Analysis on the Political Discourse on Exclusive State Publication of Korean History Textbooks Focusing on Political Articles Published on Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun

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Abstract

Background and Objectives: This study is a political discourse analysis on the recent exclusive state publication of Korean history textbooks. Thus, this study determines the formation of political discourse and the historical, chronological and ideological meaning. This issue is a political behavior that separates the national consciousness into dichotomy of pros and cons in terms of implementing the policy by the government and political circles. This study focused on the orientation of media reports and formation of political discourse according to the state publication of history textbooks. Methods and Statistical Analysis: This study used binary opposition and interpellation analysis on nonverbal expressions implied by articles and photos published by the newspapers. Findings: As a result, there were total 73 full-text articles, and 37 nonverbal images and captions. Kyunghyang Shinmun showed a greater amount of published articles. Improvements and Applications: There were the most binary oppositions in terms of ruling/opposition party, followed by government/opposition party, state-led/opposition, and veteran/writing staff professors. Nonverbal expressions are in the order of laughter, attire, gesture, placard, lecture and statement conference, and advocacy. Ideological language use is in the order of state publication and opposition, historical education, left wing, democracy, veteran professors, Yushin dictatorship, and Japanese colonial era.

Keywords: Binary Opposition, History Textbooks, Interpellation, Nonverbal Communication, Political Discourse, State Publication

1. Introduction

This study is a political discourse analysis on the recent exclusive state publication of Korean history textbooks. Thus, this study determines the formation of political discourse and the historical, chronological and ideological meaning. Policy plays a significant role for the nation to perceive the social, cultural and economic reality, and forms specific discourses and ideological meanings. This indicates that most citizens perceive certain issues through media reports. In particular, controversy over the state publication of history textbooks is an important national issue that connects the past, present and future. This is a major national issue that separates the national consciousness into dichotomy of pros and cons (mobilizing politics, policies, academia, civic groups, students, and the nation) in terms of implementing the policy by the government and political circles. By analyzing the political discourse in Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun during the period, we can examine the tone of political reports in the two newspapers. Furthermore, this study will contribute to predicting the perspective on state publication of history textbooks by the South Korean government, political world, and citizens at this point.
2. Selection of Analysis Subjects

This study analyzed articles from Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun. These two newspapers were selected because they are typical daily newspapers symbolizing progressives and conservatives of the Korean press, and are thus suitable for eliciting the hostility to the discourse or conflict of meaning according to the different ideological contexts. Data was collected and analyzed after the report that the Park Geun-hye administration finalized the plan on October 12, 2015 to publish Korean history textbooks exclusively at the national level starting 2017. The subjects of analysis are major political articles published by Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun for four days – on October 23, 27, 28 and November 4, 2015 – when the event became the hottest issue as a political discourse of the ruling and opposition parties.

3. Analysis Methods

Analysis methods can be divided into discourse analysis and article collection. Discourse analysis was conducted by examining the tone of the texts published in the two newspapers as well as captions accompanied by nonverbal communication of images (photos) (Figure 1), analyzing syntagm and paradigm by finding binary oppositions. This study then finds the ideological features and viewpoints that appear superficially in newspaper discourses, and analyzes whether they are producing conflicting or identical meanings. Moreover, it analyzes the interpellation system of how the political discourse is appealed and called to receive national support through the media. Therefore, this study analyzed the headlines (titles + subtitles, captions) and nonverbal communication of images (photos) Figure 1 in the political section and features section of the news articles.

