

현대한국종합연구단 미래팀 이론아뜰리에 제13차 콜로키움

**종말의 세계에서 비/인간으로 살아남기:
신자유주의 코-믹스(Co-mix) 스토리텔링과
관계적 항존(抗存)의 미학**

발 표: 이위정(밴더빌트대학교 아시아학과 조교수)

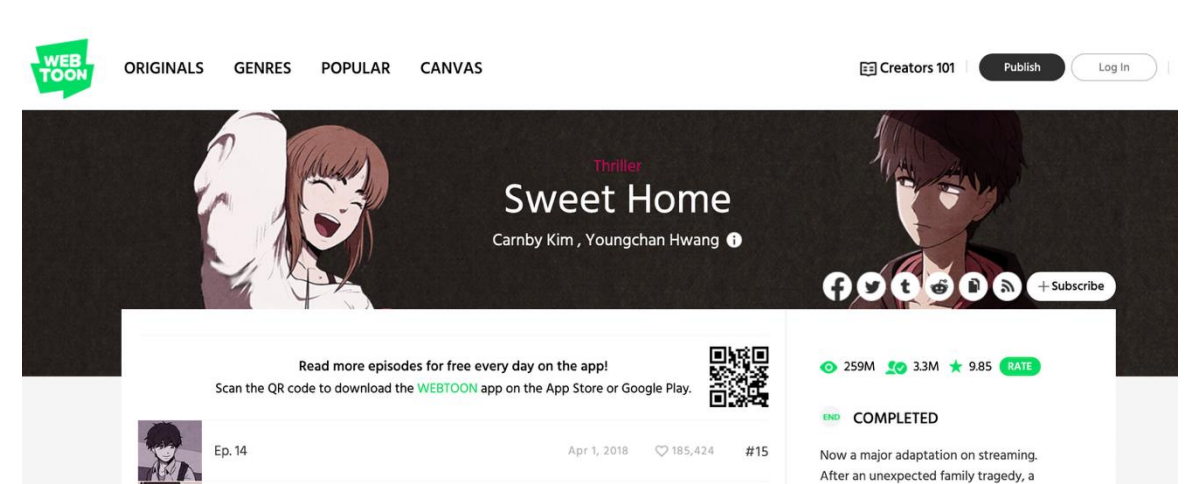
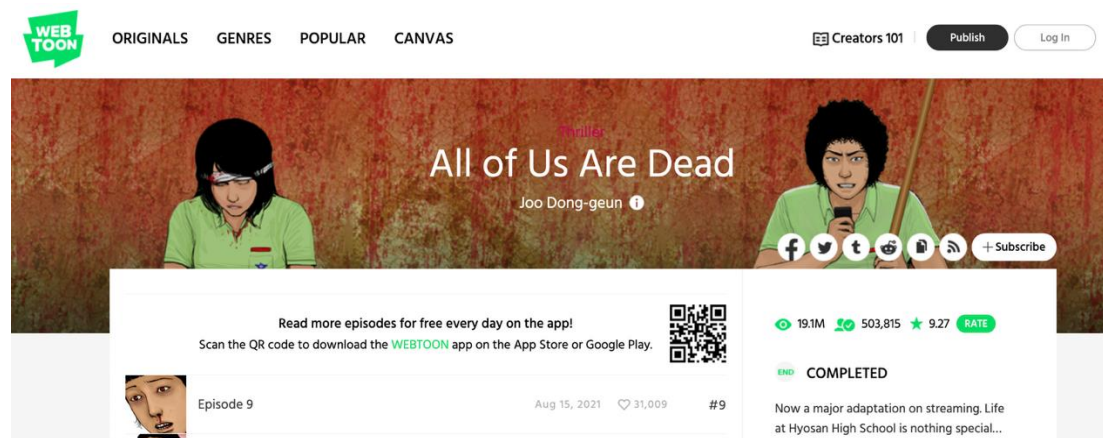
일 시: 2025년 11월 20일(목) 오후 4시~6시

