that the term itself was an awkward neologism to the young people at the time. The term "*Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhwa*" was adopted as a Korean translation of "youth culture" by liberal intellectuals who paid attention to it as a countercultural phenomenon in the West.[99] It was first used only among intellectuals, but it spread rapidly since it began to be used in the media around 1970 to point to a new trend in South Korean youth's consumerist pop culture.[100] It was natural for college students to protest against

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[98] "Chigŭmŭn chinjŏnghan moksoriga tŭllyŏya hal ttaeda" [Now, is the Time for the True Voice to be Heard]. *Taehak Shinmun*, Jun.3. 1974.

[99] It is difficult to pinpoint who exactly coined the term "*Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhwa*" [youth culture] and when, but Kim Pyŏngik recalled that it was first used at a Christian Academy meeting on May 23-4, 1969, on the topic of "The Possibility of Youth Culture." (Kim. 1979. 211)

[100] The term, *Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhwa* became so popular that *Chosŏnilbo* later listed *Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhwa* as one of the most popular buzzwords coined after the liberation. ("Thirty Years After the Liberation: The Buzzwords." *Chosŏnilbo*. Mar. 4, 1975. p.4) The title of Nam Chaehŭi's influential article introduced earlier was "*Ch'ŏngch'un Munhwaron*" [Youth Culture Discourse]. As a translation of the same term, youth, Nam uses "*Ch'ŏngch'un*" rather than "*Ch'ŏngnyŏn*," which suggests that there were still competing translations of youth culture at the time. and that the translated term *Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhwa* for youth culture was not yet in common use among the public.

using an unfamiliar translation for newly emerging pop culture to refer to the culture of college students. In their view, the term “youth culture” was nothing more than “unfitted foreign formula was applied to this completely different country.”

When liberal intellectuals, including Kim Pyŏngik, bothered to import foreign words to analyze South Korean cultural phenomena, they did so with a colonial mindset in that while paying attention to the Western counterculture of the 1960s, these intellectuals found a cultural phenomenon in South Korea to which this concept could be applied instead of keeping an eye on the newly emerged South Korean cultural phenomenon first and struggling to find an appropriate concept for it. Surely, it is difficult to attribute it to a deep awareness of the colonial mindset underlying the discourse, but it is clear that college students had a strong aversion to the attitude of liberal intellectuals who tried to define the culture of college students through the framework of the West by importing a clumsy neologism.

Furthermore, college students resisted the attempt to put youth culture, which is nothing more than foreign consumer popular culture, into the mainstream of college culture. They argued that entertainment and commercial culture, described as “dumb acoustic guitar or jeans,” cannot be the culture of college students and that youth culture from foreign countries, which is merely “decadent resistance such as hippie, free sex and marijuana,” cannot be acknowledged as a model of Korean college students’ culture. For them, youth culture was either a consumption culture of some college students that did not accurately represent the lifestyle of the majority or a commercial popular culture phenomenon enjoyed by urban lower classes young people. Therefore, Kim Pyŏngik's

thesis should be viewed as thoughtless enthusiasm for commercial popular culture at best or as praise for an escapist culture of pleasure at worst.

However, there were also some problems with the cultural perception of college students who criticized youth culture. Their arguments not only had a disparaging view of popular culture based on cultural conservatism but were based in large part on a nationalist reaction against foreign culture as well. But most of all, college students took for granted their social status as the "vanguards" and "prime agents" leading South Korean society. Even if liberal intellectuals effectively made college students the exemplary representation of youth in general by interpellating only them, these students did not raise any questions about it during the debate. This privileging of them as an elite group was not a problem at all, and many of those who did not take part in the dispute also took the class distinction for granted as a result of this social symbolic capital between themselves and other social groups.

Apart from the debate, however, there also emerged a different kind of movement of college students breaking away from elitism. At that time, big interest in Korean folk culture was spreading so rapidly in the universities that the term "*minsok pum*"[folk culture boom] was coined.[101] After the early 1970s, *t'alch'um* [Korean traditional mask dance] and *mdanggŭk* [folk play performed in open space] became so tremendously popular among students that *t'alch'um* and *madanggŭk* clubs were formed in a number of universities, and in the late 1970s, various folk performances, including *t'alch'um*,

[101] "Haksaengmunhwa hwaltongŭi hyŏnhwang bunsŏng: t'alch'um"[Analysis of the Current Cultural Activities of Students: T'alch'um].*Yŏnse Ch'unch'u.* Dec.6. 1976. 7.

*madanggŭ*k and *p'ungmulnori*,[102] became staples of university festivals.[103] They even spread to young people outside the university mainly through programs of Christian organizations such as YMCA and YWCA.[104]

In the mid-1970s, the folk culture trend grew into a new university cultural movement based on the awareness of the people as the substance of the nation. *Madanggŭk* activists saw the satire and jest of traditional folk plays as a healthy sense of resistance of the people and furthermore as an art form containing the potential of the people's struggle against the oppressive social order.[105] By developing a new repertoire based on contemporary situations, they tried to display their increased interest in suffering workers, peasants, and the urban poor through folk plays and performing arts after the death of the young worker Chŏn T'ae-il in 1970, an incident that had a great impact on Korean society. This is how the new cultural movements in universities based on Korean traditional performing arts became connected with the movements of workers, peasants, and the urban poor. As cultural movements in the most active sense of the phrase, they developed into comprehensive political movements to, in the words of Nam-hee Lee, unite life and play and restore community life.[106]

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[102] *P'ungmulnori* is a traditional Korean folk music that used mainly drums and other percussions. It includes also dancing and singing.
[103] See the following articles: "Taehakch'ukchee saebaram"[New Trend in University Festivals]. *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*. May 10. 1976. p.2 ; "Taehak ch'ukchewa minsongnori"[University Festivals and Folk Performances]. *Chosŏnilbo*. Oct. 7. 1976. P.3.
[104] "Chŏlmŭn sedaee k'ŭn in'gi minsok nori, moim haengsa kangjwa tŭng ch'omanwŏn" [Folk Performances That is Very Popular with the Young Generation]. *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*. Apr. 20. 1977. P.4.
[105] Namhee Lee. 198.
[106] Namhee Lee. 199. For a fuller discussion of 1970s and 1980s *t'alch'um* and *madanggŭk* movements, esp., see chapter 5.

The privileging of college students during the youth culture dispute had the effect of making other young people invisible. As a popular cultural phenomenon, youth culture, which could have been just a temporary boom, attracted attention as a subject of social as well as academic debate because, above all, it was accepted as the culture of college students. However, youth culture at the time was not only enjoyed by college students. Folk music and other newly emergent popular cultural trends were also popular with middle and high school students, those preparing for retaking their college entrance exams and lower-class workers of the same age group, and in fact, it would be right to view the urban youth at large as the main audience. As such, there was a huge gap between the youth culture discourse and the actual cultural phenomenon. By attempting to judge the South Korean phenomenon by the yardstick of Western phenomena and limiting its audience to college students, the youth culture discourse missed new cultural practices and affects of the urban youth. In the following chapter, I will analyze this new cultural phenomenon and clarify the significant implications of its specific modes.

Chapter 3

Communal Feelings of 1970s Youth Culture: Singing Together, Being Together

In Korean cultural history, youth culture broadly refers to the popular culture and consumerism in the early 1970s that created a new cultural identity of the younger generation. Emblems of youth culture at this time included fashion, such as blue jeans and long hair that were influenced by 1960s American youth culture, public venues of entertainment such as pubs and music halls, and tremendously popular acoustic-style *p'ok'ŭ* [folk] songs.[107] The release of the hit film *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* (Yi Changho, 1974), a filmic adaptation of Ch'oe Inho's novel, consummated this cultural phenomenon, establishing itself as an iconic representation of youth culture. Its unprecedented box-office success, with a record of 460,000 tickets sold during the midst of the 1970s Korean movie recession, further illustrates the influential place of youth culture during the 1970s. It also became a prominent topic of debate in the cultural realm.

[107] Terminology of song styles in Korean popular music scene is so complicated, sometimes confusing. Many song styles were imported and localized in the early stages from the West, especially from the United States, and went through the process of acquiring unique characteristics of Korean popular music. Terminology has had the sociocultural and historical dynamics involved in song styles. Thus, some Korean terms for song styles refer to completely different music from those in the West, even though the terms are the same. The best example is *t'urot'u*(trot), which is supposedly derived from foxtrot. However *t'urot'u* has nothing in common with the foxtrot, except the song style has two-beat rhythm. Similarly, though Korean popular "folk" songs had great influence from American modern folk songs, they were also influenced by various European popular music such as *chanson* and *canzone* and their formal attributes were much different from those in the "original" American contemporary folk songs. In addition, unlike other music genre terms like rock, or jazz, etc, the term Korean 'folk' songs are easily understood to refer to traditional orally-transmitted songs (*minyo*), and in fact some Korean popular folk songs recreated and revived traditional Korean folk songs - for example, Sŏ Yusŏk's "*T'abangne*"(1972). Thus, I adopt the term *p'ok'ŭ ,* the Romanized term of "folk" in reference to the popular music genre, instead of English word "folk" in this chapter.

The term "youth culture" was plastered all over newspapers and magazines and was publicized as a social issue.

As I showed in the previous chapter, the youth culture defined by the media at that time was a confusing mixture of the emphasis of college students as the subjects who enjoyed youth culture and the underscoring of new forms of mass culture constituent of youth culture. Therefore, in the media discourse, youth culture was referred to as a new mass culture that captivated college students and was represented by the popularity of *p'ok'ŭ* songs and Yi Changho's *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars.* However, considering the context of the media discourse, this understanding of youth culture was the refracted result of different purposes and interests of the participants and did not capture the actual cultural phenomenon. In other words, the youth culture of the media discourse was only a discursive construct. In this regard, the youth culture debate and the definition of youth culture in media discourse is an obstacle to understanding the full extent of youth culture in the 1970s. Furthermore, this superficial definition of youth culture has been continuously repeated in later studies on 1970s youth culture without critically examining its usage.

There is little scholarship on 1970s youth culture in English. Rosaleen Rhee's dissertation on the historical development of *p'ok'ŭ* music restored the history of *p'ok'ŭ* music from the beginning to the fall of 1975 with the Marijuana Incident, challenging the dominant understanding that *p'ok'ŭ* music was only mass culture unrelated to the student movement in the 1970s.[108] She argued that *p'ok'ŭ* music was politicized in the wake of

[108] Rosaleen Rhee. *South Korean Popular Folk Music: The Genre That Defined 1970s Youth Culture*. PhD

the youth culture debate and from that time went hand in hand with the student movement. However, though her work thoroughly and fully examines the history of South Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music and explains the politicization of *p'ok'ŭ,* it does not properly conceptualize and interrogate what youth culture was. A similar approach is prevalent in Korean scholarship on 1970s popular music, and youth culture. The term youth culture is widely used in academic writings on 1970s culture, but it is repeated without consistent definition or empirical examination. In other words, the questions of what youth culture referred to and why youth culture was crucial in the 1970s context are not analyzed enough to provide a compelling explanation; most previous scholarship takes for granted the media's usage of the blanket term used to refer to young urban college students' Americanized consumer culture and cultural consumption of mass culture. In addition, the following two assumptions are the most problematic in the stereotype of youth culture that previous studies have continuously strengthened – that 1970s youth culture was a college students' culture, and that it was one of passive consumption.

This chapter challenges the assumptions about youth culture. I argue that youth culture — formed in the late 1960s and peaked in the mid-1970s — was a general cultural practice of urban youth. First of all, the dominant understanding that youth culture centered on college students as cultural consumers is very limited, and this understanding reduces the meaning of youth culture. Youth culture is the first generational culture of young people that was distinct from the culture of the older generation. Thus, youth culture brought about a fundamental change in the cultural

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production of pop culture. Given that the profound change in the 1970s pop culture scene brought about by the emergent youth culture, defining youth culture as the culture of college students does not properly explain how youth culture would come to be so influential and widespread. Moreover, the claim that youth culture belonged to college students unconsciously bolsters the persistent elitist ideas on culture; it excludes non-college students, especially young workers who were the largest youth population at the time, from belonging to youth culture.[109] This is a privileged concept on culture that recognizes only college students as cultural subjects. According to this view, youth

[109] At that time, the largest population group of the same baby boomers (born from 1954 to 1962) was the young workers. (Chu Ch'angyun. "1970 nyŏndae Ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa Sedaedamnonŭi Chŏngch'ihak"[Politics of the Seventies' Youth Culture Discourses]. *Media and Society*. vol.14. no.3. 2006. 81) In 1960, there were only 101, 041 college students, including 2-year vocational schools. Of course, the number of college students grew in the 1970s, as the following statistics show. However, this increase resulted from mainly the total population increase because of the baby boom, so despite the increase in the number of college students, they were extremely few compared to the entire population. By 1978, the ratio of college students' enrollment did not exceed 10%.

	total		primary education		secondary education		tertiary education	
year	number of students	enrollment rate (%)	number of students	enrollment rate (%)	number of students	enrollment rate (%)	number of students	enrollment rate (%)
1960	4,525,753	52.9	3,622,685	99.8	802,027	26.9	101,041	5.2
1965	6,246,316	60.0	4,941,345	97.7	1,177,872	34.4	127,099	6.6
1970	7,822,002	62.1	5,749,301	100.7	1,909,190	40.8	163,511	7.4
1971	8,256,117	64.4	5,907,447	105.8	2,176,757	43.9	171,913	7.5
1972	8,383,737	63.6	5,775,880	105.4	2,416,146	46.0	191,711	7.8
1973	8,579,897	63.9	5,692,285	105.4	2,671,410	49.6	216,202	8.2
1974	8,768,690	64.3	5,618,768	105.1	2,911,184	53.2	238,738	8.5
1975	9,006,588	65.0	5,599,074	105.0	3,149,840	56.7	257,674	8.6
1976	9,153,226	65.9	5,503,737	102.9	3,370,311	60.6	279,178	8.8
1977	9,361,718	65.9	5,514,417	101.9	3,546,370	64.4	300,931	9.1
1978	9,692,058	67.6	5,604,365	102.2	3,752,500	69.3	335,193	9.8
1979	10,069,414	70.0	5,640,712	102.3	3,959,975	74.3	468,727	13.2
1980	10,448,147	72.6	5,658,002	102.9	4,168,789	79.1	621,356	17.1

Pak Hwanpo. "Haebang Ihu Hakkyogyoyuk P'aengch'ang Kyumowa T'ŭkching"[The scale and features of school education expansion after the Liberation]. *Republic of Korea Education 70 years Research Report.* 2015. 148.

culture was an elite culture that not only pursued intergenerational differentiation but also excluded the majority of the same age population from the cultural arena.

Contrary to this dominant understanding of youth culture, the actual people who enjoyed youth culture were not limited to college students. This narrow and biased definition of youth culture contradicts the actual phenomenon that had pop culture at its epicenter. In fact, some participants in the youth culture controversy pejoratively define youth culture as "lower-class young workers' culture," not elitist college culture because youth culture was equal to low-brow mass culture at the time.[110]

Of course, one of the main groups of leading youth culture was college students. For example, singer-songwriters who played the most central role in the *p'ok'ŭ* music scene were mainly college students. However, considering the production and distribution process of the pop music industry, other major players such as record producers, TV and radio show producers, and disc jockeys who played a significant role in the development of *p'ok'ŭ* music were not college students. Furthermore, the most enthusiastic supporters of *p'ok'ŭ* music were not college students but rather urban teenagers and repeat college entrance exam takers. After 1971, when *p'ok'ŭ* music was placed into the mainstream of pop music, it was also actively accepted by young workers.[111] In addition, the symbol of youth culture, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, attracted about 460,000 people during its 105-day run at the Kukdo Theater in Seoul. The number of viewers of the film was more than two times the total number of college

[110] Ch'oe Inho. "Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa Sŏnŏn"[Youth Culture Manifesto]. Son Seil ed. *Han'guk Nonjaengsa 4* [The History of Controversies in Korea 4]. Seoul: Ch'ŏngnam Munhwasa, 1976. 201.
[111] Ch'ae Hyeyŏng. *Pihaengch'ŏngsonyŏn'gwa Chigŏpch'ŏngsonyŏnŭi Ŭmakkihoe Kwanhan Pigyoyŏn'gu* [A Comparative Study on Music Preference of Youthful Offenders and Young Workers]. M.A. Thesis, Ewha Womans University, 1975.

students nationwide. Media articles at the time said the film was attracting young people, especially lower-class young workers.[112] As long as youth culture had pop culture as its main cultural texts, it should be viewed as a culture that was enjoyed by young people in general, not only by college students.

Second, the other stereotype of youth culture is to regard youth culture, including fashion and entertainment, as a passive consumer culture. However, I would like to emphasize the active nature of 1970s youth culture. Since Stuart Hall's famous article, "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse," argued for the possibility of an active audience,[113] audience studies has claimed that the audience does not passively consume mass culture, but actively expresses themselves using it and even recreates mass culture through their appropriations and interventions. This chapter highlights the cultural practices of young people who created new cultural meaning by actively expressing themselves in their context, rather than just passively consuming pop culture in their everyday lives. As I will show later in this chapter, 1970s singer-songwriters were consumers of American popular music, but soon became the main players in 1970s youth culture, creating and leading Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music. In addition, after their songs were shunned by the mainstream cultural industry, young *p'ok'ŭ* singers invented new distribution channels, networks, and music venues for new audiences. Finally, young audiences cultivated youth culture by interacting with and supporting these new artists.

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[112] In the 1970s, the moviegoers changed to teenagers and twenties. According to an article by the Korean Film Council (KOFIC), over 80% of the total audience of Heavenly Homecoming to Stars was in their 20s. This young audience consisted largely of urban lower-class young workers and students. (Chŏng Yongt'ak. "Paegŭp, Hŭnghaeng" [Distributiion, Box-office]. *1977 Han'gugyŏnghwayŏn'gam* [1977 Korean Film Yearbook]. KOFIC, 1978. 57.)

[113] Stuart Hall. "Encoding/Decoding" Stuart Hall at al. edit. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*. Routledge: London and New York, 2004. 117-127.

This chapter argues the significance of the young audience of youth culture as cultural producers, but neither defines youth culture as a "subculture" as Dick Hebdige shows in his famous book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*[114] nor follows John Fiske's notable approach of "resistant reading" against the dominant ideology in popular culture.[115] Rather, this chapter considers that such a canonical cultural studies approach recaptures the youth culture phenomenon in a theoretical aporia between structure and subjectivity or conformity and resistance. I argue that what is the most important in youth culture is not the cultural texts, or the producer/consumer, but the affect and the communal feelings that were generated, amplified, and disseminated in the encounter of the texts and the audience. Thus, I will analyze *p'ok'ŭ* music culture and the main texts of *p'ok'ŭ* songs that were at the center of youth culture in order to show the communal feelings generated by the convergence of young people and youth culture texts.

Although the texts of youth culture were so diverse that they could not be grouped into a single category, they shared a common element on a latent level and developed into representing the sentiments of the times in the 1970s. They demonstrated compassion for the weak and a certain affect of togetherness — an unconscious feeling of being together and a feeling of the rightness of communion with others. Youth culture captured and expressed the affect of togetherness, and these communal feelings became one root of the emergent *minjung* culture in the 1980s. *P'ok'ŭ* songs were not only accepted by college students but also were actively used by young workers in forming

[114] Dick Hebdige. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Routledge: London and New York. 1981.
[115] John Fiske. *Television Culture*. Routledge: London and New York. 2011.

their working-class culture. Thus, youth culture provided abundant sources for working-class culture and formed a genealogy of the *minjung* culture of the 1980s.

I argue it was the affect and the communal feelings that gave youth culture its unique defining features. Neither textual characteristics like subject matter nor contextual elements like the influence of American youth culture provided sufficient evidence to define 1970s youth culture. If youth culture is considered as a group of pop culture texts with fixed meanings or an Americanized everyday culture of young college students, this latent crux of youth culture cannot be found. Moreover, the previous understanding of youth culture that was limited to commercial pop culture texts cannot encompass the possibility and the potential of youth culture. Most previous studies on youth culture have stated that youth culture ended in 1975 with the *Yushin* regime's brutal crackdown on the commercial pop culture market in the Marijuana Incident. However, I claimed that the statement of the closing is an inevitable result of a commercial culture-oriented approach, not a conclusion of sufficient analysis on youth culture. I will demonstrate that youth culture was transformed into a base for the emergent *Minjung* culture that would later flourish because youth culture embedded the affect of togetherness and the communal feelings of compassion for the weak.

Reading Affect in South Korean Youth Culture

Affect allows us to capture deeper collective interactions that occur on a non-cognitive level. One's affects are, imitated and contagious and shared with others. In other words, they are not merely private but are formed and changed by being influenced by those of

others. They emerge in patterns of structured social relationships that provide an emotional basis for social behavior but are also potential forces to transform social relationships themselves. Affect should be treated very significantly in exploring 1970s culture, because people at that time tried to interact with one another in an inarticulate way about something inchoate that had not yet been fully narrativitized. Youth culture was in the middle of such interaction. Therefore, it is insufficient simply to pay attention to the explicit denotation in the narrative in addressing youth culture. Something that was not narrativitized was located in the core of youth culture. Without this, it is almost impossible to explain youth culture. For example, for *p'ok'ŭ* music, a genre that represented the youth culture at the time, its importance should not be limited to the expansion of *t'ongbŭlssaeng*[116] or the resistant messages in the lyrics, as people often point out. Rather, it should be found in the fact that *p'ok'ŭ* music was the optimal medium for delivering contemporary social moods. It was able to do this because music is a medium that conveys affects that exceed or fall short of articulation.

However, when introducing affect into my discussion, a problem arises of whether affect can be signified or interpreted — a major issue in recent affect theory. Brian Massumi, a Deleuzian philosopher, argues that it is impossible to interpret affect because it is the thing that stubbornly rejects interpretation. He makes a sharp distinction between affect as intensity and emotion as "qualified intensity," emphasizing that they

[116] *T'ongbŭlssaeng*, as an acronym for acoustic guitar, blue jeans, and draft beer, represented young urban people's cultural tastes and everyday lives at the time. Blue jeans (and long hair) were a fashion derived from *p'ok'ŭ* music stars, and the beer hall where they usually drank draft beer was also a new drinking establishment involved in *p'ok'ŭ* music, not to mention acoustic guitar. Given this, it can be said that *p'ok'ŭ* music was at the center of the gravity of 1970s youth culture.

"follow different logics and pertain to different orders."[117] According to Massumi, emotion is "the socio-linguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal," or "the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning."[118] Affect, on the contrary, means an impersonal, non-signified, non-narrativitized bodily feeling. He defines affect against emotion and prioritizes affect. In other words, he explains it as an experience that directly arises in the body without the mediation of consciousness or an intensive response of the body before conventionalization. In his view, affect means an ontological phenomenon that goes down from the primitive, the senses, to the body without going through the mind.

Massumi distinguishes affect from emotion in such a sharply dichotomous way. Because affect is only a bodily intensity before it can be "narrativitized," it cannot be signified and an interpretative object. Something that can be "narrativitized" is no longer affect but an emotion of "qualified intensity." However, when you persist on this dichotomy between them, affect is nothing but an amorphous flux of energy without any structure and thereby bound to remain as something mysterious that cannot be interpreted or signified forever.

Lawrence Grossberg, who depends heavily on Deleuze and Guattari as well, strongly criticizes this ontological understanding of affect and claims locating affect in a

[117] Brian Massumi. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham: Duke UP, 2002, 27.
[118] Ibid. 28.

specific and historical context.[119] He also takes affect to be defined by force and intensity and to be a fluid, indeterminate, potential energy that is not fixed in a specific position or object. In his prominent book, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture*, a study that introduces affect to cultural studies, Grossberg argues, "Unlike emotions, affective states are neither structured narratively nor organized in response to our interpretations of situations."[120] To him, affect, nevertheless, is actualized within the context of an empirical reality that organizes various affective apparatuses, discourses, and everyday life within historically specific phases. Thus, for him, "emotion is the ideological attempt to make sense of some affective productions."[121] Affect is an ontological condition that makes a certain empirical reality possible, and when this is articulated with a specific ideology, it forms an emotion. Understood this way, emotion, the actualized mode of affect itself, need not be distinguished from affect.[122]

On the basis of this discussion, Grossberg criticizes a dualistic understanding of affect as a supposedly fleeing or deterritorializing interpretive politics of "a leap from a set of ontological concepts to a description of an empirical and affective context."[123] According to him, this approach shows theoretical impotence that avoids the "hard work"

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[119] Lawrence Grossberg. "Affect's Future: Rediscovering the Virtual in the Actual." in *The Affect Theory Reader*. eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth. Durham: Duke UP, 2010. 314.
[120] Lawrence Grossberg. *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture*. Routledge: New York, 1992. 25.
[121] Grossberg. 2010. 316.
[122] Sianne Ngai also uses feeling and affect interchangeably in her monumental work, *Ugly Feelings*, asserting that their difference can be viewed as a modal one rather than as a qualitative or typical one. (Sianne Ngai. *Ugly Feelings.* 27.)
[123] Grossberg. 2010. 314.

of analyzing "the articulations of the ontological and the empirical" of affect[124] or the way it is actually organized and consequently prevents us from seeing the various effects on daily life that we can discover through feelings.

In my view, Grossberg's claim has the advantage of making a concrete analysis of affect possible. Though affect itself is an amorphous flow of energy and thus non-representative and asignifying, it emerges as an interpretative object in the way that it is empirically actualized in specific phases. Of course, though affect is actualized in these specific ideological articulations, it is impossible to fully signify and narrativitize. It always exceeds or falls short, and inevitably has a remainder. But though complete signification is impossible, incomplete signification tells us about something through its incompleteness.

This standpoint on affect serves as the theoretical background for my approach to the 1970s youth culture in this chapter. Representative youth culture texts exhibit commonality in spite of the heterogeneity of the material or artistic style of the work. Though they did not reveal the contemporary political struggle over explicit ideology, they made significant commentaries about contemporary society on quite a different level. These commentaries, which can be summarized as "being together," can only be captured in terms of affect. In other words, the representative youth culture texts, wittingly or unwittingly, captured and expressed the common elements of the contemporary social climate that were beyond the heterogeneous subject matter or artistic style in the texts, and this is why these texts were able to spread to people of all ages

[124] Grossberg. 2010. 315.

beyond the scope of mere youths. Approaching these texts in terms of affect will allow us to analyze their politics that are not revealed on a cognitive level.

P'ok'ŭ music as a Generational Revolution

When Korean youth culture is captured as the collective cultural practice of 1970s young people, the most important medium, from the beginning to the end, could be justifiably said to be popular music and *p'ok'ŭ* music in particular. Despite its very short heyday (1973-75), *p'ok'ŭ* music definitely demonstrated the way Korean youth culture was a generational revolution.

P'ok'ŭ music played a key part in the foundation of youth culture in the history of Korean popular music because it made a change both contextually and textually. Contextually it was the establishment of a new production and circulation system and the debut of young producers and consumers. Textually it was the introduction to a novel musical instrument, new playing styles, fresh musical forms, and original messages. Consequently, *p'ok'ŭ* music made genuine innovations in the South Korean cultural history. Most of all, *p'ok'ŭ* music carried a novel generational sentiment, which would evolve the sentiment of the times later to define the 1970s.

Since the late 1960s, a new generation of young people with a completely different sensibility began to emerge in South Korea. Members of this generation were born after the Korean War, experienced the April Revolution as children, and grew up amid the budding economic growth and urbanization that would later come to characterize this period. In general, they were the so-called baby boomers of Korea, born

between 1955 when the birth rate surged and 1963 when the birth control policy was introduced. Not only did they reject the aesthetics of the older generation based on the Japanese colonial period, but they were also relatively immune to the direct influence of American GI culture around the US military bases after the Korean War (as shown in 1950s melodrama such as *Madame Freedom*). Although they had an Americanized cultural sensibility, the American culture they enjoyed was not the 1950s-style GI culture of the US military bases, but a more sophisticated lifestyle and consumer culture embraced through education and media.[125] In short, baby boomers expressed antipathy to all the cultures of the older generation that had held hegemony until then. Based on the taste and sensibility of the baby boomers, a new generational culture named youth culture emerged, and the core of this generational culture was formed by *p'ok'ŭ* music.

