

ABSTRACT

The Extension of Civil Society and the Relative Autonomy of Mass Communications - A Study on Comparison of the 5th and the 6th Republic of Korea

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This thesis attempts to conjugate the increased relative autonomy of the Sixth Republic of Korea With the structure of Korean society after 'June Struggle' in 1987. For this analysis, this paper adopts a tripartite model of 'economic structure/civil society/the state', and conceptualizes civil society as the field that 'is based' on the economic base and at the same time where class struggle displays in the political and ideological dimension. This conceptual scheme is formulated to analyze the functions of the capitalist state, especially the functions of the ideological State apparatuses, which are supported by 'the super-structural base' of civil society. It goes without saying that the domination of the capitalist state is ultimately based on physical force. However, we can not ignore the importance of the consent from the ruled. This is why Poulantzas distinguished two forms of the capitalist state, i.e., the 'normal' and the 'exceptional' forms of state depending on whether the state is able to exercise a stable hegemonic control or not.

This distinction is critical in delineating the functions of the ideological State apparatuses. The 'exceptional' state, of which

hegemonic control is not stable, tends to render a 'formal' characteristics to the ideological State apparatuses and repress the relative autonomy of those so that coercion exercised pretends to be based on voluntary consent from the ruled. On the other hand, the 'normal' state, of which hegemonic control is stable, does not need to repress the relative autonomy of the ideological State apparatuses. This is why the role of ideological State apparatuses carry a double-meaning in the 'normal' form of the capitalist state. The one is the role of agents which spread dominant ideology, and the other is the role of agents which disseminate counter-ideologies.

This thesis picks up mass communications as the typical agent of the ideological State apparatuses. Around the 'June Struggle' of Korea in 1987, it is mass communications where the changing nature of the relationship between the state and civil society is revealed. 1) State laws regulating activities of mass communications, 2) relations of the administration with mass communications, 3) modes of the state intervention in the market of the mass communications, and 4) the degrees of acceptance of counter-ideologies in mass communications are four criteria used in comparing the levels of relative autonomy of the mass communications between the Fifth and the Sixth Republic of Korea. It is found that the relative autonomy of the mass communications has been improved in the Sixth Republic. This results suggest that Korea is entering into a 'normal' form of state form.

Key Words: civil society, state, form of state, ideological State apparatuses, relative autonomy, the Fifth Republic, the Sixth Republic, mass communications