4. Theoretical Understanding

Briefly speaking, discourse is the act of changing certain meaning or concept with enunciation. Discourse consists of long sentences with overlapping layers. Yet in fact, discourse is a highly complicated concept. Discourse is a semiotic framework and mechanism assuming the narrator and listener. Since the narrator and listener are both assumed, discourse includes narrative, myth and text. The process is in how the narrator’s discourse elaborately explains the stories, myths and texts. Michel Foucault states that discourse is an ideological process that impliedly exerts certain power beyond explaining the narrative or text in detail¹. Discourses are limited to specific social and historical contexts, and change according to time. The basis of Foucault’s theory is that discourse produces specific types of themes and knowledge, and we diversify and position the limited entity in the broad field of discourse. Positioning the entity is a theory of politicians or scholars who once claimed that history textbooks must never be changed, with regard to the recent revision of the history textbooks². Discourse is applied here. In other words, discourses are limited to specific social and historical contexts, and change according to time. Discourse is generally the process of talking about specific topics and is socially manipulated. Discourse is a venue for power struggle. This struggle is an ideology indicating a discursive choice to take the initiative within the organization or among organizations of the society³. The discourse structure related to ideology is interaction⁴. This indicates who started the new topic, and who restrained someone, etc.⁴. All this represents the power of the dialogists, and becomes something ideological. Since it emphasizes the power relations in the society, critical discourse analysis along with cultural studies or pop culture studies claims that ideology is discursive⁵. Key components of discourse are ‘major issues or items of the society’, ‘members of the society’, ‘utterance’, ‘views and opinions’, ‘participation’, ‘convergence’, ‘specific direction’ and ‘specific meaning’. The most important element among them is ‘utterance’, which is performed to reveal specific meaning of the text consisting of language in a specific context⁶. Binary oppositions are pairs of mutually exclusive concepts in an inverse relation (sometimes contradictory) that cannot be balanced out. Some examples are <yin/yang>, <big/small>, <true/false>, <freedom/oppression>, <leaving/coming back>, etc. The procedure of finding such binary oppositions in the text is referred to as <paradigmatic analysis>¹. Such binary oppositions are actual oppositions that have been reproduced traditionally, such as nature/culture or male/female. These binary oppositions seem unchangeable and mutually exclusive, but modern theories emphasizing difference explain how these oppositions are mutually connected and how they are formed ideologically and historically. The fact that we have depended historically on binary oppositions indicates how difference takes up an essential part of how we understand and define objects².
Binarism is a theory stating that the meaning of a certain sign is determined by the meaning of the opposite sign (Table 2). Interpellation/appellation are terms coined by Marxist theorist Louis Althusser, indicating the process in which an ideological system calls or ‘interpellates’ social agents and designate the place where they should be within the system. In pop culture, interpellation refers to the way cultural products call consumers and appoint them to specific ideological positions. Images are selected by assuming us to be a specific type of audience, and help shape us into specific ideological agents. In particular, interpellation is a process of advertising that directly speaks to the viewers/consumers. This can be used as the word ‘you’ in the text or in colloquial style, or included in the appellation of the advertisement. Consumer ads call these viewers/consumers so that they are absorbed in the ads. In other words, interpellation/appellation is the process in which ads form their viewers/consumers. The terms interpellation/appellation meaning how ads interpellate consumers was coined by.

Table 3.

5. Media articles of analyzed papers

Full-text articles published in newspapers (Table 1).

Images and captions published in newspapers: Nonverbal expressions in images and captions (Figure 1).

6. Research Analysis

6.2 Analysis of Orientation Of Published Articles and Amount of Articles

There are total 73 full-text articles in Chosun Ilbo and Kyungbyung Shinmun (Chosun 27, Kyungbyung 46) and total 37 nonverbal images and captions (Figure 1). (Chosun 11, Kyungbyung 23, Hankyoreh and others 3). Kyungbyung Shinmun with progressive political orientation publishes more images and captions than Chosun Ilbo.

7. Binary oppositions

There are total 173 binary oppositions from the full-text articles of both newspapers (Chosun 74, Kyungbyung 94), with Kyungbyung Shinmun publishing more full-text articles than Chosun Ilbo (Table 2).

8. Interpellation

For interpellation, this study analyzed articles from the two newspapers that interpellate politicians, related scholars or specific parties, or appeal to the public. There were total 136 interpellations (Chosun Ilbo 46, Kyungbyung Shinmun 90), showing that Kyungbyung Shinmun shows more interpellations than Chosun Ilbo (Table 3).

There were total 37 images (Figure 1) in the two newspapers (Chosun Ilbo 11, Kyungbyung Shinmun 23, others 3), with Kyungbyung Shinmun that published more than twice the number published by Chosun Ilbo.