Until the rise of *p'ok'ŭ* music in the late 1960s, the Korean popular music industry was divided into popular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music and American-style pop music; *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, a symbol of the cultural tastes of the older generation, which was formed during the

[125] The Korean War and subsequent U.S. military presence played a decisive role in American popular culture taking root in Korean society. Particularly, the reception of American popular music through Armed Forces Korea Network (AFKN) radio, which began broadcasting in 1950, and various shows for the US military at many clubs around the US military camps across the country, had a great influence on Korean popular music. 1950s successful popular songs such as Chang Sejŏng's "Saenp'ŭranshisŭk'o" [San Francisco](1953), Paek Sŏrhŭi's "Amerik'a Ch'ainat'aun" [American Chinatown](1954), Pak Tanma's "Syusainboi" [Shoeshine boy](1952), Myŏng Guk'wan's "Arijona K'auboi" [Arizona Cowboy] (1955), Yi Mija's "Wŏshingt'ŏn Pŭllusŭ" [Washington Blues](1959) displayed strange obsession over foreignness. At the center of this penchant for the foreign, yearning and admiration for America were found, although the musical forms of these songs are distant from typical American-style pop music. For example, in the lyrics of these songs, we can see a bizarre sensibility that Koreans praised the American West (Arizona Cowboy) or sang about the sorrow of an American woman who missed her lover-he died in the Korean War (Washington Blues). See the following on the US military base culture that had influenced Korean popular music: Shin, Hyŏnjun, et al. *Han'guk P'abŭi Kogohak 1960* [Archeology of Korean Pop 1960]. P'aju: Hankil Arts Press, 2005 esp. Ch. 1 and Ch. 2; Yi Yŏngmi. *Han'guk Taejunggayosa* [The History of Korean Popular Music]. Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2006 esp. Ch. 4; Chang, Yujŏng, and Sŏ, Byŏnggi. *Han'guktaejungŭmaksa Kaeron* [Introduction to Korean Popular Music History]. Seoul: BM Sŏngandang, 2015 esp. Ch. 6.

colonial period under the influence of the Japanese *enka* in the 1930s, was the most popular genre in the Korean music market. American-style pop music, an outgrowth from the US military presence after the war, was directly affected by Jazz and American traditional pop music. The (American-style) pop music was developed based on the performance at clubs in the US military base. The emerging *p'ok'ŭ* music was formed against these two mainstream music genres; *p'ok'ŭ* music was different from not only *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music in almost every aspect, including melody, lyrics, singing methods, and performance practices, but also existing American-style pop music despite its acceptance of American modern folk music. In particular, *p'ok'ŭ* music was produced, distributed, and developed outside the industrial system of popular music in which large agencies or record companies led the production and distribution.

Contrary to general belief, *p'ok'ŭ* music had already appeared in the early 1960s. The first arrival of Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music singers in Korean popular music history was in 1963 when a group of college students formed a vocal team called Yoo Sehyŏng folk Singers (*Yu Sehyŏng p'ok'ŭ Singŏsŭ*). Soon after, even Arirang Brothers, who mainly sang country music, released a *p'ok'ŭ* album in 1964.[126] However, their songs, which were mere cover songs or adaptations of American songs without sufficient localization, did not gain popularity and soon disappeared from people's memories.

However, in 1968, just a few years later, *p'ok'ŭ* music began gain popularity as Twin Folio, a duo of Yun Hyŏngju and Song Ch'angshik, gained great popularity through

[126] For this forgotten introduction to *p'ok'ŭ* music in the early 1960s, see the following: Yi Yŏngmi. *Tongbaegagassinŭn ŏdi-ro kassŭlkka: Taejungmunhwa-ro bonŭn pakchŏnghŭi shidae* [Where did the camellia lady go: Park Chunghee Era in Popular Culture]. Seoul: Inmulgwa Sasang, 2017. 142-147; Rosaleen Rhee. 24-26.

radio. The debut album of Twin Folio is widely accepted as the beginning of Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music. Most of the popular *p'ok'ŭ* singers of this period were highly educated singer-songwriters. These *p'ok'ŭ* singers were fundamentally different from the singers in previous periods. These were not professional singers but hobbyists who sang songs because they just loved music. They sang their own songs while playing acoustic guitars in small music listening rooms and at small youth meetings of the YMCA and YWCA.

The development of mass media such as radio and TV had been one of the main contributors to *p'ok'ŭ* music since the mid-1960s. The 1960s were the heyday of commercial radio broadcasting with the launching of Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), the first commercial radio broadcaster in 1961, followed by Donga Broadcasting System (DBS) in 1963, and Tongyang Broadcasting Company (TBC) in 1964. TV stations also opened one after another: Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) TV in 1961, TBC TV in 1964, and MBC TV in 1969. This newly grown and diverse media environment had become a pipeline for *p'ok'ŭ* music to become mainstream since 1968. In particular, late-night radio music shows had become new spaces that spread this college student-centered music culture to middle-class teenagers, at least in large cities. Beginning in 1970, *p'ok'ŭ* music singers hosted radio music programs, gaining explosive popularity among teenagers.[127] In terms of the number of consumers, teenagers in large cities, including high school students and *chaesusaeng*, those studying to retake their

[127] Yi Yŏngmi explained the popularity of *p'ok'ŭ* music in connection with South Korea's particular enthusiasm for high education: since most *p'ok'ŭ* singers were students of prestigious universities, their music was popular not only among college students of the same age group but also among teenagers eager to become college students at prestigious schools. (Yi Yŏngmi. *Han'guk Taejunggayosa* [The history of Korean Popular Music]. Seoul: Sigongsa, 1998. 229.)

college entrance exams, were far more central audiences of *p'ok'ŭ* music than college students.[128]

Early *p'ok'ŭ* had not attained the popularity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music and had a relatively limited audience.[129] However, with the huge success of Lana et Rospo's 1971 song, "*Saranghae*" [I Love You], which is composed of only four codes, G, Em, C, and D, *p'ok'ŭ* music rose to dominate the popular music market that had been previously dominated by *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and American-style pop music. As Ŭnhŭi's "*Kkotpanji kkigo*" [Wearing a flower ring], which also has a simple composition of repeating the four chords of C, Am, Dm, and G, gained enormous popularity as well, *p'ok'ŭ* music took over the hegemony of the music industry in earnest.[130] The success of *p'ok'ŭ* music can be explained by the fact that the first youth market was composed of the baby boomers who began to dominate the Korean culturally industry demographically thanks to the achievements of the economic growth of the late 1960s.

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[128] See the following: Park, Yonggyu. "1970nyŏndaeŭi T'ellebijŏn'gwa Taejungŭmak: Ch'ŏngsonyŏn Taesang Taejungŭmak P'ŭrogŭraemŭl Chungsimŭro"[Television and Popular Music in the 1970s: Focused on the Youth Popular Music Programs]. *Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication Studies*. Vol.51. No. 2. 2007. 16; Jŏng Miryang. "1970nyŏndae Han'guk Ch'ŏngsonyŏnch'ŭngŭi Taejungŭmak Hyangyu Hyŏnsanggwa Kŭ Hamŭi: Pip'anjŏk Tamnon Punsŏgŭl Chungsimŭro"[The Implication of Enjoying Popular Music among Young Generation in the 1970s: Focusing on the Critical Analysis of Discourses]. *The Review of Korean Cultural Studies*. vol. 61. 2018. 210-212; Kim Hyŏngch'an. "1970nyŏndae T'onggit'a Ŭmakkwa Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwaŭi Inp'ŭra"[Korean Acoustic Music and the Infrastructure of Youth Culture in the 1970s] Kim Ch'angnam et al. eds. *Taejungŭmak, Noraeundong kŭrigo Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa* [Popular music, Song movement, and Youth culture]. P'aju: Hanul, 2004. 172-174.

[129] In the early 1970s, the biggest stars of popular music were Na Huna and Nam Chin, who were rivals for *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers.

[130] Along with the popularity of *p'ok'ŭ* music itself, *p'ok'ŭ* music became mainstream thanks to the Park Chunghee regime's policy of censorship and regulation of popular music. The Park regime implemented a massive crackdown on popular songs in the name of the purification of anti-decadence in early 1972 right before the Yushin Constitutional Amendment. The main target of this crackdown was *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music, and the ban on *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music in network broadcasting paved the way for *p'ok'ŭ* music, which was relatively good and healthy.

In addition to quantitative growth, various attempts to characterize *p'ok'ŭ* music, and as a result, there were significant developments in terms of quality of the music produced. In 1971, three legendary debut albums of *p'ok'ŭ* music were released: Kim Minki's first solo album, *Kim Minki*; Yang Hŭiŭn's *Koun norae moŭm* [Lovely Songs Vol.1] which included "*Ach'im isŭl*" [Morning Dew]; Pang Ŭigyŏng's *Nae norae moŭm* [My Songs] consisting only of her original songs. In addition, a group of college student singers who resisted the commercial logic of the music industry and insisted on pure independent music activities based on amateurism appeared.[131]

Furthermore, attempts to collect and revive traditional folk songs comparable to the American folk music revival were brisk. For example, the *p'ok'ŭ* duo Two Koreans included "*Pyŏgodong,*" "*Kunbam*" etc. which were arrangements of traditional Korean folk songs in their 1971 album, and Sŏ Yusŏk reinterpreted traditional folk songs such as "*Chinju nanbongga*" and "*Tabakneya*" in a modern *p'ok'ŭ* style in his 1972 album.

Consequently, *p'ok'ŭ* reached the peak of its popularity in 1973-1975. In 1973, even the representative *t'ŭrot'ŭ* stars Na Huna and Yi Mija sang *p'ok'ŭ* songs.[132] For example, the front album cover of Na Huna's *Insaengŭn Chumak* [Life is a Tavern] released in 1973 featured a photo of Na Huna playing the acoustic guitar.[133] "The market

[131] "Taehakkaŭi amagasudŭl" [Amateur singers on the campus], *Ilgansŭp'och'ŭ*. Jun. 20, 1972.
[132] Yi Mija's only *p'ok'ŭ* song album, *Yi Mija 1973: Nyusŭt'airŭi Pesŭt'ŭ 11*[Yi Mija 1973, Best 11 songs of a New Style] was released in 1973. On this album, Yi Mija sang 11 *p'ok'ŭ* songs composed or arranged by Pyŏn Hyŏk, including an adaptation song of "Edelweiss"
[133] Na Huna's *p'ok'ŭ* album was also composed or arranged by composer Pyŏn Hyŏk of the famous *p'ok'ŭ* song "Saranghae"[I Love You]. In fact, this album was a compilation album that contains not only Na Huna's *p'ok'ŭ* songs but also popular *p'ok'ŭ* group Bubble Gum's songs. Nevertheless, the cover of the album was Na Huna's photo.

share of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music and pop-style music was each 6 and 4" in 1973[134] and "the proportion of pop-style music and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music was 8-2" in 1974.[135] In 1974 and 1975, the heyday of *p'ok'ŭ* music, *p'ok'ŭ* music was no longer simply a genre for college students or middle-class teenagers. At this time, *p'ok'ŭ* became the dominant popular genre in urban areas. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* music also began to have negative connotations. The term *ppongtchak*, an onomatopoeia mimicking the backing sound of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music, first appeared in a 1970 newspaper article. This term had the negative implication that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music was only for the uneducated lower-class or old people from rural areas.[136] The fact that this pejorative term began to appear in journals meant that the cultural conflict between the generation loving trot music and the one enjoying *p'ok'ŭ* music had intensified and that the latter took the place of the former in the mainstream.

New Cultural Practices of the Younger Generation

The emergence of *p'ok'ŭ* music as a generational revolution in Korean cultural history can be regarded as the beginning of the generational differentiation of Korean popular culture, which had before been homogeneous. However, the cultural significance of *p'ok'ŭ* music goes far beyond the generational distinction of culture. As *p'ok'ŭ* music developed and gained popularity in Korea, it broke the distinction between producers and consumers of culture that had persisted since the modern culture industry was introduced

[134] Pop-style music in this article means *p'ok'ŭ* music. "Kasu Sŭk'ause Sae Chŏllyak" [The New Strategy of Singer Scout]. *Ilgansŭp'och'ŭ.* Dec. 8. 1973

[135] "1974 Yŏnye Kyŏlsan Kayo" [Year in Review:1974 Entertainment, Popular Music]. *Ilgansŭp'och'ŭ*. Dec.19. 1974.

[136] Yi Yŏngmi. *Yosae Noraega Noraenya* [Is Your Recent Song a True Song?]. Seoul: Sech'ang ch'ulp'ansa, 2017. 168.

to Korea. Young *p'ok'ŭ* music listeners did not remain as mere cultural consumers but turned into cultural producers by actively revealing their identity through active cultural practice. *P'ok'ŭ* music as youth culture has significance as an active cultural practice of young audiences.

The younger generation at that time was fundamentally different from the older generation in the way they enjoyed music. While the older generation passively consumed music mainly by watching theater productions or listening to records, the younger generation learned to play acoustic guitar and sang to guitar accompaniment, and some of them became professional *p'ok'ŭ* singers. In other words, the new creators of *p'ok'ŭ* music, singer-songwriters, were music listeners-turned into-singers. Student singers, who were consumers of American modern folk songs, appeared as *p'ok'ŭ* stars and music producers of Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music. As I will discuss later, the process of *p'ok'ŭ* music being introduced and produced outside the culture industry — as a kind of independent music in the early phase — illustrates the significance of *p'ok'ŭ* music as a cultural practice of the younger generation.

Furthermore, young audiences actively expressed themselves through *p'ok'ŭ* music and communicated their feelings. For example, late-night radio music shows centered on *p'ok'ŭ* music became the main platform for young people to form an emotional community based on their active participation. As mentioned earlier, with the launching of various commercial broadcasting stations in the mid-1960s and the growth of radio and TV penetration in big cities, radio became a medium for the younger

generation.[137] Accordingly, music broadcasts targeting the younger generation also increased dramatically; late-night music shows that began in 1970 especially had a great influence on the formation of youth culture.[138] The late-night music shows created a new form of youth culture that had never existed before - one based on the active participation of young listeners. An example of the active participation of the younger generation can be seen through their song-request postcards. These were not simply song requests; rather they were not only a means of sharing and communicating their sensibilities and feelings about everyday life, but also crucial elements in determining the directions and contents of the shows.[139] Moreover, young listeners of music shows formed fan clubs for each music program, and with the support of the broadcasting stations, they held *p'ok'ŭ* singers' concerts and *p'ok'ŭ* festivals.[140] The loose affective community that the younger

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[137] The following *Tongailbo* article illustrates this well. "It is often said that radio is declining because the number of TV sets is approaching 1 million and TV penetration rate in cities is about 1 in 10 people, but radio is popular with young people and forms a new listening group." (*Tongailbo* "Ch'ŏngsonyŏndŭrŭi Radio Aeyong Tturyŏt"[Young People's Clear Preference for Radio]. Nov.22, 1972. p8.)

[138] Since TBC's *Pamŭl Ijŭn Kŭdaeege* [You Who Forgotten the Night] was launched on June 23, 1970, all the radio stations began to air late-night music shows: Christian Broadcasting System(CBS)'s *Kkumgwa Ŭmaksai* [Between Dream and Music] on Sep.21, DBS's *Yŏngshiŭi Taiŏl* [Dial at Midnight] on Oct. 5, MBC's *Pyŏri Pinnanŭn Pame* [Starry Night] in Nov.-this show which had been a short 15-minute lecture program turned into a music show in 1970. Subsequently, popular *p'ok'ŭ* singers hosted these late-night music shows: Yun Hyŏngju on *Dial at Midnight*(Apr.1971) and Yi Changhŭi (Jan.1973); Yang Hŭiŭn on *You who Forgotten the Night* (Oct.1972) and Sŏ Yusŏk (Apr.1973); Cho Yŏngnam on *Starry Night* (Sep. 1973) (Kim Hyŏngch'an, *Han'guk Ch'ogi T'onggit'aŭmagŭi Sajŏk Yŏn-gu:1975 Nyŏnkkaji Sahoesajŏk Hŭrŭmgwa Chakkarŭl Chungshimŭro* [The Historical Investigation of Korean Acoustic Music (to 1975): In the View of Social Historical Flow and Musical Authors]. 2002, Korean National University of Arts School of Music, M.A. Thesis. 63)

[139] In the 1970s, 80% of the mail that arrived at each broadcasting station was song request postcards for music shows. The song-request postcards more importantly showed the sensibility in the daily lives of young people in the 1970s. For example:

> I will no longer read Hermann Hesse's poetry in front of you, which I used to read secretly lying alone in a grey ward. And as always, I will close my eyes sitting silently on a bench in the church's corner on a bright Sunday morning while you elegantly passed by me. I will live pretending to forget you, waiting for you without a word. To my dearest Hŭi in Shinch'on, with having dews in my eyes. (Kim Hyŏngch'an."Kim Hyŏngch'anŭi Taejungŭmak Iyagi"[Kim Hyŏngch'an's Popular Music Story]. *Kukcheshinmun.* Sep. 19. 2016. 23.)

[140] First, the DBS music show's fan club, "DBS Pop Family," was formed in May 1971 and had more than

generation created around music shows can be said to be the prototype of today's remarkably evolved K-pop fandom and fan culture.

Communal Singing Activities: Dynamic Forces of *P'ok'ŭ* as Youth Culture

P'ok'ŭ music grew outside of the commercial music industry and then broke into the popular music market. As mentioned earlier, the biggest driving force for the growth of *p'ok'ŭ* music was the particular way of how the younger generation enjoyed music, which had a fundamental affinity with *p'ok'ŭ* music. Christian institutions including the YMCA and YWCA played an important mediator in the development of the genre.

In the early phase of *p'ok'ŭ*, it was the sing-along program organized by the YMCA and the YWCA that contributed to making *p'ok'ŭ* music youth culture for urban young people.[141] In April 1965, Chŏn Sŏkhwan, who was leading singing programs at the US army officers club, started "Sing-along Y" (named after Mitch Miller's *Sing Along With Mitch*) at the YMCA.[142] In addition, the YWCA also organized a sing-along program in 1967 called "Joyful Songs," "Singing Sunday Home." In the sing-along programs, young people learned to play acoustic guitar and to sing a variety of songs from traditional folk songs of foreign countries and government-recommended songs to

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4,000 members. It was followed by the formation of a fan club of TBC's *You who forgotten the Night*. On MBC, fan clubs were formed separately for each show. "Music Dial Pop Family," a fan club of *Music Dial*, hosted by Pak Wŏnung, was launched, and the fan club "Starry Night Club" of Yi Chonghwan's *Starry Night* was formed, boasting 10,000 members. (Kim Hyŏngch'an. 2004. 171-173)

[141] Around the same time, music listening rooms such as "C'est Si Bon" also played a major role in the development of *p'ok'ŭ* music, which is well known through various media outlets in Korea. The music venues provided a stage for the student singers who later became *p'ok'ŭ* stars including Yun Hyŏngju, Song Ch'angshik, and Cho Yŏngnam.

[142] Kim Hyŏngch'an. 2002. 31-33; Pak Kiyŏng. *Ishik Kŭrigo Tongnip: Han'guk Modŏnp'ok'ŭ Ŭmagŭi Sŏngnipkwajŏng (1968nyŏn –1975nyŏn)*[Plantation and Independence: Development and Completion of Korean Modern Folk Music(1968-1975)]. Dankuk University. M.A. Thesis. 2003. 78-81.

American modern folk songs such as “We Shall Overcome,” “Blowing in the Wind,” “Where Have All the Flowers Gone.” These sing-along programs were so popular that they spread outside the YMCA and YWCA. Chŏn Sŏkhwan’s sing-along program became widely known through many broadcasting programs, and the songs he introduced and taught in his sing-along program were also disseminated all over the country in less than a year.[143] Chŏn Sŏkhwan even hosted the program called *Noraeŭi Meari* [Echo of Songs], which was produced by KBS TV in May 1966.

The program itself did not fully explain the success of the sing-along program. In fact, one of the reasons of the program’s success was that it was incorporated into the Park Chunghee administration’s National Sing-Along Movement. Although the Park Chunghee administration’s first National Sing-Along Movement in 1961 led by classical musicians had held little appeal, the second movement had a great success with the participation of Chŏn Sŏkhwan and other famous popular musicians.[144] Contrary to

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[143] The Sing-along Y Choir appeared on the following music programs: DBS’s *Let’s Sing Together* in September 1965; KBS TV’s *Echo of Song* in July 1966; KBS Radio’s *Thirty Million Chorus* in November 1966; CBS’s *A Million People's Song* in September 1967. (Kim Hyŏngch’an. Ibid. 36)

[144] The Park Chunghee administration’s *Kungmin’gaech’angundong* [National Sing-Along Movement] borrowed from the Japanese Empire’s *Kokuminkaishōundō* [National Sing-Along Movement] which was one of the national mobilization policies under the total war system in 1942. Park Chunghee’s *Kungmin’gaech’angundong* had even the same title as the Japanese one. (Song Hwasuk. “Pak Chŏnghŭi: Kukga Kŭndaehwap'ŭrojekt'ŭwa Ŭmak”[Park Chunghee: National Modernization Project and Music]. *Historical Research in Music.* vol.1. 2012. 178.) The first National Sing-Along Movement started immediately after the May 16 coup in 1962 but fizzled out with no success. The second movement started again in 1967, but the goal of the movement extended to contribute to the second Five-Year Economic Development Plan by creating a cheerful social atmosphere. Now the second movement had a very clear purpose, not limited to promote social integration or wholesome national culture of the first one. While the first movement was led by classical musicians such as Na Unyŏng, the second movement centered on famous popular musicians like Son Sŏku. The second National Sing-Along Movement was a great success. Above all, Chŏn Sŏkhwan who joined the movement from the YMCA made a great contribution to the success of the movement. His activities were praised by the media at the time, calling him “a pioneer of the National Sing-Along Movement.”(*Kyŏnghyangshinmun*, June 25, 1966. 5.)
For Chŏn Sŏkhwan’s activities during the movement, see the following articles: Chŏn Sŏkhwan. “Noraega Mearich’inŭn Sahoerŭl: Kungmin'gaech'angundongŭi 4nyŏn”[A Society Where Songs Echo: Four Years of

popular belief, the Park Chunghee administration's music policy played a role in enabling youth culture to take root in the early stages.[145]

Although the programs were part of the government-led campaign, the cultural significance of the YMCA and YWCA sing-along programs went far beyond the government's intentions. Rather, these sing-along programs had the potential for youth culture to develop into a counterculture of the Park Chunghee regime. First, various songs introduced through the programs became the main repertoire of *p'ok'ŭ* musicians and the reservoir for blooming youth culture later. Second, more importantly, these programs created a new culture of "singing together" among young people, which had never existed before. At that time, young people gathered in the auditoriums of the YMCA or YWCA and sang together to the accompaniment of acoustic guitars. This was the very beginning of the youth culture's iconic scene in the 1970s; young people gathered in a circle and sang together to the accompaniment of an acoustic guitar. Most of all, the affect of togetherness which was created during singing together at the same place, was the bedrock for youth culture that would later be in full bloom.

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the National Sing-along Movement]. *Shindonga.* vol.43 Mar.1968. pp. 312-318.; *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*. Feb.9, 1969; *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*. Sep. 18, 1974. etc.
For the Japanese Empire's National Sing-along Movement in the colonial period, see this paper: Yi Jisŏn."Cheguk Ilbon'gwa Shingminji Chosŏnŭi Ŭmakchŏngch'aek 2: Kungmin'gaech'angundongŭl Chungshimŭ-ro"[Music Policy of Imperial Japan and Colonial Joseon 2: Focusing on National Sing-Along Movement]. *Journal of Japanese Studies.* vol. 45, 2010.
For the Park Chunghee administration's National Sing-Along Movement, see the following papers: Kim Ŭnkyŏng. "Pakchŏnghŭich'ejeŭi Ŭmakchŏngch'aege Kwanhan Pip'anjŏk Yŏn-gu: Tetkungmin'gaech'angundongt'erŭl Chungshimŭro"[A Critical Study on the Policy of Music in Park Jung Hee's Political Regime: Focusing on the National Movement of Sing along]. *Journal of Korean Political and Diplomatic History*. vol.35 no.1. 2013; Song Hyŏnmin. "Han Saramŭl Wihae Moŭn Iptŭl" [A Chorus Only for One Man]. *Culture/Science*. no.77. 2014.

[145] Similar irony can be found that *t'alch'um* and *madanggŭk* survived due to the Park Chunghee administration's nationalism and national culture policy and eventually became the vital resource for the democratization movement and university culture in the late 1970s.

Christian institutions made another contribution to the development of *p'ok'ŭ* music. The activities of the YMCA and YWCA established new channels of music production and distribution outside of commercial record labels enabling *p'ok'ŭ* music to grow as a symbol of youth culture. For example, on June 29, 1970, the YWCA opened Green Frog House which provided various cultural programs for young people, including sing-alongs and foreign film screenings.[146] Unlike the Sing-along Y program, the Green Frog House only provided a venue for youth cultural programs but did not contribute to any planning or management. Therefore, it became one of the most important venues for youth culture formation. Song Ch'angsik, Yun Hyŏngju, Kim Sehwan, Sŏ Yusŏk, Bang Ŭikyŏng, Kim Kwanghŭi, Onions, Kim Minki, Yang Hŭiŭn, and other 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* music stars sang weekly at the Green Frog House. At the same time, a new generation of disk jockeys and producers of radio music shows frequented the Green Frog House to discover new singers and new music. In a word, the Green Frog House at which music professionals gathered was an incubator for *p'ok'ŭ* music and youth culture.[147]

The YMCA and YWCA were also the main organizers of *p'ok'ŭ* music performances. The YMCA held Korea's first *p'ok'ŭ* festival on September 20, 1970 at the YMCA auditorium, and on November 20, the YWCA also hosted a *p'ok'ŭ* music performance named Green Frog Sound.[148] This concert had a great significance in

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[146] "YWCA Ch'ŏnggaegurijip Kaegwan"[YWCA Opens the Green Frog House]. *Chungangilbo*. Jun. 27. 1970. p5.

[147] Kim Hyŏngch'an. 2002. 39.

[148] "Y *P'ok'ŭ* P'esŭt'ibŏl Kaech'oe "[YMCA Held *p'ok'ŭ* Festival]. *Ilgansŭp'och'ŭ*. Aug.27, 1970; "P'apsŭgyeŭi Sae Mulgyŏl:Ch'ŏnggaeguri Saundŭ Minyoje"[New Waves of Pop Scene: Green Frog Sound *p'ok'ŭ* Festival]. *Ilgansŭp'och'ŭ*. Nov. 19, 1970.
The Green Frog Sound was organized by Kim Chinsŏng and Ch'oe Kyŏngsik, producers of CBS music shows, who frequently broadcasted *p'ok'ŭ* singers' performances at YMCA to their shows. Kim Chinsŏng

Korean popular music history because most of the performed songs were not remakes of foreign songs but original songs such as Kim Minki's "*Ch'in'gu*" [A Friend] (written and composed by Kim Minki) and Yang Hŭiŭn's "*Senoya*" (written by Ko Ŭn, composed by Kim Kwanghŭi). In this way, through the mediation of YMCA and YWCA, a new generation of popular music producers —singer-songwriters, record producers, music show disk jockeys, etc. — fundamentally changed the way of pop music production outside existing commercial record labels.

Of course, it was due to the younger generation's active cultural practices and their regular attendance at small stage performances at music listening rooms or the Green Frog House that *p'ok'ŭ* music managed to grasp the mainstream. This illustrates how youth culture was formed as a generational revolution; it led to the differentiation and diversification of popular culture for the first time in Korean cultural history. However, more importantly, *p'ok'ŭ* music as youth culture acquired new sociocultural meanings through communal singing activities. These communal singing activities with acoustic guitar accompaniment and the empathy with the world described in the *p'ok'ŭ* songs created a loose affective bond. This generated a new kind of belonging — one forged and connected by music.[149]

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produced *p'ok'ŭ* albums, including Kim Minki's debut album and Onions' one. (Kim Hyŏngch'an. 43-44)

[149] As will be discussed later, the fact that *p'ok'ŭ* music was used as cultural resource for the labor movement in the late 1970s and became a mainstay of emerging working-class culture should be explained by the realization of *p'ok'ŭ* 's potential power. Thus, the significance of *p'ok'ŭ* as youth culture goes beyond the ups and downs in the commercial popular culture arena. Most of the existing research pointed out Park Chunghee government's crackdown on popular culture ended youth culture in 1975. However, this assertion would be true only considering youth culture as commercial pop culture products. If the significance of youth culture is limited to commercial pop culture products, the sociocultural significance of youth culture in the problematic period of Korean society in the 1970s is judged from a very narrow perspective.

A Simple World for Other People, Compassion for the Weak

P'ok'ŭ music at the time included a wide variety of works that were difficult to be grouped into one musical genre. Perhaps what best characterizes *p'ok'ŭ* is its audience of baby boomer urbanites and the differences in aesthetic tastes of the younger and older generation. *P'ok'ŭ* musicians' works differed in their composition style, singing method, and themes in lyrics, actually ranging from modern folk to pop to folk-rock in terms of the genre spectrum. Thus, only considering their musical characteristics, it cannot be said that the songs of *p'ok'ŭ* singers, such as Han Taesu, Kim Minki, Yang Hŭiŭn, Yun Hyŏngju, Song Ch'angsik, Ŭnhŭi, belong to one musical genre.[150] However, regardless of the difficulties with genre categorization on a technical level, these acoustic guitar songs contained the sentiment of the times — traces of the 1970s shared by the people. It is this shared sentiment that brought all these various songs together and enabled the popularization of *p'ok'ŭ* music.

In representative *p'ok'ŭ* songs' lyrics, a particular attitude can be seen. The lyrical speaker does not sing about their own desires or emotions but turns toward other people or other objects surrounding them. Most speakers' emotions are restrained, and rather than desperately wanting something, they sing about the importance of just being with loved ones and the admiration of a simple life. Let's take a look at the Onions' "*Chagŭn Sae*" [A Little Bird] that was written and composed by Kim Chŏngho and released in 1972 and achieved huge success.

> A small cloud in the quiet night sky
> flows and stays in the place,

[150] For the various tendencies of *p'ok'ŭ* music, see Kim Hyŏngch'an. 2002. 12-13.

where a stray bird is looking for a home.
The world comes bright and even the moon comes tilting,
The little bird would fly far far away into the sky?
The poor little bird into the southern sky
flying away looking for the longing home.

