



**University
of Victoria**

Graduate Studies

Notice of the Final Oral Examination
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

of

CHONG SU KIM

MA (University of Victoria, 2011)

BA (Hanyang University, 2002)

**“Collective Identities and Democratization: Democratic, Labour, and
Women’s Movements in South Korea and Taiwan”**

Department of Political Science

Thursday, August 16, 2018

1:00PM

Clearihue Building

Room B007

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Matthew James, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria (Supervisor)

Dr. Feng Xu, Department of Political Science, UVic (Member)

Dr. Guoguang Wu, Department of Political Science (Member)

Dr. William Carroll, Department of Sociology, UVic (Outside Member)

External Examiner:

Dr. Jennifer Chun, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto - Scarborough

Chair of Oral Examination:

Dr. Michael Bodden, Department of Pacific & Asian Studies, UVic

Abstract

The present dissertation focuses on the role of collective identities of Taiwanese and South Korean social movements in democratic processes. It explores Taiwanese and South Korean democratic processes, focused on the period between the late 1970s and 2000, using collective identities of social movements as a lens and a map through which I answer questions on differences in the drawn-out and rapid tempo of democratization, confrontational and negotiated transition, national-sovereign and popular-sovereign democracy, and institutional and extra-institutional orientation of social movements in Taiwan and South Korea.

I suggest seeing collective identity as a relational construct of spatial structures (structural environment), temporal conjunctures (democratic processes), and subjective enterprises (identity work) instead of as the product of pure external structure, innate essence, or discursive construction. First, I analyze Taiwanese and South Korean developmental regimes as an ensemble of a form of political domination and socioeconomic developmental alliances to show how they shaped identity fields or provided the potential for different collective identity construction.

Secondly, I analyze how Taiwanese and South Korean democratic movements actualized that latent potential through contemporizing collective memories. Taiwanese and South Korean democratic movements developed and reconstructed ethno-national Taiwanese identity and popular-class identity through repeatedly revising identity narratives based on collective memories along the pre-transitional, transitional, and stabilizing democratic processes. Taiwanese and South Korean democratic movements thereby contextualized democracy and democratization into national sovereignty and popular sovereignty.

Thirdly, I discuss collective identities of Taiwanese and South Korean women's and labour movements and their interactions with democratic movements to show how contextualized democracy and democratization influenced gender and class relations. By tracing the construction of the collective identities of women's and labour movements and their interactions with democratic movements throughout the democratic processes, this discussion answers the question of how Taiwanese and South Korean women's and labour movements attained similar achievements in women's and labour rights despite different surrounding conditions. Women's and labour movements' interactions with democratic movements expanded democratization centred on political citizenship to social citizenship, but simultaneously revealed the limit of this contextualized democratic process through challenges from groups at the margin with different identities.

I analyze Taiwanese and South Korean women's movements, which emerged before the establishment of democratic movements, and their collective identities to demonstrate how they developed elite-centric and subaltern-centred, institutional and extrainstitutional oriented, and associative (in relation to other movements) and independent features. This analysis shows how differences in their discourses, organizational and contentious repertoires, and alliance building were produced through their collective identities. It also reveals the limit of Taiwanese and South Korean women's movements to advance women's rights whose gender politics was contextualized in the process of interaction with the democratic movement. Their limited representability was exposed through challenges from Taiwanese sex workers and South Korean young feminists and women workers' movement to the "mainstream" women's movements and their homogeneous women's or gender identity.

Next, I discuss Taiwanese and South Korean labour movements, which emerged and re-emerged with and after the democratic transition, and their collective identities to demonstrate how they developed moderate and militant, institutional and extrainstitutional oriented, and partisan and non-partisan

features. This discussion shows differences in their discourses, organizational and contentious repertoires, and alliance building. It also reveals the limits to each labour movement where labour politics was contextualized in the process of interaction with the democratic movement. The limited representability of the “mainstream” labour movements, which overrepresent workers in public enterprises in Taiwan and large conglomerates in South Korea, was exposed through challenges initiated by workers in small private enterprises and precarious employment and labour groups with more class-centred identities.

The comparison of collective identities of Taiwanese and South Korean social movements sees democratization neither as a pure effect of structural conditions or a pure implementation of the universal value of democracy but rather as a process of contextualization through collective identities of active inhabitants in a democratic space.