9. Conclusions and Discussions

The results of this study show that there are total 73 full-text articles in Chosun Ilbo and Kyungbyung Shinmun (Chosun 27, Kyungbyung 46). There are total 37 nonverbal images and captions (Chosun 11, Kyungbyung 23, Hankyoreh and others 3). Kyungbyung Shinmun with progressive political orientation publishes more images and captions than Chosun Ilbo. There are total 173 binary oppositions from the full-text articles of both newspapers (Chosun 74, Kyungbyung 94), total 136 interpellations (Chosun Ilbo 46, Kyungbyung Shinmun 90), and total 37 images and captions (Chosun Ilbo 11, Kyungbyung Shinmun 23, others 3). As discovered in this study,
### Table 1. Full-text articles published in Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Media/paper</th>
<th>Content (headlines, subtitles, etc.)</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Oct. 23, 2015 Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3-4) | • Fighting over textbooks for 40 minutes (front page)  
• Korean Teachers & Educational Workers’ Union are mobilizing students for the protest against state publication (front page)  
• Moon “Aren’t the textbooks pro-Japanese?” President Park “They’re not even written yet” (A3)  
• “It’s better to fight than not meet at all” (A3)  
• Hearing about proper history education from a veteran.  
• The opposing parties in a war of state-published textbooks (A4)  
• The opposition party demands recording of conversation and President Park takes it as an offense to Cheongwadae (A4)  
• The opposition party says there will be a headwind --- Korean Teachers & Educational Workers’ Union frustrated by the fight over textbooks (A4)  
• ’State publication of textbooks’ --- Pros 41% vs cons 52% (A4) | Kyunghyang Shinmun (front page) | • ’Stubborn’ President “No history of defeatism” (front page)  
• Views against state publication are increasing (front page)  
• Moon Jae-in “It’s glamorization of dictatorship and pro-Japanese” --- Kim Moo-sung “Stop it, we’ve had enough” (page 3)  
• Cheongwadae stands against the attendance of spokesperson --- Moon Jae-in “How small-minded” (page 4)  
• Administration notice -> ’State publication’ advertisement, the government handles it swiftly in three days (page 4)  
• Figures supporting state publication are pro-Park, new right and non-history majors (page 4)  
• ’Split up’ pledge of allegiance (page 4)  
• Song Bok (Yonsei University emeritus professor) ”The current history education is like poison injected in students’ brains” (page 4)  
• 36 history professors at Seoul National University refuse to write the textbooks (page 4) |
| Oct. 27, 2015 Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3,A4) | • 1980s-style raid ends in 19 hours (front page)  
• The ruling party “Confining public officials is an act of robbers” The opposition party “We just went to check illegality” (front page)  
• The opposition party ”Why the executive secretary of Chungbuk National University is the head of TF in Seoul?” The government “On a business trip” (A3)  
• Meanwhile there are no signs of Hwang Woo-yeo (A3)  
• President Park to give an administrative policy speech today... The opposition party considers boycott (A3)  
• Kim Moo-sung’s father and his different whereabouts in the Japanese colonial era before and after 1941 (A4) | Kyunghyang Shinmun (page 1-4) | • Public officials locked up when the secret TF is revealed… “Those standing against state publication are not South Koreans” scale trading, rough words… ‘Shameless’ ruling party (front page)  
• The ruling party ”Park Chung-hee” The opposition party “An Jung-geun” --- ’We will protect different histories” (page 2)  
• The ruling party’s top official “Must find the spy who exposed the TF” (page 4)  
• Exactly the same with the National Intelligence Service’s manipulation of comments 3 years ago (page 4)  
• Saenuri Party publicizes state publication to college students in politics class of the Central Election Management Committee (page 4)  
• The opposition party, “Secretly plotting a coup d’etat of history” (page 4) |
<p>| Nov. 4, 2015 Chosun Ilbo | • History textbooks: The die is cast (front page) | Kyunghyang Shinmun (page 1-4) | Reverse of state publication back to the years of Yushin dictatorship 42 years ago (front page)- |</p>
<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 23, 2015, Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3-4)</td>
<td>Fight/reconciliation, ruling/opposition party, conversation/miscommunication, President Park/Moon Jae-in, right/distorted, gloomy/bright, state publication/free, against/for, attendance/absence, laughter/expressionless, closed/open, opinion gap/narrower opinion gap, pro-Japanese/patriotism, glamorization/criticism, dispute/consensus, legitimacy/distortion, inevitable/essential, normal/abnormal, official approval/disapproval, political deadlock/political stability, struggle/peace, for/against, KTU/non-KTU</td>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun (front page, A3, A4)</td>
<td>Blocked/open, defeatism/victory, gloomy/bright, cold/cordial, against/for, dictatorship/freedom, pro-Japanese/anti pro-Japanese, state publication/free publication, warmth/coldness, ethics/morals, loss/honor, different views/consent, truth/lie, consensus/rupture, derivation/rupture, failure/success, against/for, opposition party/ruling party, speed battle/normal speed, administration notice/normal administration, supporting figures/non-supporting group, pro-Park/anti-Park, inner chaos/outer chaos, supporting citizens/opposing citizens, supporting professors/opposing professors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 27, 2015, Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3, A4)</td>
<td>• Raid/tempo, confrontation/defense, Kyunghyang authority/normal, confinement/opposition party release</td>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun (front page, A3, A4)</td>
<td>Against state publication/approving state publication, access control/access authorization, policy criticism/policy advocacy, citizen denouncement/citizen welcoming, dictator idea/free discussion, Park Chung-hee/Ahn Jung-geun</td>
<td>• Need for state publication/giving up on state publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ruling party-public official confinement/opposition party went to check illegality. TF issues/government refutation, secret organization/normal organization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Conservative group/non-conservative group</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• President Park's administrative policy speech/the opposition party boycott consideration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Military dictatorship/democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Patriot/pro-Japanese, Kim Moo-sung/Moon Jae-in</td>
<td></td>
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<td>• Hwang Woo-yeo misses/participates in external events</td>
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<td>• Democratic revolution/pro-North Korean forces</td>
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<td>• Counteroffensive prosecution/prosecution and trial</td>
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<td>• State publication PR/history coup d'état</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Oct. 28, 2015 | Chosun Ilbo
- Historical glamorization/distortion, normalization/abnormalization
- Public interest/error, expert/non-expert, technology reduction/technology emphasis, disparage/acknowledge, revolution glamorization/revolt glamorization, economic growth/economic depression
- Pro-democracy movement/non-democratization
- President Park expresses firm resolution for state publication / the opposition party holds pickets at the National Assembly in the day and candles on the streets at night
- outdoor rally, members of the opposition party remained mostly silent when President Park entered the plenary chamber, inappropriate/appropriate
- Passive/aggressive, criticism/conformity