This song reveals the speaker's inner self that is entirely directed toward others, especially the young and weak. *P'ok'ŭ* music expresses deep interest and strong compassion for the young, weak, and other beings that need protection, and exhibits a mind completely open to others. It is for this reason that metonymy, which transforms emotion into an object image, frequently appears in *p'ok'ŭ* songs of this period. For example, Ŭnhŭi's immensely successful song "*Kkotpanji kkigo*" [Wearing a Flower Ring] (written by Ŭnhŭi, composed by unknown, 1971) conveys the nostalgic memory of love frankly and plainly through a simple and pure flower ring.[151] A representative song of the legendary *p'ok'ŭ* duo Twin Folio, "*Hayan Sonsugŏn*" [White Handkerchief] (written by Cho Yongho, composed by Manos Hadjidakis, 1969),"[152] also calmly conveys the sorrow of parting through replacing the speaker's grief with a white handkerchief.

With her letter sent me to say goodbye
A white handkerchief neatly folded
When I left my hometown, standing alone on the hill
She waved the white handkerchief in tears.
Gone are the traces of tears from that time
Now my tears drip down on it.

[151] The lyrics is following:
I remember that path / Wearing the flower ring you made for me / The path I walked hand in hand with you / Heartbreaking memories are now gone.
[152] This song is an adaptation of Nana Mouskouri's song, "Me T'aspro Mou Mantili"[With My White Handkerchief] written by Nikos Gatsos, composed by Manos Hadjidakis in 1966.

As seen above, metonymy was effective in conveying restrained emotions because it indirectly expresses them. By comparing *p'ok'ŭ* songs to the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of the 1960s, it becomes clear how differently these *p'ok'ŭ* songs express the sad feelings of parting. Yi Mija's biggest hit song, "*Tongpaeg Agassi*" [The Camellia Lady] (written by Han Sando, composed by Paek Yŏngho), first released in 1964, is an example of the overt expression of emotion in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The lyrical speaker is blinded by her own grief. The song plunges into the sadness of the parting, so is not able to look around, look at other people. Far from refraining from the sentiment, the song is pouring out the sorrow, sobbing in an exaggerated way:

> There are many endless nights with the pain endured inside my torn apart heart.
> Don't know how many tears the camellia lady had cried.
> Tired from crying, exhausted from longing,
> those small petals are bruised in red.

For the subject who does not have any interest in the object, the object appears as pure, that is, it is discovered phenomenologically. All knowledge or discovery comes from the subject's interest, and the relationship between subject and object is not neutral: I do not see everything that appears in front of me. All I find is what I am interested in. If the world appears to the subject as pure, it is because he sees the world with pure eyes.

> Small dewdrops hanging on the petals
> The rain finds them, where does it take them.
> Wind, do you know it, rain, do you know it.
> What will take them in this forest
> ("*Arŭmdaun Kŏttŭl*" [Beautiful Things] written by Pang Ŭigyŏng, composed by Anonymous, Sung by Yang Hŭiŭn, 1972)[153]

[153] "Beautiful things" is a song that shows a characteristic of Korean *p'ok'ŭ* music very well- the Korean reception of American modern folk music. The original song is a well-known folk ballad from the 16th century in Scotland, has a striking narrative of Mary Hamilton, who killed a newborn baby and got hanged for it. The most famous version is Joan Baez's "Mary Hamilton" in 1960. Pang Ŭigyŏng wrote new lyrics

As the dark rain falls
There stands a child crying under the eaves
When the rain shines on his limpid eyes,
Ah it is his soul, the beautiful one in him
("*Arŭmdaun Saram*" [Beautiful One] written and composed by Kim Minki, Sung by *Hyŏn'gyŏngkwa Yŏngae*, 1974)

These lyrics show the typical sentiment of 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs. The lyrical narrators see, with their pure eyes, only small trifles, such as the "dewdrops" hanging from the "petals" and the "clear" tears of the "crying child" surrounded by them. These petty things have nothing to do with or are at odds with worldly desires. Those who pursue earthly desires cannot see these useless but beautiful things. Only the lyrical speakers who are open to the outside world and do not pursue self-interest can grasp these small things.

The lyrical speaker's open and compassionate attitude in the 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* music contrasts sharply with the attitude of the speaker in the music of the older generation. In the 1960s popular music, the speakers eagerly pursue worldly success. For example, Kim Yongman's 1965 hit song, "*Hoejŏnŭija*" [The Swivel Chair],[154] explicitly exhibits the greed of success-oriented ordinary people.

No owner in the swivel chair turning round and round/
The one who sits first is the owner
No empty chair because no one to sit on it
Love, youth, and heart, I trampled on them because the road was rough
If you feel unfair, be on the top, be on the top

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to this song and made it into a Korean *p'ok'ŭ* song called "Beautiful Things." Yang Hŭiŭn sang it and included it in her second album.

[154] "*Hoejŏnŭija*"[The Swivel Chair] written by Sin Bongsŭng, and composed by Ha Kisong, is the opening theme song of the serial on KBS radio. The refrain part, "if you feel unfair, be on the top" became the nationwide buzz.

For the aspirational person like the speaker in "The Swivel Chair," the object surrounding him is meaningful only when it is the means of satisfying his desire. A person with self-centered desires cannot be open to others. Considering these characteristics of mainstream music in the 1960s, the attitude of 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* music can be seen as its antithesis. In other words, this attitude in *p'ok'ŭ* music is particular in its anti-materialism and indifference to worldly success.

The speakers of *p'ok'ŭ* songs are oriented toward a pure world of small and weak things. In their eyes, this world is weak and powerless in its opposition to the harsh, brutal real world. This is why children so often appear in *p'ok'ŭ* songs as seen in the previously mentioned "Beautiful One." In *p'ok'ŭ* music, a binary opposition is established between the world of the corrupt older generation and the world of innocent children. Children live in an innocent world, cut off from the decayed and depraved world of adults. The children in *p'ok'ŭ* songs, however, are different from the bright and cheerful children in nursery rhymes. They are grieving, and, in many cases, crying because the pure, innocent world they treasure is so weak and fragile. A similar characteristic can be seen in Yang Hŭiŭn's "*Arŭmdaun Kŏttŭl*" [Beautiful Things]. Instead of a human child, the lyrical speaker sings about a baby bird – another example of a fragile soul.

> Lost his mother, lost his legs, the poor little bird
> Where should he go when the wind blows hard.
> ("*Arŭmdaun Kŏttŭl*" [Beautiful Things] written by Pang Ŭigyŏng, composed by Anonymous, Sung by Yang Hŭiŭn, 1972)

The innocent world of these songs is too powerless to confront the harsh world. A little bird with neither a mother nor legs looks so fragile facing a strong wind. This world will eventually be destroyed. Against this destruction of the precious, we cannot do anything. The speakers of "Beautiful One" and "Beautiful Things" are well aware that they cannot protect the crying child and the little bird in front of them, and they can do nothing but look sadly upon them. This helplessness evokes sorrow and regret. These speakers know that these are fragile beings and that they will eventually be devastated. However, they are still willing to stand by these fragile beings, expressing their deep compassion for the child and the little bird. If the subjects in 1960s cultural products are on the side of the material world, the speakers of 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs are on the side of this innocent world that will eventually be destroyed.

While the majority of *p'ok'ŭ* songs express the impotence of the lyrical speaker and their compassion for the world, Kim Minki's songs introduce the possibility of resistance that surpasses helplessness and sorrow of the songs that typify the genre.

> As the strong wind blows.
> There goes a child running to the field.
> When the wind hugs her warm chest.
> Ah it is her soul, the beautiful one in her.
> ("*Arŭmdaun Saram*" [Beautiful One] written and composed by Kim Minki, sung by *Hyŏn'gyŏngkwa Yŏngae*, 1974)

> When the wind blows in the dark night sea,
> lights are dimming in the middle of the sea.
> Nobody is here, this deserted beach.
> The waves are roaring wildly.
> Winds, strike up. waves, rise up.
> I will sail my small boat.
> ("*Bada*" [The Sea] written and composed by Kim Minki, sung by Yang Hŭiŭn, 1972)

In his “Beautiful one,” a child is running alone through a field against a strong wind. Even if she is young and weak, she will not give up her world and will rise again without staying in sadness even after defeat. His other song, “The Sea,” depicts the weak and fragile against the harsh world like other *p’ok’ŭ* songs. A small boat is precariously being isolated on the beach at night when the strong winds blow, and rough waves rise. However, the speaker does not give up the fight against the world. She decides to fight against these fierce winds and the rough waves. The line, “I will sail my small boat,” directly expresses the speaker's own will against the world.

The Aftermath of the Marijuana Incident of 1975: Youth Culture beyond Youth Culture

Most existing research explains that youth culture ended in 1975 with the Marijuana Incident. In 1975, the Yushin regime carried out a massive crackdown on pop culture under the “*Kongyŏn hwaldong ŭi chŏnghwa taech'aek*” [Measures to Purify Performances Events and Popular Music], blacklisting a total 222 songs beginning in June of 1975. These measures succeeded the Yushin regime’s toughest act, Emergency Decree 9, which strictly controlled its critics. The Marijuana Incident was the climax of this crackdown on pop culture. Famous pop artists, including *p’ok’ŭ* singers Yi Changhŭi, and Yun Hyŏngju, and film director Yi Changho were arrested for possession of or smoking marijuana.[155] Since sales and broadcasts of the blacklisted songs were

[155] For the detailed explanations of the marijuana incident and the blacklisting of Park Chunghee

banned and the singers caught in the marijuana crackdown were also prohibited from any performances and media appearances, the *p'ok'ŭ* singers who led youth culture and their music were completely expelled from the entertainment industry.[156]

Considering only the commercial pop culture as youth culture, it would make sense to declare that youth culture died in 1975, as most scholars did. Researchers, however, have overlooked significant cultural changes related to youth culture after 1975 by focusing only on commercial pop culture. As emphasized earlier, youth culture was not only the first "generational culture" in South Korean popular culture which had previously been dominated by homogeneous tastes that lacked class or generational differences but was also an active cultural practice of urban young people. It should be emphasized that youth culture was not just the consumer culture of urban college students. Of course, the major producers of youth culture, especially *p'ok'ŭ* singers, were college students, but the people who enjoyed it were the general population of urban young people, including teens and young workers in big cities.

First, youth culture, which ended in the arena of pop culture in 1975, was revived outside the cultural industry, especially by the emerging labor movements as a resource for working-class culture. During the 1970s, the labor movement was facing a new phase with the democratic union movement at Tongil Textile and Wŏnp'ung Textile after the self-immolation of Chun T'aeil in 1970. Through strikes and struggles, Korean workers,

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government, see the following: Yi Yŏngmi. *Tongbaegagassinŭn Ŏdiro Kassŭlkka: Taejungmunhwaro Ponŭn Pakchŏnghŭi Shidae* [Where did the camellia lady go: Park Chunghee Era in Popular Culture]. Seoul: Inmulgwa Sasang, 2017. 185-197; Rosaleen Rhee. esp. Ch. 4.

[156] When *p'ok'ŭ* and rock, which were popular among young audiences, disappeared, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, the older generation's music genre dominated the pop music market again. Though in 1977, the first college song festival was hosted by MBC, and college student-centered *p'ok'ŭ* songs and college rock band music reappeared in a domesticated way, *p'ok'ŭ* no longer had the creative power to hold cultural hegemony.

especially young female workers, formed working-class identities and class consciousness for the first time after the Korean War and the subsequent division. And it was various elements of youth culture that greatly contributed to the formation of the working-class culture. By utilizing and appropriating familiar popular youth culture, young urban workers began to create a new working-class culture and express their working-class identities. Despite its the very inchoate stage, appropriating pop culture and transforming it into their own culture was almost the first form of parody subculture in Korean cultural history, which is prevalent on YouTube or online cultures these days. 1970s working-class culture, which was embedded in youth culture, was a nascent form of the *minjung* culture movement that would blossom in the 1980s and a transit knot that connected 1970s popular culture and 1980s *minjung* culture.

On the other hand, some artists who were ejected from the field of popular culture after 1975, created completely different works from their previous works. Their sensitive, kind-hearted, romantic, and almost naïve world views changed to focusing on the real feelings, pain, and pride of lower-class people or laborers as seen in Kim Minki's protest songs in the 1980s.

Rewritng Lyrics: The Protest Songs of the Working Class and Youth Culture as Their Resources

Youth culture continued in a different form even after 1975. This transformation, resulted from, in Weberian terms, the elective affinity between popular youth culture. This was especially so in *p'ok'ŭ* music's communal singing and the protest culture of the working

class. As I showed earlier, communal singing, which was a new cultural form created by *p'ok'ŭ* music in the late 1960s, was revived in a different way in the lives of young urban workers.

Singing together is different from singing the same song alone. Songs have a stronger emotional appeal than any other medium. When sung together, songs create an atmosphere in which the people singing feel as if they are sharing themselves with others. Through communal singing, the participants strongly feel that they have common feelings. In this way, communal singing is effective in strengthening mutual bonds, forming and expressing a collective identity, and making the singers feel as if they are one. Group singing may be common entertainment at a bar or when camping, but in a particular context, it becomes a political act in itself.[157] In the course of civil revolution, it is almost inevitable that the crowds on the streets will sing together. This happened even at the time of the April Revolution when there was no proper repertoire for the people.

The communal singing of the late 1970s acquired political meaning and played a significant role in forming the class identity of young laborers. This forming of working-class culture was greatly influenced by Christian organizations such as the Christian Academy. Since 1974, the Christian Academy had implemented an intermediary group education program to train leaders of unions, peasant organizations, and women's organizations, especially in developing consciousness about the current social issues

[157] Furthermore, some songs were completely divorced from the way that it would have been created and understood and took different meaning. An epitome is Yang Hŭiŭn's "*Ach'im isŭl*"[Morning Dew]. The song was originally designated a wholesome song by the government when it was released in 1970. However, since it was expelled from the entertainment industry in 1975, it has become a symbol of democratic movement, only because people sang the song together whenever they gathered. Neither composer Kim Minki nor singer Yang Hŭiŭn made the song a protest song. It was people who sang together that made the song the representative protest song against the dictatorship.

related to the working class. The program developed a strong network of participants until it was abolished in 1979 when six staff members were arrested for anti-communist violations and tortured by the KCIA.[158] The Christian Academy actively utilized communal singing in various educational programs to foster union leaders.[159] Communal singing was effective in forming working-class identity. In particular, the meaning of the communal singing was more significant at the time of the Emergency Decrees, which had banned people from gathering and speaking in the late 70s.

The communal singing of the intermediary group education of the Christian Academy was not just a group singing program. The most important part of the program was the so-called '*No ka pa*', which was the acronym for "*Norae kasa pakkwŏburŭgi*"

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[158] For further information about intermediary group education and small group activities of the Christian Academy in the 1970s, see the following: Koo Haegeun. *Korean Workers: The Culture and Politics of Class Formation*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2001. Ch.4; Yi Wujae. *Han'guk nongmin undongsa yŏn'gu* [A Study on the History of Korean Peasant Movements]. Hanul: Seoul, 1991. pp.194-214; Yi Wujae. "1979 nyŏn K'ŭrisŭch'yan Ak'ademi Sagŏn"[The Christian Academy Incident in 1979]. *Critical Review of History*. vol.12. Spring, 1991; Chŏng Yŏnsun. *1970nyŏndae Nodonggyoyuk Saryeyŏn'gu: K'ŭrisŭch'yan Ak'ademi Sanŏpsahoe Chungganjiptan Kyoyuk* [A Case Study on Labor Education of 1970s: the Industrial Society Intermediary Group Education of Korea Christian Academy]. MA Thesis. Seoul National University. 1998.; Yu Kyŏngsun, "Haksaengundonggadŭrŭi Nodongundong Ch'amyŏ yangsanggwa Yŏnghyang: 1970nyŏndaerŭl Chungsimŭro"[Labor Participation Patterns and Influence of the Student Activists: Focused on the 1970s]. *Memory and Vision*. vol.29. Dec. 2013.

[159] In 1975, Christian Academy published *Naeirŭl Wihan Noraejip*[A Songbook for Tomorrow], a collection of 129 songs, including popular *p'ok'ŭ* songs, adaptation foreign folk songs, American protest folk songs, and newly made songs. The songbook contained translated foreign songs, including "*K'ŭn himjunŭn Chohap*"(the adaptation song of "Solidarity Forever"), "*Hŭndŭllijiank'e*"(the adaptation song of "We Shall Not Be Moved"), "*Uri Sŭngniharira*"(the adaptation song of "We Shall Overcome"), and newly created songs, including "*Chindallae*"[Azaleas] (written by Yi Yŏngdo, composed by Han T'aegŭn), and "*Ŏtchi Kalgŏna*"[How Can We Go](written by Kim Minki), etc. The songs in this songbook were enjoyed by college students and young workers at street demonstrations and strikes. The songbook is the first songbook for '*noraeundong*'[the song movement], which later developed into a part of *Minjung* movement in the 1980s. (Chŏng Kyŏngŭn, "Minjunggayo Noraejibe Suroktoen Oegukkoge Kwanhan Koch'al"[A Study on Foreign Protest Songs in Korean Songbooks]. *Korean Journal of Popular Music*. vol.6. Nov. 2010. 200.)

Kim Munhwan, a staff of the Christian Academy played a crucial role in making the songbook: he translated most of the lyrics of foreign songs in the songbook and even created several new songs. He previously worked with Chŏn Sŏkhwan at the Singalong Y program of the YMCA. (Kang Yŏngmi. "1970-1980nyŏndae Noraeundonge Taehan Yebijŏk Koch'al"[A Preliminary Study on the Song Movement in the 1970s–1980s]. *Korean Studies Quarterly*. vol. 41. no. 3, 2018. 310.) This clearly shows that the early *p'ok'ŭ* music culture influenced the late 1970s protest song culture.

[rewriting the lyrics to a song]. Writing songs requires trained musical skills, so regular people without such skills could not help but express themselves by choosing their favorite songs among the existing songs. They would then rewrite the lyrics in order to express their own emotions and messages.

The educators of the Christian Academy's intermediary group education encouraged workers to be aware of labor rights and assert their them in their own voices through rewriting lyrics (*No ka pa*) and other activities such as role playing and skits. The workers who participated in the program collectively created their own lyrics to existing songs. These contrafacta contained the reality of life as a laborer and their own stories. The participants of this program, who later became major union leaders and labor activists in unions of companies such as Tongil Textile, Wŏnp'ung Textile, and YH Trade, returned to their unions to share the songs they learned and created.[160] These remade songs were sung at the scene of strikes and protests for democratic unions, contributing to form a positive working-class culture and strengthening solidarity.

Though various songs were chosen to be re-lyricized,[161] the main materials used were 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs. For example, the tunes of the popular *p'ok'ŭ* singer Yun

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[160] Yi Ch'onggak, the union leader of Tongil Textile at the time, told that she happily took part in the intermediary group education at Christian Academy, building solidarity with other union leaders. (Yi Ch'onggak. "Pan'gongbŏp Olgami Ssŭiun K'ŭrisŭch'yan Ak'ademi Sagŏn"[The Christian Academy Incident Framed by Anti-Communist Law]. *Han'gyŏre*. Aug. 29, 2013. 32.

[161] According to the leader of Tongil Textile Union, Yi Ch'onggak, one of the most popular songs that was frequently sung among the workers at the time was the adaptation song to the tune from Irish folk song, "Johny, I Hardly Knew Ye." The rewritten lyrics is following: "We are workers (All right, all right)/We are workers (All right, all right)/We want to die standing, rather than living on our knees/ We are workers (real workers)" (Ch'oe Doeun. "Nodongundonggwa Norae"[Labor Movement and Songs]. *Hyŏnjangesŏ Miraerŭl* [Future From Workplace]. vol.57. Jul. 2000 http://kilsp.jinbo.net/colloquium/col50.htm. Accessed Apr.24. 2022.)

In fact, the same tune had many various rewritten lyrics, and the song was sung at least from the early 1970s among college students. The most famous version was "Hurrah Song" as also known as "Song of

Hyŏngju's easy and sweet hit songs were re-lyricized to denouncing a miscreant employer.

> Chang Yongho siphoned off company money
> built a factory and opened a department store in the US
> The factory in Myŏnmokdong is an empty pocket
> its bank debt is twice as large as its assets
>
> We work our tails off, but he pockets the money to the US
> he neglects the workers, and doesn't come
> Where do 500 workers make a living?
> I don't know how to live[162]
>
> How much more work do I have to do, Oh, to make a living?
> We've all been sweating blood. Oh, sad reality.
> I've been taken it away so far, but if continue to be exploited,
> Is a worker a machine? I felt so much.
> I can see the light in your sad eyes, the bright light for tomorrow.[163]

The first song above is a contrafactum of "*Lalala*" (1972),[164] originally written and composed by Yun Hyŏngju, and lyrics written by the workers of the YH union who transformed the love song into a song for the struggle to protect the democratic union. The second song, which was sang frequently during the various protests, was a re-lyricized version of Yun Hyŏngju's "*Miun saram*" [The Man I Hate] (1973).[165] Since the 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs were so simple and clear, they were easy to learn and sing as a group. Thus, many 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs were chosen by the workers to be re-lyricized. Thanks to

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Justice." The lyrics is following: "We are the righteous (hurrah, hurrah) / We die together and live together (hurrah, hurrah) / We want to die standing rather than living on our knees/We are the righteous."

[162] Ch'oe Doeun. 2000

[163] Ibid.

[164] The lyrics of the original song are following: "Tie the seashells, put them on her neck / Sit together on the beach, whisper all night / The distant moon shadow, the cool sound of waves / The summer night gets deep and I can't sleep / Lalala"

[165] The lyrics of the original song are following: "It's the time for us to say goodbye. I hate you/ We've been in love. I hate you/ We've been so sweet. We've been so happy/How can I comfort my sad heart, if we break up far away? / I looked up at the sky to hide my tears. I hate you."

these *p'ok'ŭ* songs, the culture of singing together was created for the first time in Korean popular music history. In a sense, *p'ok'ŭ* music infused the pleasure of being together with singing to acoustic guitar accompaniment, and this practice became part of daily life. This new singing culture was easily transformed into the emerging working-class culture as well.[166]

Although contrafactum is a common practice that can be seen around the globe and at various points in time, the late 1970s practice of rewriting lyrics in Korea has a special significance as a means of the working-class expression. The young workers used the contrafacta to express their working-class identities and strengthen their solidarity. Furthermore, through rewritten songs, they showed that they were active cultural producers, not just passive consumers of cultural products. Though this is a rare case, even an assumed collectively created original song appeared in the late 1970s: "*Pul nabi*" [The Fire Butterfly], an anonymous song was created and sang by the Ch'ŏngye Textile Union, and gained great popularity among workers until the 1990s.[167]

This singing culture of workers, along with the workers' memoirs that I will analyze in the next chapter, is an example of the emerging working-class culture of the young workers. They formed a working-class culture beyond the commercial pop culture

[166] One of the best examples that show the continued vitality of 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* songs to sing together is another rewritten lyrics version to the tune of "The Man I hate." It is a version that has been handed down among people so far from the 1970s. Still widely sung, this version is a kind of drinking song to have someone sing a song at a drinking gathering. The lyrics are: "If you can't sing, you can't get married. I hate you/If you can't get married, you can't have a son, I hate you."

[167] The song movement which centered on original songs developed in the 1980s. "The Fire Butterfly" has lyrics metaphorically expressing the death of Chun T'aeil and a passionate tune. The song was spread by word of mouth at the strike site and was first recorded in 1984. Since then, it became very popular among workers and activists, as one of the most frequently sung songs at demonstrations and strikes throughout the 1980s. (Cho Ŭnha. "Minjunggayowa Chŏngch'ijŏk Kyŏnghŏm"[Peoples' song and Political Experience]. *Global Cultural Contents*. vol,48. Aug.2021. 10.)

or so-called “wholesome culture” of government propaganda for the first time since the Korean War and the division. The voice of the workers in the late 1970s through these songs developed into the song movement, a part of *minjung* movement that peaked in the 1980s.

New Start of Kim Minki

Ejection from the commercial cultural industry after the Marijuana Incident of 1975 created significant changes in direction for some of the key creators of youth culture. Kim Minki is such a figure whose artistic foci were enriched as an unexpected consequence of the government crackdown. Kim Minki’s creative energy as a commercially successful singer-songwriter transitioned into drive for writing protest songs.

Kim Minki was a unique singer-songwriter, distinct from other *p’ok’ŭ* singers since he began his career in the early 1970s. While most other singers sang about love, parting, and memories, he wrote and sang intelligent and introspective songs such as “Morning Dew.” His songs in this period like “*Aha nuga kŭrŏk’e*” [A-ha, Someone Would...So] (1971) and “*Amudo amudedo*” [Nobody, nowhere]” (Yang Hŭiŭn, 1973), however, still showed the agony of the intellectual. And when his songs described social realities as in “*Chongi yŏn*” [The Paper Kite] (1971), “*Kkot p’iunŭn ai*” [The Child Blooming Flowers] (1971), the lyrics were allegorical and abstract. As he encountered the lives of workers and peasants in the late 1970s, his songs changed into protest songs which depicted people’s harsh reality concretely and beautifully. (“*Kŏch’irŭn tŭlp’an e*

p'urŭrŭn solip ch'ŏrŏm" [Like Green Pine Needles In A Rough Field] (Yang Hŭiŭn, 1979), "*Sikku saenggak*" [Thinking of Family Members] (Yang Hŭiŭn, 1979), "*Sogŭmttam hŭllihŭlli*" [Salty Sweat Dripping And Dripping] (Kim Minki, 1993). [168] What is particularly noteworthy is his music drama, *Kongjang ŭi pulbit* [Light of a Factory](1978). *Light of a Factory* is a *noraegut* [music drama], a part of the *madanggŭk*[169] movement that was actively carried out from the 1970s and peaked in the 1980s. *Light of a Factory*, as the title shows, completely embodies the current labor issues of the 1970s. The following tracks are developed breathtakingly for about 30 minutes, and all the songs are put together in a very relevant way: "*Kim Min'gi insamal*" [Kim Minki's introduction]; "*P'yŏnji*" [The Letter]; "*Kyodae*" [Shift]; "*Sago* (*Sairen sori*)" [The Accident (Siren Sound)];"*Chagŏpchang*" [Workshop]; "*Yagŭn*" [Night Overtime]; "*Kongjang ŭi pulbit*" [Light of a Factory]; "*Ŭmmo (Ton man pŏlŏra)*" [Conspiracy (Make Only Money)]; "*Sŏn'gŏ"* [Elections]; "*Tuŏra, kaja*" [Leave it, Let's go]; "*I sesang ŏdin'ga e*" [Somewhere in the World 1]; "*Ach'im param*" [Morning Wind]; "*I sesang ŏdin'ga e 2*" [Somewhere in the World 2].[170]

I argue that *Light of a Factory* is the epitome of how youth culture changed after 1975. Kim Minki led *p'ok'ŭ* music at the center of youth culture, and this work could not

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[168] This song was originally written and performed for the musical *Kaettongi* in 1980

[169] *Madanggŭk* is a drama form based on Korean traditional folk dramas and it also contained elements of Western dramas. *Madanggŭk* is not only an art form and but also a protest means against the dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s. (Namhee Lee. 187) For an excellent explanation of *Madanggŭk*, see Namhee Lee. "Between Indeterminacy and Radical Critique: *Madanggŭk*, Ritual, and Protest," *The Making of Minjung*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2007.

[170] For the detailed analysis about this groundbreaking work, see Yi Yŏngmi, "*Kongjangŭi Pulbich*kwa *Yŏniŭi Ilgi*: Noraeŭi Han'gyerŭl Nŏmgi Wihan Tu Sido" [*Light of a Factory* and *The Diary of Yŏni*: Two Attempts For Overcoming the Limits of Songs]. *Kim Minki*, ed. Kim Ch'angnam. Seoul: Hanul, 1986. pp91-95; Yi Dukgi. "Noraegut *Kongjangŭi Pulbit* Yŏn'gu"[A Study on the *Naraegu*t *Light of a Factory*]. *The Journal of Korean Drama and Theatre*. vol. 22, Oct. 2005.pp211-238.

have been produced without the help of various musicians in the field of youth culture. As it is widely known that the struggle for the democratic union at Tongil Textile was created as its motif, this work was impossible to produce and distribute under the suppression of the Yushin regime because it directly dealt with the struggle of workers. These songs were secretly recorded within a single day in a famous *p'ok'ŭ* singer Song Ch'angsik's private recording studio. Besides Song Ch'angsik, many other *p'ok'ŭ* musicians including Yi Hojun (keyboard), Cho Wonik (base), and Pae Suyŏn (drums) helped Kim Minki's recording.[171] They did more than accompany the songs on their instruments. Some parts of the melodies of the songs, such as "Make Only Money," sung at the peak of the musical drama, were also collective creations improvised by these performers in the recording studio.[172] Therefore, these songs were created not only as clear protest songs, but also as musical experiments in which various genres of music such as jazz, rock, blues, and folk songs were blended. In terms of political and aesthetic innovation, this work is the most evolved form of youth culture in the 1970s and clearly shows the trajectory of youth culture as it would evolve into *minjung* culture in the 1980s.

This work was produced on 2,000 cassette tapes and illegally distributed by the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM). On the A-side of the tape, the 35-minute-long musical drama *Light of a Factory* was recorded, and on the B-side, the instrumentals were recorded so that workers could sing and perform with musical accompaniment. The entire

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[171] Kim Hyŏngch'an, "Minjunggayo Munŭl Yŏn Kim Minki'ŭi Pulbŏpt'eip'ŭ *Kongjangŭi Pulbich*"[Kim Minki's Illegal Tape, *Light of a Factory* that opened the door for protest songs]. *Pusanilbo*, Dec. 29, 2011. 34.

[172] Ch'oe Yujun. "Taejungŭmakkwa Minjungŭmak Sai: Kim Minkiŭi Maech'esirhŏm, *Kongjangŭi Pulbit*"[Between Popular Music and People's Music: Kim Min-ki's Media Experiment, *Light of a Factory*]. *Journal of Popular Narrative*. Vol.14, No. 2, Dec. 2008. pp274-280.

script of the drama, including all the lyrics, were printed in the booklet with the cassette tape. The medium choice, the cassette tape, and the distribution method through the Christian institution clearly showed that this work was not just music for enjoyment, but for resistance and struggle. The production and distribution methods of this work were groundbreaking, heralding both a new protest and independent music culture; they became the dominant model for the production and distribution of illegal albums adopted by the song movement in the 1980s.[173]

After 1975, youth culture was completely removed from the pop culture industry. However, it became a new resource of emerging working-class culture, blooming in a completely different form. The transformations of Kim Minki were not only parts of the transition of youth culture but the results that were realized by the potential of youth culture, latent in 1970s cultural texts. As I have emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, youth culture cannot be limited to urban middle-class college students' Americanized lifestyles. Youth culture was the urban young people's cultural tastes beyond colleges and included their own cultural productions; it was not a passive consumer culture, but an active cultural practice of young people.

Most of all, at the center of this cultural practice, was the affect of togetherness and openness toward the poor and the weak, sadness, and compassion. These sentiments,

[173] For the significance and meaning of illegal music albums in the 1980s, see Yi Yŏngmi. "Minjunggayo Pihappŏpŭmbane Taehayŏ"[On the Prohibited Recordings of Grassroots Songs].*Korean Discology*.vol.10. Dec.2000.pp263-286.; Ch'oe Yujun. "Taejungŭmakkwa Minjungŭmak Sai: Kim Minkiŭi Maech'esirhŏm, *Kongjangŭi Pulbit*"[Between Popular Music and People's Music: Kim Min-ki's Media Experiment, *Light of a Factory*]. *Journal of Popular Narrative*. vol.14, no. 2, Dec. 2008; Yi Yŏngmi. "K'aset'ŭt'eip'ŭ, Pidiot'eip'ŭ, Kujŏn, Madang: 1970, 80nyŏndae Yesulmunhwaundongŭi Maech'edŭlgwa Kŭ ŭimi"[Cassette tape, Video tape, Oral tradition and Madang : Media and Meanings of Art and Culture Movements in the 1970s and 80s]. *Humanities Journal*. vol.35. Dec.2012.pp163-202.

however, had the negative implications of benevolent hierarchy, objectifying the weak. Nevertheless, the achievements of Kim Minki can be seen as a realization of the potential of youth culture beyond this limitation. Furthermore, his works can be evaluated as a nodal point between youth culture in the 1970s and the *minjung* culture movement in the 1980s in that they had a great influence on the *minjung* culture movement that bloomed in the 1980s.

Chapter 4

Cinematic Texts of Youth Culture:

Heavenly Homecoming to Stars and *Yŏngja's Heydays*

Although 1970s *p'ok'ŭ* music was so diverse that it was difficult to group it into a homogeneous genre, it carried the sentiment of the 1970s in a way that surpassed these differences. *P'ok'ŭ* music expressed the deep compassion for young and weak beings and the affect of togetherness. The affect of togetherness was shared and reinforced through the cultural form of communal singing activities. Furthermore, the shared feelings and the affect extended to other generations, and finally had a widespread appeal. However, *p'ok'ŭ* music's world had obvious limitations. In other words, *p'ok'ŭ* music's world, which depicted fragile and precious young boys and girls, was so vulnerable to the corrupt reality of adults that it must be sheltered under the aegis of the isolated lyrical world. The young people in *p'ok'ŭ*'s world were not independent subjects, but merely objects to be protected.

Similarly, *ch'ŏngnyŏn yŏnghwa* [youth films] of the 1970s, which are said to have started with the huge commercial success of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* in 1974, hardly exhibit textual similarities. Even the two iconic films, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays* — not to mention Ha Kilchong's *Pabodŭl ŭi haengjin* [March of Fools] (1975) — could not be grouped into the same category of youth cinema by narrative and visual form regardless of having a common subject matter

— prostitutes.[174] However, they revealed the same sentiment of the times expressed in *p'ok'ŭ* music — compassion for the weak and the affect of togetherness. *P'ok'ŭ* music's fairy tale world destroyed by corrupt reality was transformed into the world of a weak woman, of a piteous woman who was trampled and sacrificed in youth cinema.

Like *p'ok'ŭ* music, the youth films also contrasted the childlike innocent world with the corrupt real world. However, while *p'ok'ŭ* music was based on the separation between the innocent and the corrupt, namely, *p'ok'ŭ*'s world was isolated from the real, harsh world, youth films illustrated how the innocent world was destroyed by the corrupt world: A weak and innocent girl forced into the brutal world ends up a fallen woman through the deception and exploitation of men.

The narrative transformation in youth films from *p'ok'ŭ*'s fairy tale world into the world of piteous, sacrificial women resulted from not only the nature of film as a narrative genre but also the characteristics of commercial films. Since commercial films are cultural products that require a large budget, they are generally much more faithful to the commerciality than *p'ok'ŭ* music; thus, they utilize stereotyped storytelling, which is familiar to the public. Furthermore, it should be noted that youth films as a part of youth culture appeared at a time when *p'ok'ŭ* music peaked in its popularity in 1974. In other words, youth films came on stage when youth culture had already become popularized and familiar to the general public. Thus, youth films can be said to be the commercial realization of youth culture. What we discover through a closer examination of youth

[174] The same goes for the original works for the films: *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* was adapted from Ch'oe Inho's same-titled novel. *Yŏngja's Heydays* was also based on Cho Sŏnjak's two short stories, "Chisach'ong" [The Tomb of the patriots], and "Yŏngjaŭi Chŏnsŏngsidae"[Yŏngja's Heydays]. The original literary works of the two films were also completely different that they cannot be considered as belonging to a similar category.

films is that youth culture accommodated itself to popular tastes, namely, completely popularized feelings that had already been approved as the sentiments of the time. In this way, youth films simultaneously show the significance and limitations of youth culture.

Youth Films or Hostess[175] Melodramas?

Films like *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, *Yŏngja's Heydays*, and *March of Fools* were a major part of the 1970s youth culture. However, when it comes to the topic of which genre these films would belong to, most of the existing research on these films, including English scholarship, has classified them (except for *March of Fools*) as hostess melodrama according to the films' subject matter. On the other hand, several studies, including research that deals with the *Yŏngsang shidae* [The Era of Image] film movement, treat them as youth films. However, it is difficult to say that the category of youth films was used with sufficient academic evidence in these studies. Most of the studies used this category of youth films without an adequate definition or explanation. Thus, it is not clear if the designation of "youth" refers to the genre, the young directors of the films, of the viewers. In fact, the films were called "youth films" for the first time when *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, which was released at the Kukdo Theater on April 26, 1974, screened for 105 days, and recorded unprecedented box office sales, attracting 464,308 spectators.[176] This was because the film's director Yi Changho and the original

[175] *Ho-sŭ-t'e-sŭ'*[hostess] is a word euphemistically referring to a bar girl or a female prostitute. It has been used at least since the 1960s.

[176] "Ch'ŏngnyŏnyŏnghwa enŭn yŏngung i ŏpta"[No heroes in youth film]. *Chosŏnilbo.* Apr. 30, 1974. 5.
This article compared *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* to *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969) and *Midnight Cowboy* (John Schlesinger, 1969). The article labeled *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* as youth film because the film showed Korean's new film trends like New American cinema.

novel's author Ch'oe Inho were just 29 years old at the time of the film's release. Shortly afterwards, as the films of young directors in their 30s such as Kim Hosŏn's *Yŏngja's Heydays* and Ha Kilchong's *March of Fools* all became box office successes, these young directors' films began to be grouped into the category of youth culture. This grouping became clearer when five young directors, Ha Kilchong, Yi Changho, Kim Hosŏn, Yi Wŏnse, Hong P'a, and film critic Pyŏn Insik organized a film movement called *Yŏngsang shidae* in July 1975. Ha Kilchong, the founder of *Yŏngsang shidae* claimed that *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, Yi Changho's second film, *Ŏje naerin pI* [It Rained Yesterday] (1975), *Yŏngja's Heydays*, and *March of Fools* were examples of new young cinema in South Korea. Ha Kilchong defined "young cinema" as "films made for young people, by young producers, particularly by young directors working with 1970s writers."[177]

However, categorizing the films of these young directors into youth films was not common in the 1970s.[178] Because their films were so heterogeneous in almost every aspect, such as material, style, and theme, it was not clear what they had in common beyond these differences. Rather, since all these films were adapted from novels, it was most common at the time to classify them as "*munye yŏnghwa*"[literary films], meaning that the films were adapted from novels.[179]

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[177] Ha, Kilchong, "Yŏng Shinemaŭi Para-Saeroun Chŏnhwan'girŭl Majŭn Han'gukyŏnghwa" [Bud of Young Cinema: Korean Cinema at a New Turn], *Sedae*, April 1975. 278-279.
[178] In a similar context, "the third-generation" films that borrowed from the term of "the third-generation writers" in the literary discourse was also used. The third-generation writers referred to the writers who began writing their works in the 1970s, including Ch'oe Inho, Cho Sŏnjak and Cho haeil. etc. In fact, the term of third-generation films were more used at the time than youth films. For example, see this article: An Pyŏngsŏp, "Che 3sedae Yŏnghwaŭi Kisu, Yi jangho Kamdok" [The leader of the third-generation film, Lee Jangho], *Yŏnghwa*, May 1975, 22.
[179] See the following: "Tashi puminŭn munyeyŏnghwa"[Literary films boomed again], *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*, Apr. 14, 1975. p5.; *Han'gukyŏnghwajaryop'yŏllam: Ch'och'anggi~1976Nyŏn* [Handbook of Korean Film Materials: Early Years-1976], Seoul: Yŏnghwajinhŭnggongsa, 1977. 29, 45.

For some researchers who categorize these films as youth films, the main reason for the categorization is a series of this flow that culminates in the fact that the directors of these films, led by Ha Kilchong, created the Era of Image.[180] The label of youth films used in these studies has the advantage of revealing that these films are part of 1970s youth culture but lacks academic evidence for the category. In a traditional sense, if the term youth films were to be considered a genre, it would be a story about the daily life or love stories of college students who are the target audience. By this definition, then the only works that would correspond would be *March of the Fools* and *It Rained Yesterday*, not *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* or *Yŏngja's Heydays*. However, the studies that focused on the young directors of successful films at the time, including *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, have failed to analyze why the story of a fallen woman — especially, a lower-class woman's tragic life — became symbols of youth films. Following the definition of youth culture adopted by these studies, youth culture refers to a cutting-edge, American-style consumer culture enjoyed by urban middle-class college students. Then, why did the trendy young audience love this old-fashioned typical melodrama that has come to be regarded as "new" youth films? The studies do not provide a convincing explanation of this important topic.

However, the vast majority of studies on 1970s cinema and the majority of introductory books on Korean cinema have divided these films into two genres: youth

[180] See the following: An Chaesŏk, *Ch'ŏngnyŏnyŏnghwa undong ŭrosŏŭi Yŏngsangshidae e Taehan Yŏngu* [A Study on the "Youngsangshidae" as Young cinema Movement]. 2001. Chungang University, MA Thesis.; Baek Moonim, "70nyŏndae Munhwajihyŏng gwa Kimsŭngog ŭi Kakponjagŏp"[Filmic Adaptations by Kim Sung Ok and l970s' Popular Culture].*The Journal of Korean Fiction Research*. vol.29, Mar.2006. pp.57-80.

film and hostess melodrama.[181] Yet, this categorization has a deeper problem than the aforementioned ambiguous definition of youth films. The problem is that the genre of hostess melodrama itself did not exist when the films were released. Until 1977, the so-called "hostess films" were not produced as much as the genre of "hostess melodrama" would be created. Although after the success of *Yŏngja's Heydays* in 1975, many copycats, so-called "prostitute films" were produced; all of them were box office flops, and the genre cycle of "hostess melodrama" did not develop.[182] It was not until 1977, after the box office success of *Kyŏul yŏja* [Winter Woman] (by Kim Hosŏun), that enough films featuring female prostitutes as protagonists were made to create the genre of hostess melodrama.[183] The huge success of *Winter Woman* led film producers to make

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[181] Yecies, Brian and Shim, Aegyung. *The Changing Face of Korean Cinema 1960 to 2015*. Routledge, 2016. esp. Ch. 6 and Ch. 7; Molly Hyo J. Kim, *Whoring the Mermaid: the Study of South Korean Hostess Film (1974-1982)*. 2014. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, PhD diss.; Ch'oe, Jinbong. "Women in Korean Film: a Discourse Analysis of Two South Korean Prostitute Melodrama Films in the 1970s", *Journal of Social Science*, vol. 23, no.1, 2010; Yu, Gina. "Yŏsŏng Momŭi Changnŭ: Ŏgapkwa K'waeragŭi Ch'ungdol" [Female Body Genres: Clash between Repression and Pleasure]. *Film Studies*. vol. 16, Feb.2001; Hwang, Hyejin. *1970nyŏndae Yushinch'ejegiŭi Han'gukyŏnghwa Yŏngu* [A Study on Korean Film in the 1970s during the Revitalizing Reform System]. 2003. Dongguk University, PhD diss.; Kwon, Eunsun. *1970nyŏndae Han'gukyŏnghwayŏn-gu: Saengch'ejŏngch'i,Chilbyŏng,Hisŭt'erirŭl Chungshimŭro* [A Study on Korean Films in the 1970s: Focusing on Biopolitics, Illness, and Hysteria]. 2010. Chungang University, PhD diss.; Chŏng, Chunghŏn. *1970nyeondae Hangugyeonghwasayeongu: Yusinchejegireul Jungsimeuro* [A Study on Korean Film History of the 1970s: Focusing on the Yusin Regime Period]. 2010. Sungkyunkwan University, PhD diss.; Yu, Sunyoung. "Tongwŏnch'ejeŭi Kwaminjok'wa P'ŭrojekt'ŭwa Seksŭyŏnghwa: Tek'adangsŭŭi Chŏngch'ihak"[Hypernationalization Project of Military-conscriptive Regime and Mass Politics of Decadence in the 1970s in Korea]. *Media & Society* vol. 15. no. 2. May. 2007; Roh, Jiseung. "1970 nyŏndae Hosŭt'isŭ Mellodŭrama Hokŭn Iju, Sŏngnodong, Chŏhangŭi Yŏsŏng Saengaesa" [Hostess Melodramas of the 1970s: Sex Work and Resistance as Female Life History]. *Feminism and Korean Literature*, vol. 41. Aug. 2017; Ho, Hyŏnch'an. *Han'gukyŏnghwa 100nyŏn* [Korean Cinema 100years]. Seoul: Munhaksasangsa, 2000. Ch. 10; Kim, Chongwŏn and Chŏng, Chunghŏn. *Uriyŏnghwa 100nyŏn* [100 Years of Our Films]. Seoul:Hyŏnamsa, 2002 Ch. 7.

[182] "Yŏngjaŭi Hubaedŭl Hongsu"[a Flood of Yŏngja's successors]. *Kyŏnghyangshinmun*. Apr. 28. 1975.4. Some films about a bar girl or a female prostitute were produced as copycats of *Yŏngja's Heydays* in 1975, but all of them failed at the box office. According to the data from Korean Film Council, *Ch'unjaŭi Sarangiyagi* [Chunja's Lovestory](Yi, Yusŏp, 1975) attracted 5175; *Hŭkya* [Black Night](Yi, Duyong, 1975), 1089; *Annaŭi Yusŏ* [Anna's Will] (Ch'oe Hyŏnmin, 1975), 5319. (*Han'gukyŏnghwajaryop'yŏllam: Ch'och'anggi~1976nyŏn* [Handbook of Korean Film Materials: Early Years – 1976], Seoul: Yŏnghwajinhŭnggongsa, 1977. 69)

[183] Although *Winter Woman* is a story of a woman's sexual experiences, the female protagonist is not a

fallen woman films that exhibited sexually explicit situations, and their continuous commercial successes gave rise to the genre called hostess melodramas, which continued to be produced and reached their peak in the 1980s.[184]

Accordingly, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays* have been treated as hostess melodramas rather than as youth films since the hostess melodrama began its genre cycle in 1978. From this point on, despite the critical success garnered at the time of their release, these two films have been stigmatized as low-quality sex films and began to be referred to as the first and most recognized films of.[185] However, these two films that would later come to be labeled as hostess melodramas were made in a different production environment from average films of this genre. Above all, although their female protagonists were prostitutes like in other hostess melodramas, both films were fundamentally different from others in their characterization and visualization of the female protagonists. It is difficult to say that these films were intended to be sexually stimulating like average hostess melodrama were. As I will analyze later, the films' visual techniques that albeit vague relatively blocked the voyeuristic gaze of sexual

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prostitute, but a middle-class female college student.

[184] It was clearly the hostess melodrama that dominated the box office success of Korean films in 1978 and 1979. This led to the high popularity of erotic films like *Madam Aema* series in the 1980s. In 1978, the first, second, and third place in the Korean box office rankings were all hostess melodrama. The following were the box office's top 3 films in Seoul in 1978 and 1979.: 1. *Naega Pŏrin Yŏja* [The Woman I Betrayed] (Chŏng Soyŏng, 1977), 375,915. 2. *Oyangŭi Ap'at'ŭ* [Miss O's Apartment] (Pyŏn Jangho, 1978), 281,726. 3. *Nanŭn 77pŏn Agassi* [I am No. 77 lady] (Pak Hot'ae, 1978) 217,249. (*1978 Han'gukyŏnghwayŏn'gam* [1978 Korean Film Yearbook]. Yŏnghwajinhŭnggongsa, 1979. 70) 1. *Pyŏltŭrŭi Kohyang(Sok)* [Heavenly Homecoming to Stars Sequel] (Ha Kilchong, 1978), 298,125. 2. *Naega Pŏrin Namja*[The Man I Left] (Chŏng Soyŏng, 1979) 239,718. 3. *Kkotsunirŭl Ashinayo?* [Do You Know Kkotsuni?](Chŏng Inyŏp, 1978), 216,628.(*1979 Han'gukyŏnghwayŏn'gam* [1979 Korean Film Yearbook], Yŏnghwajinhŭnggongsa, 1979. 72-73)

[185] Newspaper articles in the late 1970s criticized the low-quality of hostess melodrama by mentioning the two films as examples of hostess melodrama. (Kim Gwanghyŏp. "Hanmul Kan Hosŭt'isŭ Yŏnghwa"[Hostess Films That Are Obsolete]. *Dongailbo*. May. 26, 1979. 5.)

objectification of the female protagonists thus preventing them from being consumed as sex movies. The perspective that classified these films as hostess melodramas has ignored these critical differences.

Overall, I agree with the classification of these two films as youth films considering that they are part of 1970s youth culture. My classification of South Korean cinema in the 1970s is almost identical to Ha Kilchong's categorization. In summarizing the flow of South Korean cinema during that decade, Ha defines filmmakers in their thirties, such as Yi Changho and Kim Hosŏn, who gained popularity with young audiences, as the protagonists of *ch'ongnyŏn yŏnghwa* [youth films]. He adds, "In 1978, a new wind began to blow in the film industry. The so-called hostess movie emerged,"[186] specifying that the genre cycle of hostess melodrama began in 1978.

However, the reason I categorize them as youth films is not because the directors of the films were young or that they gathered to establish the Era of Image. Furthermore, I do not use the youth film category based on textual similarities either. In fact, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, *Yŏngja's Heydays*, and *March of Fools* do not have common stylistic and thematic features to categorize them to as a genre. From a genre-based approach, the films cannot be grouped into the same category given their textual heterogeneity. Film scholar Kang Yŏnghŭi claims that these films are simultaneously texts of 1970s youth culture and social melodramas.[187] Despite the equivocal definition

[186] Ha Kilchong. "1970nyŏndaeŭi han'gukyŏnghwa"[1970s Korean Films]. *Ha Kilchong chŏnjim 2: Sahoejŏng yŏngsanggwa pansahoejŏng yŏngsang*.[Complete Works of Ha Kilchong: Social Image and Anti-social Image]. Seoul: KOFA, 2009. 437.
[187] Kang, Yŏnghŭi, "10wŏl Yushin, Ch'ŏngnyŏnmunhwa, Sahoesŏng Mellodŭrama: Pyŏltŭrŭi Kohyanggwa Ŏjenaerin Pirŭl Chungshimŭro"[October Yushin, Youth Culture, and Social Melodrama: Focusing on Heavenly Homecoming to Stars and It Rained Yesterday]. *Women and Society*. vol. 3. Apr. 1992.

of the genre "social melodrama," she sheds light on the characteristics of these films. I consider Yi Changho's *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and his next film, *It Rained Yesterday*, Kim Hosŭn's *Yŏngja's Heydays* and his next film *Yŏja tŭlman sanŭn kŏri* [Manless Streets] (1976), and Ha Kilchong's *March of Fools* to be youth films,. Despite their diversity in subject matter, theme, and style, the films were the cinematic texts of 1970s youth culture, and the compassion for the weak and the affect of togetherness of 1970s youth culture were embedded in the films like they were in *p'ok'ŭ* music. In this chapter, I will focus on two films, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays*, and illustrate how different the films are from the later hostess melodrama.

Heavenly Homecoming to Stars: A Girl Killed by City and Innocence Destroyed by the Times

Yi Changho's phenomenal hit debut film, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*, is a story of a woman who met four men and ended up committing suicide at the age of 26. Though the film's narrative is loose and its narrative sequencing is confusing due to dizzying flashbacks, it is not difficult to follow the disjointed narrative because the story is about woman's suffering from men, which is prevalent in old-fashioned female melodrama.

Kyŏnga, a clerk at a small company, fell in love with her co-worker Yŏngsŏk through his persistent courtship. He eventually marries another woman, abandoning Kyŏnga who even aborted his child. Frustrated by the failure of her love, Kyŏnga becomes a hostess the later marries a middle-aged businessman, Manjun, as his second wife. Manjun, who led his ex-wife to commit suicide because of his delusional jealousy,

choses to marry Kyŏnga because she looks very much like his ex-wife. However, Kyŏnga is deserted again because Manjun discovers that she had previously had an abortion. Kyŏnga's third lover, Tonghyŏk, forces her to become a prostitute, to pose naked for money, and even tattoo his name on her body. Escaping from Tonghyŏk, Kyŏnga meets her fourth lover named Muno who is a painter. They soon move in together, and Kyŏnga is able to feel love and comfort at last. However, Tonghyŏk finds Muno's apartment, and Muno, who is tired of living in Seoul, decides to leave for the countryside. Kyŏnga leaves Muno while he is sleeping. A year later, Muno returns to Seoul and hears from Tonghyŏk that Kyŏnga was completely ruined by alcoholism. Muno meets Kyŏnga again and leaves her some money while she sleeps. Kyŏnga commits suicide by taking a large amount of sleeping pills in the snow.

As seen above, the story is a very typical and popular story of a fallen woman which had been told since the colonial period — a woman meets a philanderer, ruins her life, and ends up as a prostitute. Thus, the film's huge success did not result from its narrative. Where can we find the novelty of the film that led to its tremendous commercial success? I argue that it was the film's stylistic innovations that offset the traditional and popular narrative and made it a box-office hit. The film created particular feelings and moods by using a new and experimental visual and aural style.

First of all, the innovative use of film music should be mentioned. The film is the first in Korean film history to release its soundtrack album. Moreover, the outstanding *p'ok'ŭ* musicians Yi Changhŭi and Kang Kŭnsik scored the film, and they broke new

ground in film music with their unconventional use of songs and scores.[188] For example, the original score in the opening sequence used the Moog synthesizer for the first time in South Korea.

Not only the novelty of music itself but also the way the music was used in the film was ingenious. Generally, music in film is subordinate to film's narrative: it builds setting, creates the tone and atmosphere, provides meaning for a character's action, reinforces or foreshadows narrative developments, and generates emotion on the scene. However, the film's music often creates a strong conflict with the image or narrative development. For example, Kyŏnga is abandoned by her lover Yŏngsŏk after having aborted his baby and in the next shot, sees him getting into a wedding car with his bride. In the scene, all the diegetic sounds are muted and the original song "Han sonyŏ ga ulgo inne" [A Girl is Crying Out There] is played as non-diegetic music. Thus, the scene did not look like a scene from a film with music; rather it looked like a scene from a music video of the song. Furthermore, although the lyrics depicted a crying girl, the fast, strong and virile rock rhythm and vocals convey emotions that conflict with the image.

However, when the song accompanied the scene introducing Muno for the first time in the sequence immediately after the opening, the use of extradiegetic music was completely revolutionary. In this scene, Muno is diagnosed with syphilis in the hospital. In the next shot of him being roughly thrown out of a bus, the song "A Girl Is Crying Out There" starts playing, and this is continued by a montage that connects shots of people in Seoul's urban landscape with rhythm: busy streets, closeup shots of people passing

[188] Kim Yŏngjin, *Yi Changho vs Pae Ch'angho: 1980nyŏndae Han'gukyŏnghwaŭi Ch'oejŏnsŏn* [Yi Changho vs. Pae Ch'angho: The Frontline of 1980s Korean Cinema]. Seoul: KOFA, 2008. 37-39.

through a residential area, a desolate construction site, shots of Muno, his paintings, and his room, continuous shots of children playing in a playground at an apartment, and closeups of Ch'oe Inho, the original novel's writer, with his child. The montage ends with a whip pan shot of the children in the playground. The song accompanies the montage sequence for 1 minute and 27 seconds without diegetic sound, equating Muno with the cityscape from the beginning of his syphilis treatment to the end.

Here, music has absolutely nothing to do with the film's narrative and the images on the screen. The unconventional use of music stands out in comparison with the aforementioned scene of Kyŏnga. In the scene where Kyŏnga was deserted, though the song's musical features contradicted the images in the scene, at least the lyrics — "a girl is crying out, her thin shoulders are shaking" — depicted her desperate situation and expressed her sadness. Thus, the music served a somewhat general function of film score which complemented image on screen. However, in the Muno sequence, the song and the visual images were completely separate. The song did not convey feelings of the character on the screen, nor did it provide any information that would help spectators better understand the character or plot. The song and the images were simply juxtaposed with no relation.

What does this juxtaposition of the song and the visual images mean? As the song's lyrics show, this song was originally for Kyŏnga. However, in this sequence, the song was connected to Muno with the montage of unrelated cityscape shots. This montage visually conveyed the daily life in modern yet lonely metropolitan Seoul and the weary life of Muno. Furthermore, at the beginning of the sequence, he started treatment

for venereal disease that was completed at the end of the sequence. The song continued while the film introduced him in connection with venereal disease and the city of Seoul. When he was thrown out of the bus and had to get treatment for venereal disease, the disease of the big city, he seemed like a victim of the city just like Kyŏnga. It was the song that expressed his shrunken and feminized interior landscape. In other words, Muno, not Kyŏnga, was crying out as a girl in the song.

In this way, the film effectively expressed Muno's bleak inner self, an internal landscape of his mind did not manage to complete any paintings, by intertwining Muno's character with the cityscape of Seoul. The rhythm of the song and the conflict of the montage harmonized well to convey particular feelings and created a novel cinematic effect. Even though the film's narrative is conventional (even it was presented in a very confusing way), if the film had felt like a novel symbol of youth culture to the audience, that was due to the power of its style. As such, despite the old-fashioned narrative, the film succeeded in conveying new feelings and sentiments through the innovation of the film's style. That was the reason why the film was successful at the box office, unlike its many failed imitators.

Of course, the film shows remarkable novelty not only in music but also in visualization. The film's visual style reinforces the popular narrative on the one hand and goes beyond it on the other hand; thus, it contributes to communicating particular feelings and sentiments. This complexity results from the fact that the visual style is more closely linked to the film's narrative than the music. Specifically, the film's creative visual style

plays an important role in the characterization of the heroine and gives her a different layer from the conventional fallen woman.

Despite the film's archetypical narrative of a fallen woman, it breathed fresh life into the familiar with the character Kyŏnga, a type of female protagonist who had not been previously seen in Korean cinema. She is neither a seductive femme fatale nor a virtuous woman but rather an innocent, childlike woman. She is sexually open but at the same time simple and naive. Smiling like a child, she expresses her feelings candidly. She even often regresses into a childlike state: she carries her dolls and sometimes plays with them, whistles frequently, and turns Muno's face into a pierrot's while he was sleeping.

The scene of her leaving Muno is a prime example of the childlike aspect of her character. As Muno falls asleep, Kyŏng writes, "Good-Bye, Mr." on the mirror in her red lipstick, puts a doll next to Muno, and leaves Muno's apartment carrying the other doll with her. She starts to bawl then suddenly takes out a piece of bubble gum and chews on it. The image of Kyŏnga crying and chewing a piece of gum while walking looks like an innocent child, not an alcoholic prostitute. Wagner's "Wedding March," arranged in a swing jazz style, accompanies this scene. Because the music was played before when Muno and Kyŏnga were playing pranks on one another by applying funny makeup to the other, the cheerful music emphasizes Kyŏnga's childlike character, not the sadness of their farewell.