Nov. 4, 2015 | Chosun Ilbo
- Left-leaning/leaning, discourse/refutation

Table 3. Interpellation in the texts
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 23,</td>
<td>Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3-4)</td>
<td>President Park, Moon Jae-in, student mobilization, participation, recommendation, students, Kim Moo-sung, Cheongwadae ruling party/the opposition party, hearing from the veterans, calling scholars: Professors Song Bok, Han Cheol-ho, Kwon Nae-hyeon, Do Myeon-hoe, neutral party, parents</td>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun (front page)</td>
<td>President, leaders of the ruling and opposition parties, Moon Jae-in, writing staff, Lee Jong-kul, spokesperson, Roh Moo-hyun, attend, state publication supporting figures: Park Byung-sun, right history textbooks, hearing from the veterans. Hearing from the representative writing staff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Oct. 27, 2015 | Chosun Ilbo (front page, A3, A4) | • Raid-confrontation, discussing at Kyunghyang Shinmun check, refutation-violation, activity-appointment-approval

Hwang Woo-yeo, President Park-administrative policy speech, controversy over Kim Moo-sung's father and his whereabouts during the Japanese colonial period, Kim Moo-sung-Moon Jae-in shaking hands and arguing |

Public officials, police, Kim Moo-sung comments, Lee Jeong-hyeon's policy criticism, citizens, rough words, where the ruling and opposition parties are headed, Professor Apple, Hwang Woo-yeo, Seo Cheong-won, Kwon Hee-young, students, Lee No-heun, NIS female employee, pro-North Korean forces, Saenuri Party Central Election Management Committee, distribution and lecture |

| Oct. 28, 2015 | Chosun Ilbo | President Park, Park Chung-hee, Rhee Syngman, ruling/opposition party, Yoo In-tae, Kim Moo-sung, Hwang Woo-yeo |

President Park, Won Yoo-cheol, 10s·2030s·TF entrance, building management director, security guard, Academy of Korean Studies, Korean history professors, new right camp·Professor Eggert, Kwon Hee-young·Jeong Yeon-soon |

| Nov. 4, 2015 | Chosun Ilbo | • History textbooks: The die is cast
• Left-leaning textbooks to be examined thoroughly
• Hwang Woo-yeo, Hwang Kyo-ahn. Dissolution of Unified Progressive Party, the opposition party refuted Prime Minister Hwang again |

• Yushin dictatorship years
• Hwang Kyo-ahn
• Center-center-right, statement
• Nation, independence movement, Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-hee, teenagers stand against state publication, Lee Seung-hwan holds a concert to oppose state publication, Kim Je-dong holds a one-person protest. Doctors also declare objection, college students sit in all night
• 6 representative writers of the National History Compilation Committee all participated in history, '5 leaders', Hwang Kyo-ahn, Hwang Woo-yeo, Kim Moo-sung, Kim Jeong-bae, Jeon Hee-kyeong 'taking the bullet for actual work', far right scholars, minister candidates |

the two newspapers – Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun – have published political articles on three pages (pages 1, 3-4) during the period. Kyunghyang Shinmun published twice more articles than Chosun Ilbo. The parts with most binary oppositions are ruling/opposition party, government/opposition party, state publication/opposition, veteran professors/writing staff professors, supporting organizations/opposing organizations, supporting citizens/opposing citizens, supporting professors/opposing professors, etc. For interpellations, there are President Park Geun-hye, Kim Moo-sung, Moon Jae-in, Saenuri Party, New Politics Alliance for Democracy, Hwang Woo-yeo, supporters, objectors, statement, writing staff, scholars, administrative policy speech, outdoor protest, Korean Teachers and Educational Workers’ Union, Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-hee, and the public. Nonverbal expressions were of President Park Geun-hye, Kim Moo-sung, and Moon Jae-in, consisting
of laughter, attire, gesture, picket protest, placard, lecture and statement conference, and advocacy. Ideological language use included state publication and opposition, historical education, left wing, democracy, veteran professors, Yushin dictatorship, Japanese colonial era, etc.

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10. Acknowledgement

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11. References