What is particularly noteworthy about the characterization of Kyŏnga is the overuse of insert close-ups. The close-up shots in this film are used creatively and quite

differently from average close-up shots. Generally, the close-up shot captures the character's face. However, the close-up shots in this film, sometimes extreme close-ups, were used to capture the objects around characters or objectified body parts like hands and feet. These close-up shots are inserted in conjunction with the main character. Of course, insert close-up shots are commonly used in order to emphasize detailed information in a thriller film, and their function is mostly informative. However, the insert close-up shots in this film mainly present the protagonist's interior landscape through a combination of fragmented object images.

For example, in the opening sequence, Muno, who is walking with Kyŏnga's ashes, is captured with an extreme long shot. The camera then zooms in on her urn and then cuts to an insert introducing Kyŏnga. The camera first shows the flowers in a vase with a close-up shot and moves on to Kyŏnga working in an office. The office scene is followed by a shot of her looking at the mannequins in a boutique with a wishful look and then continues to a fantasy-like montage of Kyŏnga changing wigs and clothes and posing like a mannequin in front of the camera. After a very brief moment of revealing her own desires, Kyŏnga becomes an object of the other person's desire, that is, a mannequin. The montage ends with a close-up of the paper cranes she folded and returns to Muno holding her urn. In the opening sequence which introduces her for the first time, Kyŏnga is seen in a metonymic way through the close-ups of props such as flowers in a vase, phones, paper cranes, or her hands working an abacus rather than providing images of her facial expressions. The effect of this visual style is to make Kyŏnga a weak figure who is defined by her environment, a pure and innocent girl later crushed by external

forces.[189] The visual of depicting Kyŏnga through close-up shots of props around her such as dolls, mirrors, the statue of Maria, and glasses, etc. repeats throughout the film.[190] This visual technique is the reverse of the conventional method of character description in film. The style shows the objects, especially partial images of the objects around the main character first, and then presents the character. Establishing shots of the entire space where the character is located are shown last. This type of camera movement decentralizes the character on the screen and presents the character as if he or she were an object in the environment or no different from the object itself. In this way, the film portrays how the influence of the outside world that overwhelms the character.

When innocent, childlike Kyŏnga is dying on a snowy field with an absolutely empty face after her miserable final act of prostitution in which she sells herself to a man she met at a pub just for a drink, it is impossible not to feel pity for her. Here, an echo sound effect is applied to all the sounds in the sequence. This echo effect reflects the inside of Kyŏnga who lost her sense of reality in extreme despair, and simultaneously is an aural embodiment of the ghostlike presence of Kyŏnga who is already dead in a sense.

As such, the film succeeded in creating a heroine, Kyŏnga, who was helplessly killed by the environment, thanks to the creative visual and aural styles. Kyŏnga, a new type of heroine that had not hitherto appeared on the screen, was a medium through

[189] These close-up shots focusing on props prevent Kyŏnga from falling into the object of the male gaze, as a sexual object of heterosexual male desire, borrowing Mulvy's term. Due to this, the film cannot be treated as the same as the 'hostess melodrama' of the late 1970s.

[190] In fact, this type of visual style is not used only for describing Kyŏnga. By this method, the film also portrayed the male protagonist, Muno as a weak and hapless man under the overwhelming influence of the environment. For example, when the film first introduced Muno and his apartment, first shot was the close-up of his feet at the ground level, and then close-up shots of his pallet and incomplete sketches followed. After the shots of these props, his room space in which he lay were present with high-angle shot.

which the audience shared the feelings of the 1970s. Though there were a lot of suffering female characters in cultural products of the previous decade, like Hyeyŏng, the heroine of *Miwŏdo tashi hanbŏn* [Love Me Once Again] (Chŏng Soyŏng, 1968), they were mature women who embodied the virtues of a devoted mother or of a chaste wife. Contrary to these heroines, *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*' female protagonist, Kyŏnga, was a prostitute but is simultaneously seen as an innocent, childlike girl. This ambivalent characterization emphasized her tragic ruination by the brutal world. Thus, the viewer can share a common moral sentiment that at once laments the injustice of society and is remorseful for not protecting Kyŏnga. This shared feeling of empathy, sadness, and compassion for the weak that also appears in *p'okŭ* music illustrates the sentiment of the times. It is through the expression of this common sentiment that *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* was able to gain commercial and critical success despite its conventional narrative.

***Yŏngja's Heydays*: A Report on the Fate of a Female Worker in the 1970s**

Kyŏnga in *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* seemed an ethereal sylph who did not have any sense of everyday life. Swayed helplessly by men, her life ended in tragedy. As shown in her lines, "Women are strange. Men define if a woman is good or bad" (1:34:58-1:35:04), Kyŏnga was defined solely by her relationships with men. The original novel described Kyŏnga as "a woman who did not really exist" and "a little sylph."[191] She was likened to "the morning newspaper which one just looked at and

[191] Ch'oe, Inho. *Pyŏltŭrŭi Kohyang 1* [Heavenly Homecoming to Stars 1]. Seoul:Yŏbaek, 2013.40.

threw away."[192] In other words, she was fetishized as an object of male desires that can be exchanged among men. On the other hand, Yŏngja, the female protagonist of *Yŏngja's Heydays*, who came to Seoul from a rural area, worked hard to support her family, drifted through several menial jobs, and inevitably became a prostitute. If the story of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* is "a fairy tale for adults," as Ch'oe Inho puts it,[193] *Yŏngja's Heydays* is closer to a sociological report on lower-class women in 1970 South Korea.

Yŏngja's story is one that depicts the experiences of lower-class young women during the 1970s industrial period. She moves to Seoul and works as a housekeeper, but after being raped by her employer's son and gets kicked out, works at a sweatshop. Yŏngja has to leave the sweatshop because only a few coins remain after paying rent despite her hard work for a month. Then, she works as a bar girl, but because she does not manage to entertain customers, she quits in only a day. Yŏngja's fourth job is a bus conductor. Working precariously on a crowded bus, she loses her arm in an accident and eventually becomes a prostitute. Housekeeper, factory girl, and bus conductor were the three most common low-wage jobs performed by young lower-class women in their late teens in the 1970s.[194] As such, Yŏngja, experiencing all the typical menial jobs that young lower-class women could do, represents young lower-class women in 1970s Korea.

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[192] Ibid. 41.
[193] "I am afraid of the reader: Writers Talk with Ch'oe Inho and Son Jangsun." *Chosŭnilbo*, Sep. 12, 1972. 5.
[194] In the 1970s, it was very difficult for a young woman to get a job at a large-scale factory such as Dongil Textile without personal connections. Besides the strict hiring process, the manager at a factory often asked for bribes. Thus, young women, who came to Seoul for getting a job, usually were waiting for a job at a factory while working as a housekeeper or a bus conductor. (Chang Mikyŏng, "Kŭndaehwawa 1960-70nyŏndae Yŏsŏng nodongja: Yyŏsŏngnodongja Hyŏngsŏnggwajŏngŭl Chungsimŭro"[Modernization and Women Laborer in the 1970s and 1980s]. *Economy and Society*. vol.61. Mar. 2004. 111.)

Before we are given Yŏngja's backstory, she appears as a one-armed prostitute at the beginning of the film. She is detained at a police station during a crackdown on prostitution and encounters her first love, Ch'angsu. Then, the film shows how she had met and broken up with him through a flashback: She meet Ch'angsu, a worker in her employer's factory, went on dates with him, and heard his confession of love but broke up with him when he was drafted into the Vietnam War. After the long flashback about their past, the film returns to their reunion.

After Yŏngja and Ch'angsu meet again, the film's narrative develops around two questions: first, her damaged body inevitably raises the question of how on earth Yŏngja became a prostitute without one arm, and second, the question of if their relationship will have a future arouses the viewer's curiosity. Thus, the film's narrative develops alternately between the two layers of Yŏngja's past and present. On the one hand, the film goes back to the past through a flashback of Yŏngja that reached its climax in the accident that causes her to lose her arm. On the other hand, the film goes forward, showing Yŏngja and Ch'angsu's rekindled romance that would reach another climax, the ultimate sad ending of their relationship.

Why does the film adopt a dual time scheme using flashbacks instead of showing Yŏngja and Ch'angsu's romance chronologically? The narrative structure emphasizes the pitifulness of a woman's fate. Unlike linear narratives where the future is open, narratives told through flashbacks show predetermined endings first, and the viewers can only watch the process that leads to a fixed ending. In this film, the fact that Yŏngja is already a one-armed prostitute in the opening scene emphasizes her miserable fate that leaves no

room for change. The flashbacks serve to strengthen the viewer's compassion and sympathy for the wretched Yŏngja. Thus, the flashback as a narrative device plays a crucial role in invoking the viewer's compassion for the weak.[195]

The film generally follows the short stories from which the film was adapted but with a few significant changes.[196] While the original short story focused on the first-person male narrator, the film centered on Yŏngja's life trajectory. The original story dealt with the hardship of the male narrator, a day laborer, and his trauma from the Vietnam War, which suddenly intrudes on his daily life,[197] but the film dealt with Yŏngja's pain and suffering and her romance with Ch'angsu. One of the biggest changes is the characterization of the male protagonist, Ch'angsu: In the original, he was a little, violent macho man, suffering from the memory of killing a Vietnamese girl in the Vietnam War. To him, women were just sexual objects, and he gave his pity to Yŏngja, not his love. However, in the film, Ch'angsu, who was kindhearted and gentle, loved Yŏngja absolutely and cared for her so much that he was willing to give up his dream of becoming a tailor.[198]

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[195] Flashback functions in the same way in *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars*. The film also uses flashbacks as a key narrative device. The film begins with Muno holding Kyŏnga's ash in the River, and ends with him scattering her ashes on the river again. Therefore, the film's whole narrative has the form of Muno's reminiscences about Kyŏnga, using dizzy flashbacks. In a sense, the film is Muno's mourning for Kyŏnga. The viewers with regretful Muno, only watch how a young and innocent woman ended up in death. As such, the backward narrative of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* also reveals the typical 1970s sentiments of empathy and compassion for the weak by showing the innocent woman's death.

[196] The film is based on Cho Sŭnjak's two short stories, "The Tombs of the Patriots" and "Yŏngja's Heydays." in *Yŏngjaŭi Chŏnsŏngshidae* [Yŏngja's Heydays] (Minŭmsa, 1974)

[197] For an excellent analysis of the original short story, see Lee, Jinkyoung. *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea*. University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 54-60.;109-110.

[198] Ch'angsu worked in a public bathhouse as a *Ttaemiri*, a professional scrubber, scrubbing down customers. His dream was to open a tailor shop. However, since he met Yŏngja again, he visited and paid for her every day to prevent her from prostitution, so spent the money he had earned.

Therefore, one of the main axis of the film's narrative is how Ch'angsu redeemed the one-armed prostitute Yŏngja to become a common marriageable woman. The film details this process by inserting episodes that are not in the original story. Ch'angsu takes Yŏngja to the hospital to treat her syphilis,[199] makes her a prosthetic arm, and washes her carefully in the bathhouse where he works. His series actions that express is care and love for her clearly signifies the procedure and ritual of purifying Yŏngja. Through this process, Yŏngja's status as a one-armed prostitute who could never dare to dream of marriage and maternity is rehabilitated into that of a "normal" young woman. After washing Yŏngja in the bathhouse, Ch'angsu proposes that they live together. Certainly, this process is problematic in that it displays a strong patriarchal control of women through benevolent sexism by a male saviour.[200]

Nevertheless, Ch'angsu's absolute and pure love for Yŏngja in the film conveys tender feelings. For example, in the scene where he washes her body, the camera shoots Ch'angsu washing Yŏngja over the window with a long shot, then slowly zooms in and stops on a close-up shot of their faces. While talking about their first meeting, he asks her, "What do you think of me?" just as he did back then, and she replies, "I'm grateful to

[199] The episode that cures Yŏngja's syphilis is only in the film scenario, not in the original story.
[200] The rehabilitation of prostitutes through the treatment of venereal disease by the male protagonist can be related to the social purification discourse and regulation of prostitution of the Park Chunghee administration at the time. The Park Chunghee administration as a pander, directly managed and controlled prostitutes for the U.S. military and Japanese tourists, and at the same time, cracked down on prostitution under the slogan of social purification. Likewise, this 'purifying' process was obviously based on the patriarchal gender division. For the further reading on the Park Chunghee administration's prostitution policy, see Pak, Chŏngmi, "Paljŏn'gwa Seksŭ: Han'guk Chŏngbuŭi Sŏngmaemaegwan'gwangjŏngch'aek, 1955-1988nyŏn"[Development and Sex : The Prostitution Tourism Policy of the Korean Government, 1953-1988]. *Korean Journal of Sociology*, vol.48, no.1, Feb. 2014. 235-264. For an excellent explanation on the gender division in South Korean society, see Moon Seungsook, *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea*. 2005. Duke University Press: Durham and London. esp.Ch.2 and Ch. 3.

you." in the next close-up shot that shows her profile and his face, front on.[201] Ch'angsu, who does not hear the answer he expects, says disappointingly, "Is that all?" (1:13:17-1:13:37). However, in this close-up shot, Ch'angsu's face reveals his pure love and his curiosity about Yŏngja's feelings, and Yŏngja's face shows her love, shyness, and gratitude at being respected as a human. In this way, the scene delivers the power of compassion and the affection of togetherness.

Contrary to the popular belief about young female protagonists in 1970s films, the film's heroine, Yŏngja, was presented as a young worker who tries to achieve her dreams no matter the difficulties. She constantly resists those who urged her to prostitute herself, the easiest way of living for a young woman from rural areas. While Kyŏnga of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* became a bar girl due to the betrayal of her first love, Yŏngja does not give up on her dream of learning driving skills and living independently, despite being raped and losing her job. After being kicked out of the house where she worked and lived, she works hard in a sweatshop despite barely being able to make ends meet. Nevertheless, Yŏngja laughs out loud in the face of her ridiculous, wretched reality. She also tries to become a driver. To earn the money for driving lessons, she reluctantly takes a job as a bar girl but quits within a day because she could not endure customers' mockery of her dream. She then becomes a bus conductor. In this way, Yŏngja's constant

[201] The next cut suddenly disappears and continues again after a brief black screen. The sudden cutting that interrupts continuity is a trace of being cut brutally by censorship. The cut-off scene in this part can be guessed based on the censorship report. (Pak Yuhŭi, "Kŏmyŏriranŭn P'orŭnogŭraep'i: Ch'unmongesŏ Aemabuinkkaji Oesŏl Kŏmyŏlgwa Chaehyŏnŭi yŏkhak"[A Study on "Censorship" in Context of Pornography: Interactions between Censorship and Representation of "Obscenity" from Spring Dreams to Lady AeMa], *Journal of Popular Narrative*. vol.21, no. 3. 2015.123)

struggles to achieve her dreams exhibit greater agency and personal desire than the female protagonists of other 1970s films.

There is a scene in which Yŏngja's hope is directly revealed. At the crosswalk of a busy street, Yŏngja approaches a taxi waiting for the light to change. The next shot is of a female driver driving a taxi from Yŏngja's point of view followed by a close-up of Yŏngja's face full of wishes and desires. The taxi moves again and her profile is shown chasing after it with her gaze. This short crosswalk scene clearly shows that Yŏngja's dream is becoming a driver, not romance or marriage.

Working as a bus conductor, Yŏngja hangs dangerously on a bus packed with passengers. When the bus makes a sudden stop, Yŏngja's arm is cut off by a truck next to the bus. She is ejected from the bus and falls to the ground. In a expressionist sequence, Yŏngja's amputated arm literally flies off onto a skyscraper and we are shown a close-up of Yŏngja's bleeding face. Though the viewer can only see Yŏngja's face on-screen, her head is slightly turned as if to follow her arm flying away off-screen. She flinches her lips, eyes looking off into the distance. This close-up of her face gave the viewers both indescribable shock and sadness.

Yŏngja is unable to work after losing her arm and eventually becomes a prostitute. However, even prostitution was not easy for the one-armed Yŏngja because her mutilated body evoked fear and disgust. This is shown by a man calling her creepy as he leaves her room after seeing her body without an arm. Another man refuses the agreed payment for sex, saying he cannot pay for a cripple. She has to haggle, work, and fight

against lots of bad clients. As such, Yŏngja's prostitution is portrayed as hard labor, and she is also depicted as a young worker trapped in constant labor in a workplace.

After Ch'angsu asks her to live with him, Yŏngja begins to seriously prepare to live with Ch'angsu. Even though Ch'angsu's colleague explicitly demands that she break up with Ch'angsu, she does not give up her future with Ch'angsu, even though she feels hurt and insulted. After Ch'angsu was jailed because of fighting with a man who humiliated Yŏngja, Yŏngja stops by a real estate office and asks the price of "a small room where the two can barely cook, eat, and sleep together." The camera captures her smiling face as she makes her inquiry. This is followed by a panning shot of Yŏngja sleeping with clients, counting money, and laughing face superimposed over the scribbles on the wall of her room. The superimposed panning shot has a two-layered meaning. On the one hand, her prostitution was portrayed as labor for their future. At the same time, however, the shot also implied that Yŏngja was trapped in her small room, a space for prostitution, making it difficult for her to escape.

Although Yŏngja exhibits greater attempts at exerting agency during various points in the film, there are continual scenes in which her victimization is emphasized. The opening sequence is the first instance in which the audience sees and is actively implicated in her victimization. The whole opening sequence uses a forward tracking camera to take the first-person point of view of a police officer cracking down on prostitution as he searches the alleys at night. With only an extradiegetic jazz percussion score, the viewer can see the faces of the arrested prostitutes shouting but cannot hear what they are saying. The sequence ends with the freeze-frame shot of Yŏngja in a red

jacket, stretching out her hand toward the viewer, and seeing the viewer directly, from a high angle camera.[202] Thus, the viewer is invited to take part in the police raid and forced to identify with the point of view of the police officers cracking down on Yŏngja. Thus, Yŏngja who was chased and caught by the police, is portrayed as a vulnerable and damaged woman from her very first appearance in the film. The rape scene is another instance in which she is made vulnerable. She is captured by the son of the household and overwhelmed by the male violator's gaze. The camera, which approaches at very close distance and captures Yŏngja, effectively tramples on her with a high angle shot. The close-up of Yŏngja's horrified and pain-filled face caught in the camera's violent' gaze is an unforgettable image. If *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* shows Kyŏnga's helplessness through insert cuts, this film visually conveys Yŏngja's vulnerability through the use of high angle camera placement and the shot compositions.

If there is one dominant camera style in this film, it is a close-up of Yŏngja's face. The film is visually structured around close-ups of Yŏngja's face from the opening to the ending shot. The close-up makes the viewer look at the character's face from a very close distance. In the real world, this type of looking is only possible among children or intimate people. Therefore, through the close-up, the film forges an intimate relationship between the character and the viewer. The close-up transforms the object of the shot into almost a haptic object, enabling a powerful phenomenological experience of presence. Through the close-up, the viewer can access the character's state of mind, or,

[202] Compared the rest of the entire film, this opening sequence is very heterogeneous because of the formal experiments in camera movements and sounds. Most parts of this film are directed in a conventional melodramatic way, focusing on Yŏngja's life trajectory and her romance with Ch'angsu, though they often show unique visual styles. However, this opening sequence would be an epitome of the heterogeneity between formal novelty and narrative convention as the typical characteristic of 1970s youth films.

using Balazs' expression, soul through the wrinkles, scratches, and unconscious frown on the face that the character may want to hide. This was also the key topic of Balazs' physiognomy and the close-up theory. He states, "One can read more in a close-up of a face than what is visibly written on it. On a face, too, one can read "between the lines."[203] This viewing experience of a close-up of a face always exceeds the signification of it. In Barthes' terms, the face captured in close-up is a face as punctum, something that pierces a viewer, constituting a private meaning unrelated to any social and cultural code. The close-up, which Jean Epstein calls the soul of cinema, is the entity that is flooded with affect beyond signification. Thus, the close-up is inevitably a contradiction; it is a sign to be read but simultaneously a thing beyond signification with an excess of affect. As Deleuze puts it, "The affection-image is the close-up, and the close-up is the face."[204]

At the same time, the close-up suspends the narrative because "it abstracts it from all spatio-temporal co-ordinates."[205] Therefore, the close-up delivers its affections that are not related to the narrative. When the viewer must look at Yŏngja's face as it fills the screen, and when Yŏngja's face frowns in pain and opens her mouth helplessly, her face is not reduced to any single meaning or any single emotion such as fear, frustration, pain, or sadness. At the same time, in the suspended time of the close-up, the viewer feels the complex time that Yŏngja has passed with all the pain and suffering.[206] For example, when Yŏngja decided to commit suicide on the bridge at Seoul station, the scene ends

[203] Bela Balazs, *Theory of The Film: Character and Growth of a New Art*, translated by Edithe Bone. D. Dobson: London, 1952.75.
[204] Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*, translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis. 1986. 87.
[205] Ibid. 96.
[206] The close-up creates its own spatio-temporal coordinates. see Deleuze, 103-104.

with a close-up of Yŏngja's crying face. The sadness, the pain, and the despair — complex things beyond signification — turned on Yŏngja's face. Through the close-up, the viewer feels the complex time that compresses all Yŏngja's suffering, despair, love, and even hope, seen by the viewer thus far. The close-up of Yŏngja's face, which is repeated like the film's signature, invokes the viewer's compassion and sympathy for the hard times of Yŏngja's life.

Last but not least, I analyze the ending sequence of the film. The ending of the film is completely changed to almost the opposite of the ending in the short stories from which it is adapted. Unlike the tragic ending of the short story in which Yŏngja was burned to death during the police crackdown on prostitution, the film gives Yŏngja a happy ending. The ending sequence of the film begins with a scene showing Ch'angsu as the owner of a laundromat. After accidentally hearing news of Yŏngja, Ch'angsu visits Yŏngja's house that doubles as an onsite catering cafeteria for construction workers at an urban apartment complex development site. Yŏngja works at the cafeteria with her husband. Ch'angsu says to Yŏngja who looks happy holding her own baby, "You once said that miracles don't happen in this world, but what would you call this? God has given you a miracle" (1:43:51-1:44:01). When Ch'angsu turns to leave, Yŏngja's husband limps after him. They greet each other, ride along a straight road on their motorbikes, have small talk, and become friends. Yŏngja's husband says to Ch'angsu, "Hey, let's put some fun into it! How about we speed it up? Can't wait to have a drink with you when we get to town." Ch'angsu replies, "Sounds good to me!" (1:46:07-1:46:14).

If the film had pursued the consistency and plausibility of the narrative, this ending sequence would be anomalous for its undermining of the logic of narrative development. After the scenes in which Yŏngja decides to commit suicide on a bridge at Seoul station and Ch'angsu wanders in search of Yŏngja are intercut, the ending sequence abruptly cuts to the scene of Ch'angsu sitting in the laundromat. The film seems as if it will end in the suicide of Yŏngja, but the actual ending sequence appears unexpectedly. In fact, this abrupt ending was inevitably changed due to censorship.[207] The film was considered to be a wholesome melodrama "which dealt with rehabilitation of a prostitute" because of the change in ending, allowing it to pass the censors.[208] As Ch'angsu said, it is simply a miracle that Yŏngja, a one armed prostitute, married, became a mother, and had a "normal" family. Yŏngja was saved by Ch'angsu but could not qualify to be the wife of a man like Ch'angsu who would enter the middle class. Thus, Yŏngja sets up home with a man who also has a disability. In the ending scene, the homosocial bond between Yŏngja's former savior, Ch'angsu, and her current savior, her husband, clearly reveals the patriarchal control over Yŏngja. At the same time, however, in this ending scene, the close-up of Yŏngja's face is superimposed on the sky in an extreme long shot of their two motorcycles running side by side on the road. And due to

[207] Kim Sŭngok, the adaptor, said the ending of the original scenario was a suicide scene of Yŏngja, but he had no choice but to create a happy ending to pass the censor board. After changing the ending, the film passed the censors by the reason of the film was about the rehabilitation of a whore. However, Kim Sŭngok also added another intent to change the film's ending: he thought whether it was fair to give Yŏngja such a tragic fate. As he said, "Her tragic fate of the original short story, which lost her one arm and burned to death, is too brutal ending for Yŏngja, especially considering our reality itself is a accomplice who abandoned her"(Kim Sŭngok, "Adaptation is more difficult than creation." *Yŏnghwa*, Dec 1975. 69)
[208] Pak Yuhŭi, "Kŏmyŏriranŭn P'orŭnogŭraep'i: Ch'unmongesŏ Aemabuinkkaji Oesŏl Kŏmyŏlgwa Chaehyŏnŭi yŏkhak"[A Study on "Censorship" in Context of Pornography: Interactions between Censorship and Representation of "Obscenity" from Spring Dreams to Lady AeMa], *Journal of Popular Narrative*. Vol.21, No. 3. 2015. 121.

the double-exposed close-up of Yŏngja's face, this ending scene eclipses the patriarchal ideology bluntly being portrayed.

The close-up of Yŏngja's face in the sky is almost spectral in nature. On the one hand, it is a ghost-like appearance that unconsciously reveals the unreality of this ending sequence, but on the other hand, it is reward for her hardship and a wish for her future. In particular, since Yŏngja is kissing her baby's hand, and soothing her baby, this strange close-up also conveys warm and hopeful feelings. Yŏngja's smiling face reveals mixed feelings of serenity and somewhat regret or sadness. The reason why Yŏngja's face makes the viewer feel complex emotions that cannot be easily defined as joy or sadness is the use of the close-up that functions to abstract space and time; viewers simultaneously experience Yŏngja's tragic past and hopeful future through the close-up. Therefore, the close-up of Yŏngja's face symbolizes women's hardship, suffering, and pain in the 1970s, and completes this film as a drama of strong public feelings, compassion, and sympathy.

The Coda of Youth Film and Its Rigor Mortis

Heavenly Homecoming to Stars and *Yŏngja's Heydays* were successful nationwide and even became a cultural phenomenon. The viewers of the films were not limited to young, highly educated people. As their remarkable box-office records showed, the two films represented people's universal sentiments at the time. In particular, considering the theater system of the 1970s, in which only one film was released at one theater in a single region, the two films achieved tremendous success to the extent that they can be called

"the films of the times."[209] The exceptional successes of the two films went much more beyond the scale of young audiences at the time. This is evident when compared to the box office record of *March of Fools* which depicted the frustration, dreams, and love of college students. Considering the number of young, educated theater-goers in the mid-1970s, *March of Fools*' successful box office record of selling 153, 780 tickets would reach the pinnacle for films that targeted young audiences. Compared to this record, the box-office records of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays* of 470,000 and 360,000 viewers, respectively, clearly show that the two films attracted viewers of all ages. In other words, the two films are said to be exceptional texts that embodied the universal sentiments of the 1970s.

March of Fools is a film that exactly fits the stereotypes of youth culture: Ch'oe Inho's original novel that comically depicted college students' everyday lives, Song Changsik's original soundtrack, and the direction of Ha Kilchong, the leader of The Era of Image. Compared to the films that dealt with a woman's tragic life, including *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays*, *March of Fools* has little in common in terms of the subject matter, themes, and visual styles. However, *March of*

[209]Discussing Korean movie theater system and culture in detail in the 1970s is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the main characteristics of the theater system should be mentioned. In the 1970s, all the movie theaters were single screen theaters, which had around 1,000 seats on average. A movie was released only at a theater at a time in one region. During the 1970s in Seoul, there were 12 first-run theaters, and usually twelve different movies were screened at a time. After the films departed first-run theaters, the films were screened at second run theaters for reduced prices. Moreover, the screen quota system was enforced more strictly, making it compulsory for movie theaters to show Korean films for more than 1/3 of screening days per year after the revision of the motion picture law in 1973. Therefore, the theaters had a practice that showed rerun of successful Korean films like *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* at first-run theaters to avoid risk. *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays* were revived on first-run theaters and reruns also made success. The rerun of *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* at Asea theater attracted 84, 372, in 1976 (*Chosunilbo*, Dec.17, 1976, p5) and the revival of *Yŏngja's Heydays* at Asea theater also sold 43, 884 in 1977(*1977 Han'gukyŏnghwayŏn'gam* [1977Korean Film Yearbook]. Yŏnghwajinhŭnggongsa, 1978. 95).

Fools can be grouped into the same category as these two films given that they embodied the same feelings and sentiments of the times. In other words, despite textual differences between the films, youth films in the 1970s have a common foundation: compassion and empathy for the weak and sadness that dominates the entire film. Therefore, the feelings of sadness and compassion overflowed on the screen of Ha Kilchong's *March of Fools*, a black comedy depicting the so-called "cheerful" lives of college students. This compassion and sadness made Ha Kilchong's film a completely different text from Ch'oe Inho's original novel. This sentiment was condensed into the film's original character Yŏngch'ŏl who did not appear in Ch'oe Inho's novel. Yŏngch'ŏl was a loser who has always been a failure, oppressed by his wealthy and authoritative father.[210] However, he trusts people without conditions, and pursues an ideal, innocent, and unrealistic world. Whenever he drinks, he always says, "I will go to the East Sea to catch a pretty whale." Even though he was chased by the police after being caught in a crackdown on long hair, he could not help but give money to a begging old woman. He believed in a newsboy's promise to bring change for a paper and gave a lot of money to him. He symbolizes trust, compassion, and innocence that is distant from the corrupt real world in the film. In the end of the film, he says that he's going to catch a whale but rides a bicycle to the East Sea to kill himself. As Song Changsik's song "Korae Sanyang"[Whale Hunting] plays, Yŏngch'ŏl falls off a very tall cliff with his bicycle and disappears into the waves below. Thus, Yŏngch'ŏl and his "pretty whale" symbolizes the childlike innocence, the pursuit

[210] Yŏngch'ŏl failed all the entrance exams to middle school, high school, and university, but his father's donation allowed him to enter the university, and even in the conscription physical examination, he was rejected, so he could not go to the military.

of unrealistic ideals, and the world of fairy tales which are prevalent and typical in the contemporary *p'ok'ŭ* songs. Thus, Yŏngch'ŏl is inevitably destroyed in reality, as the film shows.

As I have shown so far, the spectrum of youth culture includes various elements on the basic ground of the communal feelings and the affect of togetherness, including indigenization of Western culture, formal experimentation, and a distinction in taste from that of the older generation. These various elements appeared mixed and heterogeneous, especially in cinematic texts. For example, a combination of experimental cinematic techniques with popular melodramatic narrative in *Heavenly Homecoming to Stars* and *Yŏngja's Heydays* or a disparate mix of comedy and tragedy in *March of Fools* illustrate how this heterogeneity of youth culture was both evidence of new creativity and cultural energy sprouting in the oppressive sociopolitical of the *Yushin* regime.

However, this creativity and energy soon languished and declined in commercial pop culture. When it comes to youth films, the potential of youth culture bifurcated to become two commercial film genres: teen movies, which began to gain success in 1976, and hostess melodramas, which dominated in the Korean film industry since 1977. The production trends of the teen movie genre, which began its boom in 1976 with the success of *Chintcha Chintcha Itchima* [Never Forget Me] (Mun Yŏsong, 1976), can be divided into two groups. The first is comedies that mainly deal with male high school students' daily lives and friendships, including, the mega-hit movie, *Kogyo Yalgae* [Yalkae, A Joker in High School] (Sŏk Raemyŏng, 1976) that attracted 258,978, and the other is teen movies that deal with high school students' first loves as in *Never Forget*

Me. Interestingly, teen romance movies tend to have a sad ending. The heroine in these films is a terminally ill female high school student, and the films in this genre end in her death.[211]

From 1977 to 1980, hostess melodrama dominated the Korean film industry. Even after their peak in popularity, the genre became much more influential with the appearance of 1980s erotic movies, the direct successors of hostess melodrama genre. The narrative conventions of the hostess melodrama genre are as follows: A young woman from a wealthy family loses her chastity or failed in love, so she falls into promiscuity or she is forced to become a bar girl or prostitute to support her family after their sudden fall from prosperity. With the exception of *Do You Know Kkotsuni?* most female protagonists in this genre are female college students or at least highly educated women who dropped out of college.

Furthermore, hostess melodramas are produced to display women's sexuality for men's pleasure. Therefore, the voyeuristic view that objectifies women is noticeable in the film style. The opening scene of *Miss O's Apartment* is one such example and shows the heroine, Miyŏng, putting on makeup in front of the mirror. Using the extreme close-ups, the camera focuses on her opened lips as she applies red lipstick and her eyelashes as she puts on mascara. This fragmented image of a woman is typical of soft pornography as a way to introduce a woman as a sexual object. The genre of hostess melodrama usually

[211] Furthermore, this subgenre of teen movies, completely excludes teenage girl's sexuality from the narrative, emphasizing their romantic relationship without sex, calling 'friendship,' but the film's visual techniques sometimes blatantly display teenage girls' sexuality. For example, the opening sequence of *Chintcha Chintcha Mianhae* [I am Really Sorry] (Mun Yŏsong, 1976) displays teenage girls are hanging out at a field. In this sequence, are frequently inserted the shots emphasizing their legs in short pants from low angle, as a clearly voyeuristic view. In this regard, teen romance movies are not much far from hostess melodramas.

uses this type of visualization for its female protagonists: extreme close-ups of open lips and heavy-lidded eyes instead of showing the whole face; close-ups of body parts such as breasts, buttocks, or legs; shot compositions in which the male face is not exposed, etc. The departure of teen movies and hostess melodramas from the affect and communal sentiment of 1970s youth films demonstrates why these genres should be seen as commercialized derivatives or domesticated mutations of youth films. In other words, it can be said that teen movies and hostess melodramas are counterexamples of how and why the films discussed in this chapter are exceptional representations of the 1970s and can be named youth culture.

Chapter 5

Youthless Youth: Focusing on 1970s Young Female Factory Workers' Memoirs

In this chapter, I analyze 1970s South Korean young female factory workers' autobiographical memoirs. By analyzing the memoirs, I show that the young female workers who were denied their youth experienced the most youthful development and opened a path to liberation beyond the oppressive regulations imposed on them by South Korean society.

In previous chapters, I demonstrated that 1970s youth discourse had a tendency to exclude lower-class workers from the category of youth despite the actual realities of cultural consumptive practices. Although young urban workers enjoyed youth culture enthusiastically, 1970s popular music and films were only considered to be part of college student culture. The concept of youth belonged to only students, so factory workers who were the largest youth population in the 1970s were socially recognized only as "*kongdori*" and "*kongsuni*" which were the derogatory names for factory workers. Denied their youth, the young workers were in reality the most meaningful and problematic youth. In particular, unmarried young female factory workers embodied social contradictions in 1970s South Korea. They wrote the traces of their suffering and experiences with overcoming hardship, and through these memoirs, they argued the significance of their existence socially and historically.

Social Contradictions in Young Female Workers

Park Chunghee unprecedentedly ruthlessly oppressed South Korean civil society. The Yushin regime, implemented in 1972, granted Park full dictatorial powers through the dissolution of the National Assembly and the suspension of the Constitution. There were no limits on reelection. Park was also given the right to appoint a large portion of the National Assembly which ensured a permanent majority for the ruling party. The slew of emergency decrees that followed permitted a severe crackdown on society: protesters, activists, and dissidents were often jailed and tortured; many died in captivity or during confrontations with riot police or the military. However, despite such political oppression, the people's anti-dictatorial protests continued to intensify. Collective resistance and demonstrations continued from almost all social classes, including workers, peasants, the urban poor, and college students as well as the "*Chaeya*,"[212] which was constituted of liberal intellectuals, journalists, lawyers, pastors, and priests. These protests moved beyond demand for democratization and towards resistance against Yushin regime itself.

The labor struggles of young female workers sparked the anti-dictatorship movement of the late 1970s, which culminated in the Busan-Masan Uprisings in 1979. Since the self-immolation of Chŏn T'aeil in 1970, women workers struggled throughout the 1970s, and the sit-in of female YH workers at the New Democratic Party Headquarters in August 1979 became the direct trigger for the Busan-Masan Uprisings.

Female workers in their late teens became the epicenter of political change in the 1970s because of their unorthodox positioning in the budding Korean economy. They

[212] See Park Myunglim, "The Chaeya" in Kim Byungkook and Ezra F. Vogel ed. *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.

played a vital role in the process of economic development in the 1970s. When South Korea launched export-oriented industrialization in the late 1960s, the key export items were light industrial products such as textiles, clothing, wigs, and shoes. The light industry-centered developmental strategy needed a low-priced female labor force. Female labor was still cheaper than male labor. In addition, men had to serve in the army which interrupted the continuity of their employment. Female workers in the light industries led the Korean economy in the 1970s. Though heavy and chemical industrialization began in the 1970s, even in 1979, light industrial products made by female workers accounted for 47% of exports. Consequently, the proportion of women factory workers was high during this period. In particular, the proportion of female workers employed by large manufacturers with more than 1,000 employees was 61.8% in 1970 and 56.9% in 1979.[213]

The role that female workers played in the economy was so important that they were praised as industrial warriors or heroes of the national economy in official government documents and at government ceremonies. Yet despite playing such a leading role in industrialization and economic development, young female workers were not recognized socially. In fact, they were not only the most despised group in South Korean society, but also paradoxical beings who embodied the contradictions of South Korean society. The term *kongsuni* was used as a pejorative term for female factory workers. In South Korean society, workers were viewed as uneducated, ignorant, and defined as beings with moral defects. Thus, workers were dehumanized and deserved to

[213] Lee Okhie, *Han'guk Yŏsŏngnodongjaundongsa vol.1*[History of Korean Women Workers Movement] Seoul: Hanul Ak'ademi. 2001, 124-125.

be ignored,[214] which was a far cry from the socially and morally privileged status of students.

Although many female workers were young, they were not treated as young people. Female workers between the ages of 15 and 24 were socially regarded as adults regardless of their actual ages. This artificial ageist discrimination against female workers manifested itself in various ways. For example, female workers regardless of age were required to pay the adult fare for public transportation whereas students only had to pay 70%. So, when a 13-year-old factory worker had to pay a bus fare of 35 wŏn (approximately 7 cents) in 1975, a 22-year-old university student paid a student fare of just 25 wŏn (5 cents).[215] In addition, female workers were denied protection against child labor and were often exploited. At the time, the legal working age was over 13, but many teenage women lied about their ages and sought work in factories.[216] Even children as young as 10 years old could be seen working in small factories. Falsifying age for employment was such a common practice that many factory owners knowingly hired underaged young women and even welcomed the opportunity to do so. Unable to receive

[214] For an excellent analysis of the dominant education ideology and contempt for manual labor in South Korea, see Kim Dongchoon. *Shihŏmnŭngnyŏkchuŭi: Han'guk'yŏng Nŭngnyŏkchuŭinŭn Ŏttŏk'e Pulp'yŏngdŭngŭl Kanghwahanŭnga* [Test Meritocracy: How Korea's Unique Form of Meritocracy Underpins Inequality]. Paju: Changbi. 2022., especially Chapter 4.

[215] *Chosŏnilbo*. Aug.9.1975. 5; Students paid 50 percent of the adult fare for the subway in Seoul. The gap between adult and student fares was more significant in the 1960s; for example, in 1967, when the adult bus fare was 10 won, the student fare was just 5 won. Shin Sunae, who worked at the sweater factory in *P'yŏnghwa* Market from the age of 13, wrote that she felt so unfair that "a much older college student paid just 5 won for bus fare, while a hard-working young female worker like her had to pay 10 won for it."(Shin Sunae*. A Life as a 13-year-old Factory Girl*. M.A. Sungkonghoe University.2012.90)

[216] This was internationally the earliest working age compared to the ILO's Minimum Age Convention in 1973, which set the minimum working age at 15. When South Korea revised the Labor Standards Act in 1997, only then it raised the legal working age to 15 years old.

education or legal protection against child labor, these young women suffered from low wages and discrimination because of their gender and youth.

Female workers were also denied their femininity. In the 1970s, when patriarchal control over women was strong, women were at home or school in the normative sense. Female workers were portrayed to be nonsexual and masculine but paradoxically branded as promiscuous in public discourse and viewed as women with defects. However, what was more problematic was the prevalent view that female workers did not have the knowledge and culture to become good wives and mothers and therefore did not possess the characteristics to form good families.[217] Such public discourses that denied female workers their femininity conversely had the effect of obscuring exploitative and violent practices within the workplace that were based on gender.

Even within the workplace, gender norms were used to define and control female workers. They not regarded by their bosses and their male coworkers as "authentic workers." They were always treated as temporary and subsidiary workers expected to leave the workplace upon marriage. Moreover, aforementioned patriarchal gender norms that dictated that a woman's place was in the home, justified unequal treatment of women in the workforce because they were not seen as permanent employees. Therefore, even in the same occupation, the wage gap between male and female workers was very large, and on average, female workers' wages were only about 60% of that of male workers.[218] At their most pernicious, labor control strategies also included the threat and use of force. A

[217] For a detailed account of how the Park Chung Hee administration marginalized women's labor based on the model of male breadwinner and female housewife, see Moon Seungsook. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2005.68-94
[218] Koo Hagen. *Korean Workers: The Culture and Politics of Class Formation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001. 58-59

male manager controlled a large number of female workers with physical and sexual violence. Therefore, the position of female workers in the workplace was defined as inseparably intertwined with their gender and their position as laborers. This was an ethos that enabled the dictatorship to suppress the basic rights and unity of laborers and to implement state-led economic development at the expense of workers. In the 1970s, female workers in Korean society clearly show how the intersection of class and gender works.

Although young female workers were the most marginalized group in South Korea in the 1970s, and it was possible to exploit their labor and treat them in an inhumane way, they were never machines or slaves. The inhumane working conditions of long hours – an average of 15 hours a day – and even controlling bathroom breaks encouraged female workers to become involved labor activism. The most vehement dissident movement in South Korean society in the 1970s was aroused from the scene in which young female workers fought to create and protect democratic labor unions. They fought against companies which forced inhumane work conditions and even against state repression. Throughout the 1970s, women's active labor militancy was vehement and forceful. For example, the women workers of Tongil Textile executed a sit-in strike in which they resisted the combat police with their naked bodies. Even they were covered with the human excrement by male workers collaborating with the management.[219] The

219 Tongil Textile union was the first union which was transformed into a democratic union, by dislodging the company-supported male unionists in 1972. Afterwards, the company continuously plotted to overturn the democratic union. The female workers persistently fought against the company's schemes for the democratic union's destruction. Two well-known protests among their persistent labor resistance should be noted: The one was the naked demonstration in 1976. On the union election day, in order to protect their democratic union female workers started a sit-in hunger strike in the union office. On the third day of the

women workers at Control Data fought to obtain maternity leave and fairer promotion opportunities for women. The YH trade women's strike and the sit-in struggle at the New Democratic Party building served as a pivotal role in accelerating the collapse of Park Chunghee's military dictatorship along with the Busan-Masan uprisings.[220]

Female Workers' Memoirs: Acquiring Liberating Knowledge

In the course of the labor struggles, young female workers began to write and publish their own memoirs. These memoirs are some of the most meaningful literary writings in Korean cultural history. As female workers engaged in labor struggles that developed into the anti-dictatorship protest led by democratic unions, they suffered a lot of adversity and hardship including dismissal and arrest; however, they experienced political awakening and empowerment in the midst of these labor struggles. The three memoirs of

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strike, when they were surrounded by the riot police, the women workers protested by taking off their clothes as a last resort in front of the fully armed riot police. But the police violently dispersed them. The other significant protest occurred in 1978. On 22 February, on the day of union election, a male anti-unionist group rushed into the scene. With rubber gloves on their hands, holding baskets full of human excrement, the male intruders attacked the female labor union members who arrived to vote. They indiscriminately plastered excrement on the women workers. As a result of the assault, more than fifty female members were injured, and the election was canceled. The women workers continued their resistance by changing their strike site from the factory to a variety of public places, including a hunger strike at Myŏngdong Catholic Cathedral. These incidents will be mentioned in later analysis of Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoir. For more detailed explanations on the labor activism of Tongil Textile workers, see Koo Hagen 80-85, Lee Okjie 332-345.

[220] For a detailed account of female workers' labor movements in the 1970s, see Koo Hagen. 69-97. However, Koo emphasizes the influence of Christian organizations like the Urban Industrial Mission that made this possible. In addition, he analyzes that Christian labor activists such as Pastor Cho Wha Soon had a decisive influence on the formation of the class consciousness of female workers. On the other hand, for an account of emphasizing female workers' agency in 1970s labor movements, see Chapter 7 of Lee Okjie's *History of Korean Women Workers Movement.*

For an account that emphasizes the importance of Christian organizations in 1970s democratization movement, see Chapter 4 of Paul Chang. *Protest Dialectics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.2015. The autobiography of Pastor Cho Hwa Soon, who led the Urban Industrial Mission, also provided a great explanation of 1970s Christian labor movements. (Cho Wha Soon. *Let the Weak Be Strong: A Woman's Struggle for Justice*. Bloomington: Meyer Stone & Co.1988)

young female workers, Song Hyosun's *Sŏullo Kanŭn Kil* [Road to Seoul], Sŏk Chŏngnam's *Kongjangŭi Pulbit* [The Light of Factory], and Chang Namsu's *Ppaeatkin Ilt'ŏ* [The Lost Workplace] that will be mainly analyzed in this chapter portray this liberational experience acquired through labor struggles.[221] These memoirs were published and widely read with great resonance in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[222]

Though some historical research on 1970s labor studies deals with female workers' memoirs, the literature on the topic has significantly increased since 2000. The scholarship on the memoirs can be roughly divided into two groups according to their approach: in labor history and social sciences, the memoirs are regarded as historical records to testify major labor struggles of the 1970s, and in literary studies, as a part of labor literature, which developed into the 1980s minjung literature movement.

The monumental historical literature on 1970s female factory workers is Kim Won's *Yŏgong 1970: Kunyodulŭui Pan Yŏksa* [1970 Factory Girls: A Counterhistory].[223]

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[221] Song Hyosun*, Sŏullo Kanŭn Kil* [Road to Seou] Seoul: Hyŏngsŏngsa, 1982; Sŏk Chŏngnam, *Kongjangŭi Pulbit* [The Light of Factory], Seoul: Irwŏlsŏgak, 1984; Chang Namsu, *Ppaeatkin Ilt'ŏ*[The Lost Workplace], Seoul: Ch'angjakkwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1984

[222] As part of the democratic movements of the churches in the 1970s, the Urban Industrial Mission supported many democratic union movements in the factory area and operated night schools and labor education programs. In the labor education programs, writing workers were discovered, their writings were able to be published.

[223] Kim, Won, *Yŏgong 1970: Kŭ-nyŏdŭl-ŭi Pan Yŏksa* [1970 Factory Girls: A Counter-history], Seoul: Imagine Press, 2006. See also the following articles: Chŏng, Hyŏn-baek. "Yŏsŏng Nodongja-ŭi Ŭisik kwa Nodong Segye: Nodongja Suki Punsŏkul Chunsimuro" [Women Workers' Consciousness and the World of Work: Analyzing Workers' Writings]. *Women*. vol. 1.1985: 116-162; Kim, Jun, "1970-yŏndae Yŏsŏng Nodongja-ŭi Ilsangsaenghwal-kwa ŭisik: Irŭnba 'Mobŏm Kŭnnoja'rŭl Chungshimŭro"[Women workers' Everyday Life and Consciousness: Focusing on so-called Model Laborer's Writings], *History Studies*. vol.10.2002: 53-99; Yoon, Taek-Lim. "1970-yŏndae Yŏsŏng Nodongja-ŭi Ilsangsaenghwal-kwa Nodong Undong-ŭi Ŭimi: Yŏsŏng Nodongja-ŭi Kusulsaengaesa-rŭl Chungshimŭro" [The Everyday Life of Female Factory Workers and the Meanings of Their Labor Union Movement in the 1970's: from Their Oral Life Histories], *Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol 17.2002: 33-62; Yi Chŏnghŭi. "Hunyuktoenŭn Mom. Chŏhanghanŭn Mom"[Disciplined Bodies, Resisting Bodies]. *Issues in Feminism*. no.3. 2003:157-181; Yi Chŏnghŭi. "Yŏsŏng Nodongjaŭi Kyŏnghŏmikki"[Reading the Experiences of Female Workers]. *Women and Society*. vol.15. 2004. 131-153

This book faithfully reconstructs the real lives of female factory workers in the 1970s by carefully analyzing vast amounts of historical records, including oral history interviews, autobiographical memoirs, and even Shin Kyungsook's autobiographical novel, *Oettan Pang* [The Solitary Room][224], from the perspective of Foucauldian microscopic history. For all of the thorough work and attempts to properly contextualize female factory workers' writings, there are some serious oversights and issues related to the author's perspective and fundamental theoretical premises used to delve into the lives of female workers. The main goal of the book is to deconstruct the metadiscourse of the democratization movement by rewriting female workers' real lives beyond their labor struggles. Kim criticizes that the grand narrative of the South Korean democratization movement in which female workers were viewed only as resisting subjects against dictatorship who had homogeneous collectivity as working-class identity by ignoring their individual differences. He also argues that the male-centered view of the democratization movement discourse suppressed female worker's private desires and feminine interiority. Therefore, he aims to construct authentic identities of female workers by revealing their suppressed individual desires and the fissures of their labor militancy under the narrative construction of their heroic struggles.

It Is from this point of view that Kim approaches the autobiographical memoirs of 1970s female workers. He doubts the authenticity of the memoir, arguing that they were written as "the textbooks for consciousness-raising"[225] under the influence of

[224] Shin Kyungsook. *Oettan Bang* [The Solitary Room]. Seoul: Munhak Tongnae, 1995. The English-translated book translated by Ha Yun Jung, titled *The Girl Who Wrote Loneliness,* was released in 2015.
[225] Kim, Won. 116

intellectuals during the democratization movement. He even claims that the major parts of the memoirs describing labor struggles were produced through the intervention of intellectual, so they did not contain the female workers' own voices. According to the book, female workers' writings were generally edited with the "intention to spread the social movement's purpose of social change."[226] Through this editing, "not all of the content was fabricated, but self-rationalizations, concealments, intentional deletions, minimizations, and exaggerations appear in many places that discuss important issues and disputes."[227] He devalues the detailed descriptions of the process of female workers' establishing their working class identities as "typical democratization movement narratives" while praising the descriptions of their everyday lives and the confessions about personal feelings unrelated to labor unions and struggles as "detailed, valuable records of distress in worker's lives, desires of social mobility, and female gender identity."[228] However, by emphasizing the unpolitical aspects of the lives of female workers, Kim paradoxically distorts the political significance of women's struggles by underestimating their agency and literacy. In fact, women workers themselves strongly disputed the importance of outside intervention and the influence of intellectuals, vehemently arguing for ownership of their writings and experiences. They asserted they were not puppets blindly repeating someone else's writings.

Another issue with the very premise of Kim's argument is that he places the female worker in diametric opposition to the collective in order to critique the male-

[226] Kim Won, 110
[227] Kim Won, 114
[228] Kim Won, 116

centered ideology and collectivism in dominant discourses of resistance. Kim views the female worker to be an individual, which he treats as isolated and unproblematic. However, the category of an individual confronting society, history, or groups is not a neutral concept, but a bourgeois liberal modern one in which the individual is figured as self-sufficient, independent, and isolated. As an abstract concept that removes historical and social context, emphasizing the individuality of female workers eventually serves to reinforce bourgeois liberalism. The binary opposition of individual desire and the collectivist movement is a pseudo-dichotomy that is not appropriate for exploring the lives and struggles of 1970s female workers. As we will see later, the emphasis on female workers as individuals elides how emmeshed the lives of female workers were with one another; female workers had a strong sense of shared destiny, solidarity, and the affect of togetherness in their memoirs as I will later show in the analysis of the Song Hyosun, Sŏk Chŏngnam, and Chang Namsu's memoirs.

This abstract concept of the individual is even more problematic in that it combines with fixed gender identities to reinforce the dominant gender ideologies. By proposing that female workers' desires for social ascendancy, romantic relationships, and love marriages and identities as individuals are suppressed by the discourse of the democratization movement, Kim fails to recognize that these desires result from bourgeois gender norms imposed on women based on the dominant ideologies of patriarchy and heteronormativity. Moreover, this book does not cover female workers' reflecting on themselves to overcome these feminine norms in various ways.

Although Kim Won's this book was revolutionary for its attempts to provide a fuller account of the lives of female workers beyond their role in the labor and democratization movements, the move to renarrative these women's lives through a return to the private belies an unintended position that reinforces bourgeoise liberalism and femininity. In order to deconstruct the discourses of resistance and acknowledge the agency of female workers, a much more holistic picture of these women's lives is needed.

In literary studies, similar problems occur: the problem of emphasizing abstract individuality and underestimating women workers' working-class identities.[229] Ruth

[229] For the literary study on the memoirs of female workers in the 1970s, see the followings: Kim, Sung-Hwan, "1970-yŏndae Nodong Suki-wa Nodong-ŭi Ŭimi"[The Meaning of Labor Memoirs and Labor in 1970's], *The Journal of Korean Modern Literature*. vol. 37.2012: 353-386; Chun Junghwan. "Sŏbŏlt'ŏnŭn Ssŭl Su Innŭn-ga?"[Can the Subaltern Write?]. *Journal of Korean Literary History*, vol.47. 2011:224-254; Chang Sŏnggyu, "1980nyŏndae Nodongja Munjipkwa Sŏbalt'ŏnŭi Chagijaehyŏn Chŏllyak"[Self-Representaion Strategies of Subaltern in Collections of Literary Works of Laborer]. *Journal of Korean Literary History*, vol.50.2012:257-279.; Kwŏn Kyŏngmi, "Nodongundong Tamnon'gwa Mandŭrŏjin/Sangsangdoen Nodongja"[The Discourse of the Labor movement and created / imagined workers]. *The Journal of Korean Fiction Research*, vol.54. 2013:145-178; Kim Yerim "Ŏttŏn Yŏnghondŭl: Sanŏmnodongjaŭi Shimri Hokŭn Kŭ Nŏmŏ"[Laborers and Soul - Industrial Workers' 'Psychology' or Beyond It]. *The Leaned Society of sanghur's Literature*. vol.40.2014:339-380; Han Yŏngin "Kŭl Ssŭnŭn Nodongjadŭrŭi Shidae: 1980nyŏndae Nodongja Saenghwalgŭl Tashi Ikki."[The Era of Writing Laborer: Rereading Life-writings of Working-class in the 1980s]. *Journal of Eastern studies*. vol.86. 2014:9-44; Kim Kyŏngmin "1970-80nyŏndae Sŏbalt'ŏnŭi Chajŏnjŏk Kŭlssŭgi Yŏngu"[The Autobiographical Writing of Minjung in the 1970-80s].*Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. vol. 17. no.3. 2016:1-34; Kim Yangsŏn. "70nyŏndae Nodonghyŏnshirŭl Yŏsŏngŭi Moksori-ro Kiŏk/Kirok'agi"[Memorizing/Recording about Laborers in 1970's through Woman's Voice]. *Feminism and Korean literature*. vol.37.2016:7-38; Bae Haeun. *1980nyŏndae Munhagŭi Suhaengsŏng Yŏngu* [The Performativity of Literature in the 1980s]. Ph.D. Dissertation. Seoul National University. 2017; Kim Munjŏng. "1970nyŏndae Han'guk Yŏsŏngnodongja Sugiwa Kŭnyŏdŭrŭi Irŭm Ch'atki"[A Study on Women Laborers' Memoirs and Their 'Finding Name' in the 1970s Korea]. *Korean Studies*. vol.49.2018:309-333; Oh Jaŭn. "Munhakyŏgongŭi Kŭlssŭgiwa Chagi Chŏngch'ehwa"[Writings of 'Literary Factory girl` and Self-identification] *Journal of Modern Korean Literature*. vol.19.no.1.2018: 7-52; An Jiyŏng. "Yŏgongŭi Taep'yo (Pul)ganŭngsŏnggwa Minjujuŭiŭi Imgyejŏm"[Mis/Representation of Factory Girl and The Threshold of Democracy].*The Leaned Society of Sanghur`s Literature*. vol.55.2019:381-420; Yi Jŏngsuk. "1960-1970nyŏndae Yŏsŏng Nodongja Sugiŭi Mellodŭramajŏk Sŏnggyŏk Yŏngu"[The Melodramatic Characteristics of Memoirs Written by Female Laborers in the 1960-70s]. *Concept and Communication*. no.23.2019:273-299; Yi Daon. "1980nyŏndae Yŏgong Sugie Nat'anan Taehanggiŏgŭi Ŭimi" [The Counter-memory Aspect of the Factory Girls' Memoirs in the 1980s]. *Chunwon Research Journal*. no.19. 2020:207-242; Im Hŭihyŏn. "Yŏgongdŭrŭi Puronhan Pang"[The Rebellious Room of Female Workers]. *Gubo Hakbo:The Journal of Korean Modern Literature*. no.25.2020:101-126

Barraclough's pioneering *Factory Girl Literature* is a ground-breaking work that situates female workers' memoirs in the literary canon.[230] Barraclough's approach to factory girl literature foregrounds the subject of sexual violence while minimizing the political aspects of female workers' experiences in the labor movement. Given that she considers the sexual violence experienced by young female workers to be "the trauma of industrialization,"[231] her research aims to uncover the connections between industrialization and gender in South Korean history. As women came out of their homes and entered society as workers, they were exposed and subjected to constant sexual violence. However, such painful female experiences have rarely been explored in previous scholarship. Problematizing this academic trend, Barraclough analyzes the usage of the literary expression "*Yŏgong* [factory girl]" from the 1920s to the 1990s, showing the complicated matrix of sexuality and class violence in history of industrialization in South Korea.

While her analysis of the female worker's experiences of sexual violence in 1920s and 1930s novels is convincing, her chapters on the memoirs of female workers in the 1970s are less successful. This imbalance can be partly attributed to the characteristics of the literary texts themselves: most colonial proletarian novels written by intellectuals revolved around the sexual violence perpetrated against female workers while the memoirs written by "authentic proletarian"[232] writers in the 1970s were more

[230] Barraclough, Ruth. Factory Girl Literature: Sexuality, Violence, and Representation in Industrializing Korea. University of California Press, 2012.
[231] Barraclough, 3
[232] Barraclough, 56

heavily skewed to their labor union activities and the labor movement, rarely mentioning sexual violence.

This approach to the literary texts centering on the issues of sexuality and sexual violence – while deemphasizing the working-class identity and the labor movement – leads to her analysis and evaluation of Shin Kyungsook's *The Girl Who Wrote Loneliness*. This novel is acclaimed as "the last great work of industrial literature in South Korea."[233] Barraclough analyzes the novel focusing on Heejae's story of her premarital cohabitation, pregnancy, abortion, and suicide. She argues Heejae's story reveals "a new realism of female working-class life."[234] The most valuable South Korean labor literature for her is not a description of female workers' working-class identities, political awakening, suffering, and solidarity in the labor movement. Rather, she extols a factory worker-turned-middle class writer's reminiscence of her friend's sexuality and suicide as a vaunted example of canonical South Korean labor literature.

Barraclough values factory girl literature in a way that highlights a female worker's private experiences and female interiority. In other words, she approaches factory girl literature using the modern bourgeois conception that literature is an expression of an individual's interiority. This approach is prominent when analyzing the memoirs of 1970s female workers. She refers to the memoirs as "part of a broader labor literature while at the same time [they addressed] concerns and desires particular to working class women."[235] Reading the memoirs, she emphasizes the writers' passions for

[233] Barraclough, 137
[234] Barraclough, 118
[235] Barraclough, 91

literature, their readings of canonical literatures, including Hermann Hesse's *Demian*, Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and Heinrich Heine's poetry etc., their desires of becoming writers, and their heterosexual romances with male college students. However, she does not analyze their participation in the labor movements, which are the most important and most substantial part of their memoirs. This selection of research topics serves to reterritorialize factory girl literature in bourgeois literary norms.

In short, both Kim and Barraclough criticize the heroic metadiscourse of the democratization movement and share their academic interests in discovering 1970s female workers' private experiences and the individual in their memoirs. However, by overlooking the writers' working-class identities and embracing their writings through the lens of the bourgeois literary norms of individuality and interiority, Kim and Barraclough do not capture the ample political and aesthetic values of the memoirs.

This chapter emphasizes the elements overlooked in their research, such as working-class identity, experiences in labor unions, and labor movements in female workers' memoirs. I argue the memoirs are not only extremely individual but also collective texts, and this duality of the memoirs exhibits the political and aesthetic novelty of the memoirs. In the 1970s, female workers' autobiographical memoirs vividly record forced migration from rural regions to big cities, painful labor and inhuman discrimination in factories, and the workers' desperate struggles in labor unions. These records of their experiences were not produced through the intervention of intellectuals but were their authentic individual experiences. In addition, the memoirs are valuable collective texts in that they illustrate the trajectory of the emerging of Korean working

class of the time – one of self-formation process from the despised *kongsuni* to a politically awakened worker. These memoirs postulate a new kind of literary normativity that is completely different from the bourgeois literary norm of individuality by showing that the positions of the author and of the individual are not determined a priori but are functions that are constantly reconstituted.

These texts show the way women who were denied the value of youth, femininity, and work, redefine their meaning by acquiring class consciousness and developing into dignified female workers. The texts also go beyond the notion of literature defined in an institutional and conservative way by asking for what the writer writes and why the reader reads. The style of writing blurs the line that separates the writer from the reader, keeps in tune with the reader, and goes with the flow of the times. This narrative of first-person, both singular and plural, embodies a concrete personal life and a life shared by many, based on collective experience. And this is ultimately accomplished by participating in the community created by these texts.

Youthless Youth's Way of "the Other" World

All the memoirs that will be mainly analyzed in this chapter have coming-of-age stories which focus on the growth of a female worker from childhood to adulthood. The memoirs can be said to be working-class bildungsromane in that they have a developmental narrative structure in which a young woman achieves her authentic self-awareness and personal maturity through participating in the labor movement. The

developmental narrative structure of the bildungsroman starts with a naïve self who knows neither itself nor the world. While going through a series of important changes, the naïve self recognizes the world, acquires self-awareness and autonomous agency, and finally establishes a stable relationship between the self and the world. Thus, her belonging to the working-class simultaneously signifies her self-identity. This template provided by bildungsroman genre is useful for analyzing 1970s female workers' memoirs because it allows us to see personal development under contemporary social conditions and contexts. This journey of the young female worker shows an alternative path of growth and formation that is completely different from the path suggested by the dominant ideology in that young female workers embodied the contradictions of 1970s South Korean society.

Notoriously, however, the classic bildungsroman is a narrative in which the modern Western bourgeois man, as a universal human, fulfills himself in a society. As a bourgeois genre, the question of whether bildungsroman is the appropriate genre to capture the development of marginalized subjects such as workers, women, and the colonized has been continually raised. Franco Moretti argues that working-class bildungsroman is impossible because "this is not just a matter of imagination, but of reality." Citing Michelle Perrot, he states, "Young workers don't enjoy that period of ease and self-formation that makes individual sociability and autonomous forms of expression possible." Again, according to Moretti, for "a youth without the right to dream," the bildungsroman as a form is not allowed.[236]

[236] Franco Moretti. *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*. translated by Albert

However, this conception of bildungsroman presupposes a particular concept of universal human development – one that is posited by Western bourgeois modernity. Without such a premise, there have been continuous attempts to grasp the development of marginalized subjects through the appropriation of bildungsroman by pluralizing the concept of development. Charles Ferrall, for example, analyzed the bildungsroman novels of 1930s British working-class writers such as Harold Heslop.[237] Ferrall claims that the working-class bildungsroman is structured by the dreams and aspirations of working-class young men committed to the labor movement or socialist movement that differ from those of their bourgeois counterparts.

I do not claim that these autobiographical memoirs belong to bildungsroman as a fictional narrative. However, I use bildungsroman's frame for the textual analysis of the memoirs, because the narrative structure and tropes of bildungsroman provide considerable productive insight into the analysis of these memoirs.

Nevertheless, bildungsroman as a fictional narrative and autobiographical writing cannot be so clearly distinguished in terms of literary genre. In his study of the British bildungsroman, renowned Victorian literature scholar, Jerome Buckley, argues that bildungsroman is a literary genre in which factual writings and fictional writings are inseparably intertwined.[238] According to Buckley, most English bildungsromane are autobiographical. Autobiography, on the other hand, also employs fictional devices

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Sbragia, London· New York: Verso. 2000. Preface X

[237] Charles Ferrall, "The British Working-Class Bildungsroman during the Great Depression," in edited by Gloria McMillan, *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Class*. New York: Routledge, 2021. 231

[238] Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974

including selective memories, intentional omissions, and causal narrative plots. Thus, strict division between bildungsroman and autobiography based on what is "fictional" and what is "factual" does not have productive results, and it may be enlightening to view them in concert given the shared of self-formation and development.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that bildungsroman and autobiographical writing indistinguishably overlap in a period of historical upheaval when social structures and norms change rapidly. The generic norms of classical bildungsroman are based on a model of socialization in which the protagonist must compromise with social needs and norms. However, in a period of social upheaval when social status is dismantled, class relations are overturned, or a colonized country is liberated, a man has a completely different relationship with society from the classical bildungsroman structure. In such a period, a man's bildung cannot mean socialization and compromise. Rather, a man's bildung is accompanied by the construction of a new social order: personal growth leads to the building of social norms and vice versa. When this construction process is not fictional but a process of actual history, autobiographical writing represents not only historical fact but also a narrative of a man's self-formation. Bakhtin illustrates this point through his definition of the European bildungsroman as an autobiographical novel. According to Bakhtin, the European bildungsroman can be subdivided into types of which the most significant shows how the emergence of man is inseparably linked to the emergence of history.[239] For example, a bildungsroman that portrays a revolutionary's

[239] M.M. Bakhtin, "The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism: Toward a Historical Typology of the Novel" *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, translated by Vern W. McGee, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986, 23

self-formation during a socialist revolution would fall into this category. Similarly, African literature scholar Apollo Amoko asserts that autobiography is considered to be bildungsroman in the context of African literature: when a colony experienced liberation from the empire, an autobiography of a revolutionary who devoted himself to postcolonial nation-building is also a (postcolonial) bildungsroman. The process of growth in which a colonial subject becomes a postcolonial subject shows a trajectory of personal growth that is linked to national development.[240]

Lastly, in relation to working-class autobiographical writing, it is worth mentioning Barbara Foley, who extensively explored American proletarian literature in the 1930s, and Regenia Gagnier, who thoroughly examined working-class autobiographies in Victorian England. Foley asserts that some proletarian autobiographies can be considered bildungsromane. Foley emphasizes how proletarian writers appropriate the bildungsroman as a bourgeois literary form in order to narrate a proletarian worker's determination in acquiring class consciousness.[241] Similarly, Gagnier argues that a worker's political autobiography about the acquisition of class consciousness is the proletarian counterpart of the bourgeois bildungsroman. In this political autobiography, the individual self is not separated from the political project of the formation of the working-class. She claims that this working-class bildungsroman shows authorship and subjectivity in a collective way that is quite different from the

[240] Apollo Amoko, "Autobiography and Bildungsroman in African Literature*." The Cambridge Companion to the African Novel*. edited by Abiola Irele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 197. For the post-colonial bildungsroman, also see Ralph A. Austen, "Struggling with the African Bildungsroman." *Research in African Literatures* 46, no. 3 (Fall): 214–31.
[241] Barbara Foley, Radical Representations: Politics and Form in U.S. Proletarian Fiction, 1929–1941, Durham: Duke University Press, 297-298

notion of an autonomous and individual self, created in the bourgeois literary canon.[242] Both of their studies demonstrate that an individual worker's self-formation links to a collective working-class formation at a time when the working-class is historically emerging.

All the memoirs analyzed in this chapter describe South Korean industrialization from a first-person perspective as it is experienced by young women in their late teens to early twenties. Above all, the memoirs have a common developmental narrative structure. The writers are forced to migrate to metropolitan Seoul to get a job, leave their families, and go through a variety of low-wage manual jobs before entering a factory. After becoming factory workers, they join labor unions and thereby interact with their co-workers, intellectuals, and religious leaders. Through participation in the labor movement, they acquire both working-class identities and personal growth. The memoirs end with the writers being laid-off as a consequence of their participation in the labor movement. Despite their suffering, including being arrested and dismissed from their positions, they become more determined to commit to the labor movement. They firmly believe in the victory of the working class in the future. Although these memoirs end in defeat, the endings achieve development in the form of political awakening and an articulation of class consciousness. As laid-off workers, while continuing the struggle for reinstatement, the writers go beyond the issues in their own factories and move forward to participate in the anti-dictatorship democratization movement. The endings can be said to reveal the

[242] Regenia Gagnier, "Social Atoms: Working-Class Autobiography, Subjectivity, and Gender," *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 30, no. 3. 1987. 350-352

emergence of a new subject contemporaneous with the advent of historical time without giving in to the defeat of present reality.[243]

The journey of young women begins with forced migration from their home because of poverty. Their forced migration to a big city corresponds to being thrown into the world, as the beginning of self-formation in bildungsroman. They are thrown into the city alone, but this allows them to separate themselves from rural society and begin a process of self-development. They break away from the influence of traditional norms and start a life completely different from that of the older generation by living with female coworkers of the similar ages in the city.

Where these memoirs depart from traditional bildungsromane is in particular thematic concerns and rites of passage. Because these young women in their teens have been thrown into the labor world, completely deprived of their youth to be protected and educated, their memoirs do not typically include topics such as conflict and reconciliation within family relationships, school education, experiments of their talents, career searching, and exploration of social norms, especially sexuality, romantic relationships, and marriage. In particular, it should be noted that heterosexual romance and sexuality have been excluded from their memoirs. With the appearance of teen films as a popular genre in 1970s films, sexuality and (heterosexual) romantic relationship in adolescence emerged as social concerns. In these films, a central point of conflict in the developmental narrative of the student protagonists included something about romantic

[243] In this light, the memoirs' developmental plot reminds us of the form of the socialist bildungsroman. See Benjamin Kohlmann. "Toward a History and Theory of the Socialist Bildungsroman," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, Vol.40, No. 2, August 2015.

relationships or sexuality. The absence of such rites of passage illustrates the way female workers were completely excluded from the category of youth defined by South Korean society. As a result, female workers' coming of age narratives are a significant departure from “normal” teenagers' stories of formation. This confirms once again that the theme of youth and the narrative of coming of age belong entirely to the middle class and are based on class divisions.

Furthermore, the exclusion of the topic of sexuality and romance from the memoirs is a consequence of patriarchal control over female sexuality in 1970s South Korean society. Young female workers occupied a vulnerable social position. With the exception of some gendered occupations, such as teachers at girls’ schools and nurses, a woman in the workforce was never seen as desirable. For a middle-class woman, it was socially recommended that they get married immediately after graduating from school. Just because a woman was outside home or school, she had to suffer from the suspicion that she was a sexually “dangerous” woman. Young female workers received suspicion of being bargirls or prostitutes simply because they were not female students, but workers. Thus, they had to prove their chastity and morality and only their support and devotion to their families properly justified their labor. For women workers in this vulnerable social position, romantic relationships and sexuality were the most dangerous traps that could destroy their lives.

In this way, female workers’ development is fundamentally distinct from that of middle-class youth, in which a young man is thrown into society, fights against the oppression he faces or follows social authority, overcomes his inner conflicts, and finally

reaches personal maturity. The memoirs can be regarded as meaningful alternative growth records in that they show not only personal growth but also the shared development of the self and the community.

Friendship, Learning, and Struggles

I analyze three topics as pivotal moments of the self-formation of female workers in their memoirs: personal and political friendship, alternative education and liberating knowledge, and solidarity based on their vulnerable bodies. Mutual friendship through empathetic interaction and caring buttressed their lives in the factories and was a key to their personal and political growth. Second, their experiences in organizations outside of the formal educational system such as night schools, labor unions, the urban industrial mission (UIM), and the Christian Academy allowed them to gain the knowledge to radically change their lives. Lastly, as the most meaningful instance of their development, their participation in labor struggles resulted in violence perpetrated against their vulnerable bodies which paradoxically led to the formation of solidarity among female factory workers.

1) Female Workers' Friendship: Interweaving Intimacy with Political Bonding

Close ties among women workers and pseudo-familial mutual caring were the backbones of women workers' personal and political maturation. One of the biggest challenges faced by female workers who left their families at a young age in their early teens was isolation and loneliness. Song Hyosun expressed the distress of an isolated life "in which

radio was her only friend" in her first factory in Seoul.[244] When Chang Namsu recognized the pain of loneliness in her youngest coworker, she soothed it. Chang's co-worker thanked Chang saying, "You must have lived such a lonely life. How can you understand me so well?"[245] As such, the friendship shared between coworkers in the workplace played a crucial role in overcoming such emotional difficulties experienced at a young age.

The friendship between these women was not simply a form of private intimacy but also became the driving force behind organizing and protecting a democratic labor union. In particular, Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoir emphasizes the role of friendship and relationships with her co-workers in her participation in the union. First of all, it was "her friend, Hongja," who introduced her to Tongil Textile.[246] Hongja also invited Sŏk to join the club activities of UIM and the labor union. Sŏk actively engaged in the labor union movement partly because her "very precious" and "true friend" Ahn Sunae was fully committed to the labor union movement.[247] To Sŏk, participation in the labor union not only served to ensure that workers received humane treatment in factories but also fostered meaningful friendships with her co-workers

For Sŏk, although friendship with fellow workers was the most substantial motivation to engage in labor movement, it was also the most significant obstacle. Her friendships with work fellows caused one of the most serious crises in her labor union activities. Sŏk secretly organized the UIM club members in order to activate union

[244] Song, 39
[245] Chang, 44
[246] Sŏk, 18
[247] Sŏk, 32-33

activity in the weaving department, which lacked active union participation because of severe monitoring by middle managers. As Sŏk became close to Sunim, the team leader, she believed in Sunim enough to tell her about UIM activities. But Sŏk would soon learn that her faith in was her misplaced as Sunim immediately informed the company of their engagement in the UIM, revealing the secretive organizational activities. In response, the company persistently tried to placate then threaten and oppress all of the unionized workers including Sŏk. Under the menace of dismissal, Sŏk finally gave in to the company and declared she would quit the union. However, her best friends devoted to the union, Sunae and Yŏnbong, continued to fight against the company's oppression. Sŏk's acquiescence to the company's pressure created a rift between her and Sunae and Yŏnbong that led to complete estrangement between the once close friends and compatriots.

This bitter experience showed Sŏk that the intimate relationship of female workers in a factory cannot endure beyond the context of workplace politics. In a reality that oppressed the union organization itself, the unexpected result of the close relationship between women workers showed how arbitrary the boundaries between the private and the public were in the workplace. Though this incident was a source of emotional pain to Sŏk, it was also an opportunity for her to reflect on her process of formation as a labor activist.

Eventually, Sŏk rejoined the union and the friendship of the three was restored; however, the process of her coming back to the union and her friends was a painful process of looking back on her life. Sŏk later wrote that if she was to exclusively focus on

"only one thing, [her] life,"[248] meaning a life outside of the political aspects of factory work and the union, it would make her feel "lonely and depressed."[249] Though she tried not to see anything related to the union while quitting the union activities, turning a blind eye to the causes that she was once so passionate about was very painful for her. She wrote, "If I had not known the UIM and the labor union, I would not have suffered from such guilt. Knowing the right thing to do and not doing it is worse than not knowing it."[250]Despite the manager's threats of dismissal if she rejoined the union, Sŏk was unable to turn away from her co-workers' outcries. She eventually joined the sit-in to protect the democratic union.

While organizing fellow workers and running club activities, she sometimes experienced conflicts and disagreements with her friends. However, she and her friends learned to reach a consensus, acknowledging their differences. Through union activities, she experienced "the process of learning something very important about democracy, although some people said that democracy is the most reasonable yet the most troubling."[251]

Much of Sŏk Chŏngnam's knowledge and practice came from her friendships with fellow workers. The stories of learning and growing emotionally and politically through relationships with her friends are repeated many times throughout her memoir. For example, in the last part of her memoir, when she began the struggle for reinstatement as a laid-off worker, she created *Comrade Newsletter* to connect fellow

[248] Sŏk, 35
[249] Sŏk, 37
[250] Sŏk, 40
[251] Sŏk, 82

workers scattered across the country after being fired. For her, labor struggles were always intertwined with her friendships with her coworkers. Thus, her memoir is also a record of how friendship-based political solidarity develops.

As such, Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoir demonstrates the development of political solidarity with fellow workers, including miscommunication, discord, continuous conversations, and restoration of trust in various and detailed ways. Previous studies have defined the bonds of female workers as sisterhood based on personal intimacy and identity, overlooking the layers of various relationships among female workers.[252] However, as Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoir shows well, it is inappropriate to explain the solidarity of female workers as a concept of sisterhood based on homogeneous gendered experiences.[253] Their bonds are not given naturally through homogeneous experiences of sharing similar life histories and experiencing the same pain in the same factory. Rather, they are political bonds built up through conflicts of opinion and disputes over the directions of the union activism. In the course of these struggles, they sometimes experienced disagreement and disharmony, revealing sharp differences in political

[252] See Kim Won, "Chamaeaenŭn Kanghaetta"[Sisterhood Was Strong], in *Yŏkong 1970*.635-690. In addition, see the following for studies that define the political solidarity of female workers as sisterhood: Chŏng Misuk, *70Nyŏndae Yŏsŏngnodongundongŭi Hwalsŏnghwae Kwanhan Kyŏnghŏmsegyejŏk Yŏngu* [Study on the Women's Labor Movement in 1970's : the Case of Textile Industry] Ewha Womans University M.A.Thesis. 1993,Kim Muyong, "1970Nyŏndae Tongilbangjik Nodongundongŭi Chohap Minjujuŭiwa Chendŏ Chŏngch'I"[Union Democracy and Gender Politics in 1970s Labor Movement Activism of Tongil Textile] in Ch'a Sŏnghwan et al, *1970Nyŏndae Minjungun-dong Yŏngu* [Stidy on 1970s Minjung Movement] Seoul:Minjuhwaundong Kinyŏmsaŏp'oe[Korea Democracy Foundation], 2005

[253] For a representative discussion criticizing the problem of the concept of sisterhood that emphasizes the homogeneity of experience, see the following: Audre Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Berkeley: Crossing, 2007; Maria Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," *Hypatia* 25, no. 4. (2010).

positions. Despite their differences, they overcame their conflicts through continuous discussions and developed solidarity.[254]

This bond of women workers is an example of a political friendship that would serve as the basis for an alternative community. It is distinguished not only from close personal relationships but also from comradeship that is united for the revolutionary purpose and cause, praised in socialist revolutionary theory. Their friendships demonstrate the power to unite with one another in the struggle for justice and resistance against suppression, but they simultaneously are accompanied by the process of self-formation and reflection on others. Of course, the concept of friendship has, as Derrida has painstakingly criticized, a discursive history of privileged fraternity through the double exclusion of women – the exclusion of friendship between women and the exclusion of friendship with women.[255] However, the concept of friendship also has the potential to be crafted into the basis of feminist politics.

The new model of friendship proposed by Marilyn Friedman as the basis of an alternative community to counter abstract individualism[256] or the discussion of civic friendship presented by Sibyl Schwarzenbach as a powerful political means of care ethics can be referred to.[257] This bond, which was developed by trust and solidarity among women factory workers in the process of fighting oppression and forming the self,

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[254] Since Sŏk Chŏngnam and her colleagues were fired from Tongil Textile, the process of evaluating and discussing their struggle for reinstatement shows this well. See Sŏk 140-149.
[255] Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins, London· New York: Verso, 1997. 236-239
[256] Marilyn Friedman, What are Friends For? Feminist Perspectives on Personal Relationships and Moral Theory. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1993, 231
[257] Sibyl Schwarzenbach, "Civic Friendship: A Critique of Recent Care Theory"' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol.10, no.2. 2007. 233

disrupts the boundaries between the private and the public and leads to intimacy and responsibility with class consciousness. Such solidarity among female workers would be an example of a political community in which the self and the collective develop together.

2) Liberational Knowledge

It can be said that learning and education play the most significant role in a person's growth and development. However, women workers in the 1970s were the least educated people in contemporary Korean society. Upon graduating from compulsory elementary school, they had no choice but to jump into the workplace. In Korean society, where social discrimination regarding educational background was (and still is) widespread, women workers suffered from the social stigma that they were ignorant because they were not educated. Consequently, they were forced to accept the social rank of being the lowest in Korean society and the disgrace that came with such a label. Given this educational discrimination and the resultant contempt for workers, it is only natural that the female workers at the time had a strong desire for learning. They tried to realize this aspiration while they worked in factories, but instead of a more traditional education, they acquired a new sort of knowledge in the field through a totally different and alternative education as they formed their identities and developed themselves.

Desire to learn

Many women who worked in factories at the time recall that one of the most painful memories in their lives was to see schoolgirls in uniforms. It was because they were

unable to attend school at a young age and had to become workers. Their envy for schoolgirls refers to their earnest desire to learn. As mentioned above, being uneducated meant moral and personal flaws in Korean society at the time, and the workers' self-awareness as uneducated and flawed beings made them accept low wages and harsh working conditions. Thus, lack of education was justification for subjecting workers to poor working conditions.[258]

As a result, female workers' desires to learn also meant intense longing for a departure from their despised manual jobs and for upward social mobility. To this end, many factory girls participated in night schools,[259] school qualification exams, and group educational activities established by Christian organizations in order to go to a higher school and become office workers. These tendencies are noted by Song Hyosun who stated, "It [was] rare for factory workers not to go to an academy or something."[260]

However, under the circumstances at the time, it was almost impossible for female workers to work during the day and study at night. Above all, the long 13-hour workday and frequent overtime work made it impossible to go to night school or academy. If a young factory girl wanted to go to night school, she had to refuse overtime,

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[258] Refer to the following for a more in-depth discussion of educational fervor and the desire for upward mobility in Korea after the liberation: Sorensen, Clark W. 1994, "Success and Education in South Korea" *Comparative Education Review*, 38(1),1994:10-35; Kim Dongchoon, "Han'gugŭi Kŭndaesŏnggwa 'Kwaing Kyoyukyŏl'," [Korean Modernity and Educational Fervor] *Kŭndaeŭi Kŭnŭl: Han'gugŭi Kŭndaesŏnggwa Minjokchuŭi* [Shadow of Modernity: Korean Modernity and Nationalism], Seoul:Tangdae.2000, 133-177

[259] For night school in the 1970s, see. Ch'ŏn Sŏngho. " Nodong Yahagŭi Tŭngjang"[Emergence of Workers' Night School],*Han'gukyahagundongsa :Chayurŭl Hyanghan Yŏjŏng 110Nyŏn* [History of Korean Night School Movement: 110 years of Journey to Freedom], Seoul: Hagishisŭp, 2009.. 290-344

[260] Song 99

which eventually resulted in either her being fired or leaving the factory on her own.[261] The only way to gain an education while working in factories was to get management to reduce working hours through collective action, which was the main reason why working time reduction became a major goal in unionized factories.[262] Yet the unions' fights to shorten the workday and protect their spaces for education were continually thwarted. At best, participants were threatened with termination, and at the most extreme, they were even arrested. Thus, the women's aspirations for learning were nothing but vain hopes that were doomed to be frustrated.

Beginning of New Knowledge

Though the desire to learn and education in night school and various small group activities appear in almost every worker's memoir, they are particularly remarkable in the memoir of Chang Namsu. She already went to night school when she was working at a small confectionery factory. Like other workers, she refused to work overtime to attend night school, resulting in losing her position in the factory. She then got a job at Wonp'ung Textile but was forcibly assigned to the most difficult department because she

[261] Because large-scale factories with more than 500 employees had labor unions, workers were not immediately fired for refusing to work overtime. However, even if a worker went to a factory with a labor union, it was very difficult for a worker to go to a night school, having to endure many disadvantages and threats within the factory. Song Hyosun, Sŏk Chŏngnam and Chang Namsu all worked in large-scale factories with labor unions.

[262] The first major struggle of the Ch'ŏnggye Union was a struggle to reduce working hours so that workers could participate in the night school run by the union. Shin Sunae wrote about the Ch'ŏnggye Union's struggles to reduce working hours in detail (Shin, 80-90). Also, the sit-in demonstration on September 9, 1977, the fiercest protest to the extent that 14 union leaders were arrested, was also to protect the "Labor Classroom," which was an educational space for workers. (Lee Okjie, 327, Shin, 98-101)

did not participate properly in overtime. While working at Wonpung Textile, she still attended the academy at night so that she could pass the GED.

> I studied abacus calculations diligently and memorized English words and took the *hakwon*'s school bus, all the while dreaming of when I would progress to enter a good office. Despite the fact that working and studying was more than I could handle, the prospect of only working in the factory was unbearable. Every day I would tell myself, only study hard and one day you can leave this life behind, and I believed it utterly.[263]

Chang's belief in the power of education and its connections to upward mobility soon changed when she attended the labor union and the Friday prayer meeting of the UIM and learned a little bit about how the world worked. She arrived at the thought, "No matter how hard I try and study at the academy, I will not become an office worker. Even if I get a job in the office, what's the big deal?"[264] In the end, she read the books in the union library rather than studying for the GED and learned that "workers were the heroes of building a better society"[265] and that the union was a place where people learned and practiced "to live as human beings."[266] She realized that rather than striving to acquire knowledge to improve her status, she had to fight against "business owners with money, power, and knowledge who treated [them] unfairly"[267] and that she had to contend with the reality that "few companies actually obeyed labor standards or labor laws, even though they existed."[268]

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[263] Chang, 27
[264] Chang, 28
[265] Chang, 30
[266] Chang, 29
[267] Chang, 29
[268] Chang, 30

With her newly acquired knowledge, Chang Namsu went on the path of liberation in solidarity with all the fighting workers. Her activities in the union and the UIM led her on the path of solidarity, participating in the struggles of workers at other factories as well as in her own workshop. She wrote and recited a prayer to support the struggle of Pangrim Textile workers at a prayer meeting to solve the problem of unpaid wages in Pangrim Textile.

> God, how do we find our deprived wages? Where should we go to receive the pay for this blood and sweat? The Labor Office and the higher-ranking people all turn away, so who should we appeal to? We, workers who have to work at night, taking awakening drugs. They threatened, and gave us all kinds of hard work, just because we asked for unpaid wages. They bullied even the guarantors of our employment. We, workers who cannot rest even on Sundays when we want to worship you. Oh, Lord, how long will you look on us? How many workers will be exploited unknown to other people? Even the most exemplary factory, Pangrim Textile exploits workers like this. How many workers are being exploited without being known to others?[269]

In addition, she joined the desperate struggle of Tongil Textile workers against the company after the Excrement Incident in 1978 to destroy the democratic union, and given the lack of press coverage, she made a firm resolution to publicize the workers' struggles. Chang Namsu jumped on the podium of the Easter joint worship service that was broadcast live that year and was dragged out while shouting the truth about the Tongil Textile incident along with six other female workers, including this factory ones. As a result of this incident, the Tongil Textile case received a lot of attention as a social problem, and all of the workers involved in the protest during the worship, including her, were arrested. However, this was the starting point of her growth as a labor activist.

[269] Chang 61(This prayer was also published in the January 1978 issue of *Ssiarŭi Sori* [Voice of Seeds](11-13)

Afterwards, despite being arrested and fired, she continued her activities with the union and grew into a labor activist.

The knowledge women workers acquired through small group activities, unions, and labor struggles was fundamentally different from the kind of knowledge they had wanted to receive. Rather, the former provided a new perspective to criticize the latter. Through this new kind of knowledge, workers were able to acquire class consciousness: a new identity as workers who were conscious of their symbolic positions in society. They no longer accepted the word *kongsuni* as a derogatory term. Rather, they resolutely rejected the servitude and slavery demanded by the ruling ideology and developed self-affirmation and pride as the working class.

The new knowledge of the workers now involved a new sort of artistic sensibility. There remain some scripts of the workers' plays in Chang Namsu's and Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoirs. In particular, Chang describes the production process from creation to performance in great detail in her memoir. Chang, who originally wanted to become a poet, became a *madanggŭk* playwright and mask play actress. She embodied a different kind of art from the art she envisioned when she dreamed of becoming a poet through learning mask dance drama, becoming the head of a mask dance class, and preparing and performing in *madanggŭk* performances. She was particularly interested in *madanggŭk* not only because "there was substance in the *madanggŭk*," but also because "the script was able to be appropriately devised by modifying it as much as possible."[270] Based on her own experiences, she wrote a script for a *madanggŭk* about the struggle for a

[270] Chang 155

democratic union with her fellow workers. Her memoirs contain the main content of this script, which she performed at the *Wongp'ung Nori Madang*.[271]

In the script is a modification of the y*angban* (the nobleman) Act of the *Pongsan T'alch'um*. The script exposes the unfair reality that workers face and conveys the necessity of a democratic union by changing the *yangban* and *malttugi* (servant) characters to an employer and a worker, satirizing and mocking the former. It reveals how workers without class consciousness acquire their identity as workers by realizing that they have to unite around the union to face oppression. This *madanggŭk*, co-created and performed by workers in the *t'alch'um* (mask dance) class at Wongp'ung Textile, could be said to be one of the most typical cases of the unity of life and art. Through this exemplar of workers' art, the workers proved that they had the language to describe their experiences and as subjects of representation, the capacity to unify life and art.

3) Struggles: Suffering Bodies and Solidarity in Vulnerable Bodies

The memoirs of women workers devote much of their descriptions to poor working conditions and the struggles led by trade unions. Among them, the most remarkable thing is their own vulnerable and suffering bodies. Song Hyosun vividly documents the suffering of workers who are sick everywhere, including their respiratory organs, legs, and waists, which was caused by hard work all night long. She says of the pain of no

[271] Chang 155-166. The entire script of the *madanggŭk*, titled *Wongpung Nori Madang 79* is included in the following book: Minjokkŭk Yŏn'guhoe, ed. *Minjokkŭk Taebonsŏn 3: Nodongyŏn'gŭk P'yŏn* [Scripts of National Drama 3: Workers Performances], Seoul: P'ulpit, 1991, 11-20

sleep, “If you let me sleep, it won’t be a waste even if I give my life [to work].”[272] Her memoirs are full of descriptions of the ailing bodies of young female workers due to harsh working conditions: Sunhŭi who was eventually hospitalized for tuberculosis of the spine, and Mikyŏng whose health deteriorated to the point that she could not work even though she was the breadwinner in her family.

In addition, Song also records repeated assaults on fellow female workers in the workplace, which prompted her to actively take part in union activities. Daeil Chemical, for which she worked, was famous for its harsh working conditions. In particular, assaults on female workers happened frequently, and a male manager even “beat and strangled a female worker causing her to pass out.”[273] However, verbal abuse and assaults by male middle managers against female workers were common in almost every workplace. This was not just the result of patriarchal and sexist contempt for younger women. Rather, it was a deliberately chosen method of control used by middle management as the means to prevent workers' resistance to their illegally exploited labor.[274]

Violent language, sexual harassment, and physical violence based on gender segregation thus belonged to the structural exploitation strategy of companies to prevent the resistance of female workers under the state's acquiescence in 1970s Korean society. Class and gender, inseparably intertwined, operated to control women workers.[275]

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[272] Song 76
[273] Song 60
[274] Song Hyosun writes that a male manager who assaulted and harassed female workers was fired after the union was dissolved. He, who was fired because “he was worthless,” apologized and regretted his past mistakes to the fired female workers. (Song, 207)
[275] Labor control was the most essential condition for the Park Chunghee regime’s export-oriented economic development plan, and as such, the formation of labor unions and workers' struggles were regarded as challenges to the regime. In the case of major democratic labor unions such as Tongil Textile

Physical violence was openly and baldly inflicted on the bodies of female workers to elicit compliance and obedience through fear – a strategy of control commonly seen in the military.[276] The bodies of violence-stricken and wounded female workers were thus politicized.

The significance of the incomprehensible naked protests of female workers in Tongil Textile can only be fully revealed through understanding the meaning of this violence against the bodies of female workers. Tongil Textile women workers created one of the most significant political moments in the 1970s Korean society by exposing their vulnerable bodies against violence.

> We got thirsty and hungry. The more we did, the louder our cries grew... Thus, we suffered from hot weather and hunger, and in the afternoon, some people, one after another, lost consciousness, collapsed, and were taken to the hospital. Just then, riot police buses came crashing in with a buzzing sound... Some of us wept in fright at the sight of fully armed combat police and terrifying police buses we had never seen before. In the midst of fear and tension, we were all united as one mass, as if we had made a promise. But we were nothing but weak and helpless women. Finally, the time has come.
> "I've been told that men, whether cops or not, can't touch naked women." Upon hearing someone's urgent voice, all of us quickly took off our clothes. We were all half-naked, waving our fists and singing songs. As a last resort in the face of overwhelming violence, it was an abrupt act that shook off both shame and fear. We huddled together naked, fully surrounded by armed, baton-wielding SWAT teams and the men of the company. Can steel be stronger and harder than this? No one dared to touch us. Like a huge rock, like a time bomb that would explode just by touching it.[277]

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and Bando Corporation, union destruction was carried out by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), such as inspections, and physical threats and violence were also applied by KCIA agents. This process is recorded in great detail in the final report of the Development Committee for Clarifying the Past under the National Intelligence Service (NIS). (The NIS Development Committee for Clarifying the Past, *Kwagŏwa Taehwa Miraeŭi Sŏngch'al 5* [Conversation with the Past, Reflection on the Future 5], NIS, 2007, 317-364)

[6]5 Thee discipline method of the Korean military through harassment, abuse and violence was the archetype of member control within various organizations in South Korean society, such as schools and companies. See Moon, 44-67.

[277] Sŏk 48-49.

In the face of overwhelming violence, women workers carried out steadfast resistance with their vulnerable bodies. This incident of Tongil Textile in 1976 evokes the dual meaning of vulnerability as the basis of ethics and politics, as Butler emphasizes. Butler argues that vulnerability exposed to violence and death as a primary existential condition can "enter into agency."[278] According to Butler, resistance is such that vulnerable bodies are exposed in solidarity. In vulnerability we may then find strength and a way of resisting against paternalistic institutions. Thus, resistance should be accepting the chains of dependence that comes from vulnerability and uniting in vulnerability.

In Butler's terms, the Tongil Textile female workers' struggle can thus be seen as one in which vulnerability is a position of strength rather than weakness and of resistance rather than passivity. When the workers desperately shed their clothes shouting, "Men can't touch naked women," they lean on bourgeois discourses of behavior about femininity and masculinity. However, their strategy against the suppression of state power exposes the ideology of the dominant discourses surrounding gender and sexuality. Ignoring their appeals, the police mercilessly assaulted and subdued the female workers in less than 30 minutes by grabbing them by the hair and striking them with batons.[279] Their actions revealed that the desirable sexual morality demanded by this discourse is only for bourgeois women at home, and that the body of a working woman is neither an

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[278] Judith Butler, "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance." *Vulnerability in Resistance*. Ed. Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti, and Leticia Sabsay. Durham: Duke UP, 2016, 25. For more discussions on vulnerability, see Butler, *Precarious Life: the Powers of Mourning and Violence*. New York: Verso, 2004; *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015,

[279] Sŏk, 49. For detailed explanations of this incident, see Koo, 80-82. Cho, 62-67

object of sexuality nor of moral reputation, but a mere bearer of labor power which must conform to the demand of capital or be violently destroyed.

Even though these women workers were so vulnerable as human beings, they did not give in and united in the face of such violence. These women embodied the highest politicality by displaying their weakness in the solidarity of vulnerable bodies as the primary essential condition of human beings.

Enacting Texts, Resonant Texts

These memoirs written by women workers have been defined in Korean cultural history as part of the 1980s people's culture movement or as its prehistory – an earlier form that influenced 1980s labor literature represented by Park Nohae's poems and Pang Hyŏnsŏk's novels. However, the literary value of these texts still remains controversial. When they are to be seen as literary works rather than merely historical records concerning the lives of women workers in the 1970s, where can their values and qualities be found?

The writings of workers have always been questioned for their literary qualities and have been systematically excluded from the literary canon. As in Hoggart's discussion of literature being defined by writing that provides a specific form of knowledge about society, scholars have historically relegated the writings of workers to belonging to sociological or historical record rather than being part of the literary canon.[280] Similarly, Rancière remarked, literature does its own politics because it

[280] Richard Hoggart, "Literature and Society," *Speaking to Each Other Volume 2*, New York: Oxford

involves the "distribution of the sensible" that allows the visible, the speaking, the appearing, and so forth.[281] Therefore, the very categorization of certain literary texts is a political categorization enacted through naturalized literary concepts or aesthetic categories that function as ideologies. The now widespread view of literature as an aesthetic and special use of language that is differentiated from texts that employ the language of everyday life presupposes the concept of an isolated individuality, which relates to the romantic idea of authorship in two respects. On the one hand, romanticism regards the peculiarity of a text realized through style (e.g., the rhetorical skills for the aesthetic use of language and the capability of unified composition and description) as the unique expression of the author. More fundamentally, romanticism views literature not only as a narrative of an individual's inner self, but also as a process of constructing individuality itself that is distinct from the world or society. Therefore, if a text does not possess sufficient textual qualities related to individuality and interiority, it is considered an inferior report, or worse, political propaganda, not a literary work.

I argue in this section that as a literary text that the memoirs from women workers, having the various characteristics that go against this concept of literature, dismantle the old formal normativity of individuality and interiority in literature and open up new aesthetic possibilities. Furthermore, I show that we can rethink the way we enjoy literature today by considering how these texts were produced and circulated at the time.

It should be mentioned first, in the formal level, that these memoirs were all written retrospectively from a first-person point of view, but that, paradoxically, they all

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University Press, 1970, 19

[281] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Literature* translated by Julie Rose, Cambridge: Polity, 2011, 152

have formal characteristics that constantly invade and blur the borderline of the "I" as the first person. The first-person singular pronoun "I" (*na*) and the first-person plural "we" (*uri*) are frequently interchanged in almost every page of the books, and the boundary between subjective and objective narrations is also obscured. In Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoir, she employs the third person point of view when borrowing the voice of her friend Sunae to tell the history of the democratic union of the Tongil textile factory and when she is told by Sunae about the struggles that have occurred in her absence between leaving the union and returning for the sit-in protest. Song Hyosun and Chang Namsu also insert the life stories of fellow female workers as independent stories into their own memoirs. Song Hyosun tells the stories of fellow workers she heard about at the UIM retreat using their own voices under the subheading "The Road I Have Walked" and writes about the life story of her co-worker Kim Sunhŭi, who she learned about while preparing an event to help Kim who was at risk of being fired due to tuberculosis, under the subheading "Sister Sunhŭi." Chang similarly tells the life stories of co-workers who were talked about during the training class of the trade union under the title "Our Lives Are Exactly the Same."[282] She also includes the story of Unhŭi, a female worker who she met in the same cell after being imprisoned for an Easter Service Incident, under the title "Unhŭi's Love Story."

Thus, the "I" in their memoirs represents the voice of the community as a whole as well as that of an individual. Even when the authors use "I," it functions as both the individual and the collective because the stories of other female workers that are reported

[282] Chang 144

exactly as they were heard by the writers without authorial intervention illustrate many similarities. Although the lives of the female workers in these stories ran different courses, it is the similarities that function as a common sensibility and the basis for knowledge and the activism of Korean female workers. When the authors deliver the life stories of their co-workers in their memoirs, we are reminded of Benjamin's storyteller, who, when the value of experiences is still respected, forms and maintains communities by communicating collective experiences through stories.[283]

Another significant formal characteristic of the memoirs that must be mentioned is genre hybridity. They embody their own hybrid writing that blends various styles of writing: letters, diaries, poems, prayers, petitions, song lyrics, written apologies, court decisions, transcripts of small group discussions, play scripts, and so forth. The authors practiced such writing because they self-consciously saw themselves as representatives of their own communities and the union or the group of workers, and their purpose of writing was to convey their unfair suffering and righteous struggle to the outside. That is why all kinds of writing materials regarding their struggles were put into their memoirs.

They manifest their intentions directly in their writings. Song Hyosun is clear that she was motivated by the suggestions of her co-workers to write about things that happened to them, saying, “I just write to inform the society of the reality of the workers who suffer just like us today.”[284] Sŏk Chŏngnam says that she writes to make known what happened in the Tongil Textile Incident and how the union really struggled

[283] Walter Benjamin, “The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov” *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, translated by Harry Zohn, New York: Schocken, 2007
[284] Song, 208

afterword. Chang Namsu begins her book by saying that as an ordinary female worker who "just realized that workers were unfairly suffering and being despised and that such pain and contempt was unjust,"[285] she fought to break free from the yoke of injustice. These writers ask for understanding by saying that their writing is not only an individual's "clumsy record" but also "reduced to an insufficient one due to many limits,"[286] or that "I might have omitted or many important things without delivering them."[287] Given this, all of them are not only conscious of the conditions of the working class, but also locate themselves as subjects of representation that convey the struggles of workers and their writing as a medium between the individual subject and the community. Thus, they produced their memoirs from their self-conscious efforts to convey the collective voice of fellow workers, though their memoirs consist of "the feelings and emotions of an individual who participated in the 1970s labor movement rather than its wrapping up or summary,"[288] as Sŏk Chŏngnam remarked.

Although not intended by the authors, this hybrid style yields unexpected and original aesthetic effects. First of all, the use of this style introduces the perspectives of multiple struggle participants into their narration, repeating its abrupt shift from the first-person subjective perspective of a single narrator to the objective one of the collective subjects. For example, when Chang Namsu narrates the struggle to defend the Wonp'ung Textile labor union against the subversive activities in her memoirs instead of describing in detail how they went to a sit-in at the factory, she includes the *madanggŭk* script,

[285] Chang, 3
[286] Chang, 256
[287] Sŏk, Preface
[288] Sŏk, Preface

which was co-created and performed by the union mask dance team during the strike, exactly as it was written. Likewise, when she writes of her dismissal, she puts in letters written to her by fellow workers rather than expressing her feelings directly. As she chooses to insert multiple perspectives into her memoirs, their formal consistency is destroyed, and the text is fragmented. Her decision to include these raw materials as part of the union's collective action in which she participated yields some aesthetic effects of abbreviating and symbolically delivering these struggles akin to a montage in film or conveying the author's feelings as a participant at a much more objective distance. Thus, these materials, selectively inserted into the text by the author's judgment regardless of the original context, not only create an aesthetic shock through such abrupt inserts but also efficiently and objectively deliver the event as synecdoche for her struggles.

The formal hybridity and the alternation of various narrative perspectives represent a model of writing that crosses the boundaries between the writer's individual writing and the community's collective writing. In the existing Korean literary history, the memoirs of female workers have been regarded as texts that fall short of literature because, above all, various writing forms and various viewpoints appear in them. This was evaluated as a textual characteristic that appeared because these women lacked the literary skills and expressive ability to consistently compose an entire narrative. However, the stylistic elements of the memoirs should be seen as the realization of the authors' intentions to bring in the perspective of many community members and simultaneously reveal their individual position and those of their fellow workers. If their texts had been a fictional narrative of an author recognized within the literary institution, these formal

features would have been defined as the aesthetically calculated, borrowing from premodern style, a postmodern hybrid imitation, or Brecht's alienation effect. This hybrid writing should be defined as a trace that interweaves the lives of countless people through the author's mediation, moving back and forth between the individual and the community, and at the same time as an independent stylistic characteristic separate from institutional literature.

Worker Literacy and the Reading-Writing Community

As noted above, these memoirs can be defined as the writing that is individual as well as collective. They transcend the boundaries of individuality and, thereby, interiority by interweaving individual and collective experiences. This peculiarity cannot be understood apart from the context of the 1970s labor movement. Particularly noteworthy is the reading-writing community of workers. It was in this community that memoirs were produced and circulated as part of class culture developed by the workers.

Contradictory to common perceptions of the literacy of the working-class, factory workers were good at reading and writing and enjoyed both in their daily lives. Many surveys on the lives of workers in the 1970s state that the favorite leisure activity of female workers at that time was always reading, although most of them were low-educated with no secondary education.[289] Actually, illiteracy rate in the 1970s Korean

[289] According to the following survey results, female workers answered reading as their favorite leisure activity in all surveys, while male workers chose exercising or watching TV. (Yun Hŭisang, "Kŭlloch'ŏngsonyŏnŭi Yŏgawa Kŭ Iyongshilt'aee Kwanhan Chosayŏngu"[A Study on the Leisure Time of Working Youth*], Paper Collection of Chuncheon Teachers College*, vol 13.1973, 89; Ryu Kihyŏng, "Kŭlloch'ŏngsonyŏnŭi Saenghwalshilt'aee Kwanhan Yŏngu"[A Study on the Life Condition of Labor Youth], *Law Review*, vol. 21. No. 1, 1979, 13) Moreover, the percentage of workers who answered reading

society was very low and reading was the cheapest means to spend one's spare time considering the extreme low-wage conditions. Also, urban workers at the time were enjoying active daily writing activities through popular pen pal culture, sending their stories and song requests to the radio station, contributing their letters to various magazines, and so forth. They sometimes sent their stories to pen pal programs in popular magazines or on radio broadcasts to find a friend to go on a date,[290] and sometimes contributed their writings to magazines.[291]

When the workers who participated in the democratic union movement created their unique reading-writing community, they were embedded in this daily reading-writing culture. After reading other workers' writings about their struggles, non-unionized factory workers jumped into the movement. And they, in turn, made the experiences of their own struggles into writings. With the movement for the democratic union, a social network was thus formed in which reading was transferred into writing and readers became writers. Their writings could not only be seen in the newsletters and bulletins of trade unions and workers' small groups and the weekly reports of some *minjung* and

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as their favorite leisure activity is higher than that of college students. According to a comparative study on the leisure activities of college students and workers conducted in 1976, 19% of college students chose reading as a way to spend their leisure time, and 22% of workers said reading. (Yun Hŭisang, "Kŭnro Ch'ŏngsonyŏn'gwa Taehaksaengŭi Yŏgasŏnyong Shilt'ae Pigyoyŏngu"[A Comparative Study on the Realities of the Recreational Activities of the College Student and Working Youth], *Paper Collection of Chuncheon Teachers College*, vol 16.1976, 285)

[290] In the 1970s, every popular weekly magazine had a pen pal page with the names and addresses of people who wanted pen pals, and radio programs used to call out the names and addresses of people who wanted pen pals. In Sŏk Chŏngnam's diary, published on *Taehwa*[Dialogue], there is a fellow worker's story in which she made a boyfriend starting out as a pen pal.(Sŏk Chŏngnam, "Ŏnŭ Yŏgongŭi Iyagi"[A Female Factory Worker's Story], *Taehwa*[Dialogue] November 1976, 183) In a short essay for a newspaper, Shin Kyungsook also talked about her experience with a pen pal from when she was a factory worker. A man who exchanged letters with her suddenly visited her house, so she pretended to be someone else. (Shin Kyungsook, "Sosŏlga Shin'gyŏngsukssiwa P'enp'alch'ingu" *Dongailbo*, 11,29, 2004, A23)

[291] For example, *Samt'ŏ*, a monthly magazine popular in the 1970s, regularly featured contributions from workers. Through *Samt'ŏ*'s worker's articles, we can get a glimpse of the writing culture of workers in the 1970s.

workers' churches but also in magazines such as *Wŏlgan Taehwa* [Monthly Dialogue] and *Ssiasŭi Sori* [Voice of Seeds]. These media helped maintain and support the reading-writing community of democratic workers by delivering the writings to other workers. In particular, the magazines, as legally accepted and openly circulated publications, contributed to the widespread dissemination of their writings.[292] They could be widely read in night schools, small groups of UIM, and the education program of unions. Chang Namsu wrote that she had a political awakening from reading the writings of Sŏk Chŏngnam and Yu Dongu in *Monthly Dialogue*. She states, "I felt that I was Sŏk Chŏngnam, Yu Dongu, and Chŏn T'aeil."[293] Many workers at the time had similar responses to the publications, given that workers in small-scale factories that could not afford to organize a union also felt similar feelings after reading Sŏk Chŏngnam and Yu Dongu's writings.[294] The first workers to participate in labor activism wrote about their experiences, thereby influencing other workers to begin advocating for reform in their own workplaces and writing about their own experiences. The worker-reader, in turn, became a worker-writer by organizing their own campaigns and writing about their own feelings and thoughts on their activism. They formed a collective self by taking over and

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292 The magazine *Monthly Dialogue* published by the Christian Academy, contained diaries and memoirs of workers who participated in the democratic union movement: representatively, Sŏk Chŏngnam's "In'gandapke Salgo Shipta"[I Want to Live as a Human] (November 1976) and "Pult'anŭn Nunmul"[Burning Tears](December 1976), and Yu Dongu's "Ŏnŭ Tolmengiŭi Oech'im"[Cry of Stone] (January-March 1977).
In particular, Yu Dongu's writings were published as a book in 1978 and had a great influence on workers (and college students) who participated in the democratic union movement. Also, Sŏk's memoir, which is analyzed in this chapter, was published as a book based on her writings on *Monthly Dialogue*.

293 Chang, 25

294 For example, similar statements can often be found in the book, titled *Pibaramsoge P'iŏnan Kkot* [Flowers Blooming in the Rain and Wind] which collects the diaries and the writings of teen workers. See Han Yunsu ed*, Pibaramsoge P'iŏnan Kkot: 10Tae Kŭllojadŭrŭi Ilgiwa Saenghwaltam* [Flowers Blooming in the Rain and Wind: Teen Workers' Diaries and Writings], Seoul: Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 1980, 114, 257.

completing the story of the preceding person through this network of conversations that crossed time and space, as though they weaved a tapestry whose overall shape they cannot know in the process. The reading-writing community was thusly inseparable from labor activism and was itself a part of the movement for democratic union in the 1970s. It was a major mode of forming class consciousness and thereby one of the key means of laborers' learning and struggle.[295]

Therefore, considering their writing culture, "I" in their memoirs refers to the individual I and the collective I at the same time. As Sŏk Chŏngnam's memoirs show, these writings are by no means the innermost records of an isolated individual, even when she writes of intimate feelings, such as guilt or resentment towards a friend. She soon depicts how she spoke out her feelings, face and communicates her, and thereby portrays a human figure who grows with her group.

All of these memoirs not only cross the border between me and us, but also break the distinction between the private and the public, which naturally creates an open structure where the ending of the text is not fixed. All of the authors are people who live their lives and act in real history, and writing is itself an action for them. Thus, even if their memoirs abruptly end in the midst of a struggle without reaching any purpose and ending, this undecided ending does not indicate their failure but their continuous growth and asks the reader to promise and call for the future.

[295] Most democratic unions regularly published newsletters for their workers. For example, *Ak'ashiahoebo* [Acacia Bulletin] printed by female workers of the Chŏnggye union is a case in point.

In this chapter, I have tried to reveal the trajectory of the most problematic youth in the 1970s by analyzing the memoirs of young factory girls in this historical phase. These texts show the way women who were denied the value of youth, femininity, and work, redefine their own meaning by acquiring class consciousness and develop as dignified female workers. The memoirs go beyond the notion of literature defined in an institutional and conservative way by asking what the writer writes for and why the reader reads. A style of writing in which the writer is not distinctly separated from the reader, keeps in tune with the reader, and goes with the flow of the times appears in the memoirs. This narrative of first-person, both singular and plural, embodies a concrete personal life and a life shared by many based on collective experience. And this is ultimately accomplished by participating in the community created by these texts.

In conclusion, these memoirs postulate a new kind of literary normativity that is completely different from the bourgeois literary individuality by showing that the positions of the author and of the individual are not determined *a priori* but are constantly reconstituted. Moreover, though the memoirs have clear political performativity in content in that they visualized and voiced a marginalized existence, their performative function is more significant in its role in creating and maintaining the reading-writing community.

Conclusion

In Korean modern history, youth represented not an individual but a group: a mob of young people who were supposed to have the same idea, perspective, or aim in spite of the different origins, regions, classes, sexes, and so forth. Therefore, youth was figured as the younger generation. Whenever a young person appeared, they were viewed as a representative of their generation - a quintessential embodiment of youth. In *March of Fools*, for instance, Pyŏnt'ae or Yŏngja only played the role of displaying new cultural tastes, lifestyles, practices, and landscapes of contemporary young people, like long hair, blue jeans, beer halls, acoustic guitars, and modern folk songs.

What did they aim at? In general, when the younger generation confronts the older one, it breaks with the past and moves towards the future with a definite goal. In Korea, this goal was the West, which in turn meant the new. The new separated from the past and was always the European or American, and the concept of newness was often delivered to Korea via Japan. The newness related to youth representation was always the Western, and thereby this representation was sometimes reduced to the list of new cultural practices and landscapes from the outside as in youth culture discourse of the 1970s.

Guy Debord clearly points out that the cultural conflict between the older and the younger generations was nothing more than the confrontation between commodities as the expressions of the capitalist economic system. In his view, "a youthful transformation of what exists is in no way characteristic of those who are now young." Rather, "[i]t is

things that rule and that are young."[296] When South Korean managed to come across consumer society on the big screen, youth cultural practices and landscapes represented as the conflict between commodities were as good as illusions. According to Debord again, "the society that bears the spectacle ..... dominates them [underdeveloped regions] as the society of the spectacle. Even where the material base is still absent, modern society has already used the spectacle to invade the social surface of every continent."[297] Therefore, if youth representations are reduced to a list of various Westernized cultural practices, landscapes, and symbols like rebellious youths, American pop culture, and consumer goods in the youth romance films of the 1960s, and like long hair, blue jeans, and beer halls in the youth culture of the 1970s, such representations should not be taken at face value.

Though youth representations were usually seen as the revelation of generational conflict in cultural form, what matters underlies youth representations as fetishized signs.[298] That is, social antagonism was replaced with the signs of youth in the 1960s and 1970s South Korea. In youth romance films, the defiance of lower class youth is to be interpreted as the expression of the paradoxical desire for the restoration of family and a stable social order, which was no better than a conservative yearning. It connotes that the biggest problem in the 1960s South Korea could be still the wounds of the Korean War and the ensuing division of the country. And although youth culture in the 1970s was

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[296] Guy Debord. *Society of the Spectacle*. Trans. Ken Knabb. London: Rebel press, 2002. 30-31. Emphasis is my own.
[297] Debord. 27-28.
[298] To cite Guy Debord yet again, "[t]he spectacle is not a collection of images; it is a social relation between people that is mediated by images." (7) It was the spectacle of youth by which a social relation also was mediated in postwar South Korea.

read as an expression of generational conflict, folk music as youth culture was a method for expressing a common feeling and a sense of community through a cultural practice and the youth films of the same decade were thematic expressions of the compassion for lower class women. Youth representations in the 1970s popular culture thereby revealed the scars of compressed industrialization and delivered the will or affect to live together in the remains of brutal modernization.

During the authoritarian regime, the hegemonic representation of youth was a male college student. Though the present dissertation did not properly explore the dominant representation in the main analysis of marginalized youth representations in contemporary popular culture, this was the most significant political subject in Korean modern history as is evident in the April Revolution in 1960 and the June Democratic Movement in 1987. Student youth as a collective subject was a politically justified generational subject since its historical legitimacy was formed through such important political struggles. Moreover, it was expected that a social elite group would lead Korean society towards the future, and as such, this group was assigned certain normative identities and properties.

As is shown in the fact that one of the issues of the 1974 dispute on youth culture was whether it was a culture of college students or of lower-class workers, the youth-as-student representation revealed the problem of elitism through its construction by means of class distinction. Its elitist representation was the outcome of the symbolic operation in which youth was confined to college students, and young female workers' struggles and literary writings about them in the late 1970s disclosed the contradictions and limitations

of student youth representation. However, emerging as the most significant collective agents in South Korean democratic movement in the late 1970s and 1980s, student activists endeavored to give up their elite positions by quitting university and becoming part of *minjung*, for example, working class. Even though they used to fall into the trap of inadvertently reinforcing the dichotomy between workers and intellectuals in transforming their identity from students to workers, they actively struggled to destroy class distinctions with the utopian passion for liberation and communal living. Thus, the dominant youth representation of the 1980s was the student activist who did not ignore the pain of the people – a considerable departed from the elitist public intellectual representation. That this representation came to represent youth in the 1980s is revealed by the fact that the deaths of Pak Chongch'ul and Yi Hanyŏl, two university students, stand for the June Democratic Struggle in 1987, the historical event that marked the end of the military dictatorship and the beginning of democracy in South Korea.

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