장 소: 서울대 IBK커뮤니케이션센터(64동) 501호



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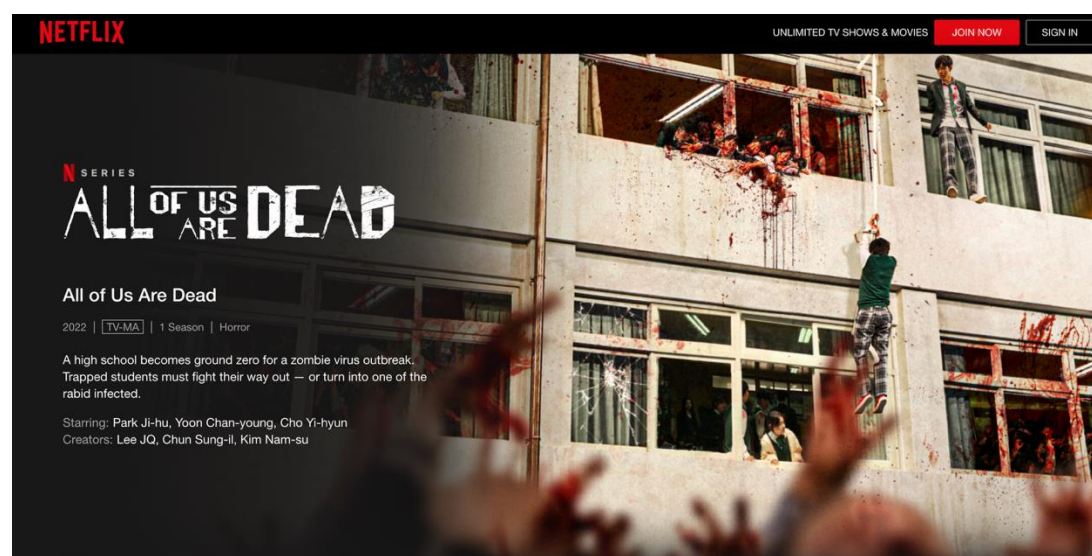
Right Now,
Our School
(Chigŭm uri
hakkyonŭn;
Naver,
2009–2011)



Sweet
Home
(Naver,
2017–20)

All of US Are Dead (Netflix, 2022)

Sweet Home (Netflix, 2020)



Abstract

This study examines the apocalyptic landscape of neoliberal South Korea glimpsed in two postmillennial webtoons, one zombie-centered and the other monster-centered, whose adaptations by Netflix soared to global success during the COVID-19 lockdown: *Sweet Home* 스위트홈 (2020) and *All of Us Are Dead* 지금 우리 학교는 (2022). Its comparative analysis of the zombie/monster horror contents complicates the existing discourse around the transnational, transmedia flow of *hallyu* (Korean Wave). It does so by addressing the interconnected issues of **genre, generation, and gender** in the dystopic coming-of-age narratives, where endangered youths struggle for survival on their own under the necropolitical order. Situated within the country's rapid neoliberalization and evolving popular protests, the emergence of the zombified/monsterized subject is read in relation to **an aesthetics of relational survivance** and to **a vision of trans-species alliance**. A posthuman feminist perspective tackles the affective dynamic running through the original webtoons, the audience's participatory culture, and media convergence amid an antifeminist backlash.



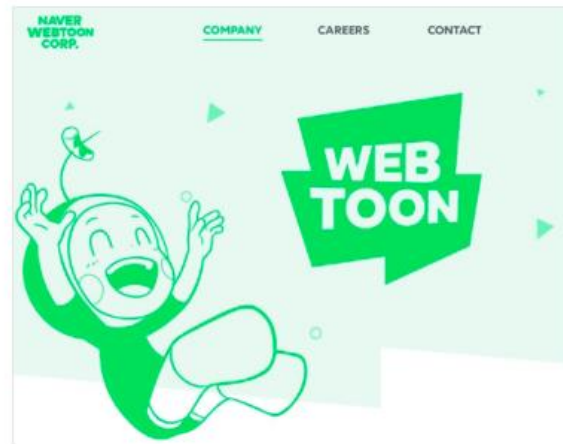
1. WHAT IS WEBTOON?
INDUSTRIAL, FORMAL, AND
SOCIAL

2. LEGACY OF MANHWA

**BEFORE DIVING INTO
“CO-MIX STORYTELLING IN
NEOLIBERAL SOUTH KOREA”**

Naver to inject \$134 mn in webtoon unit

2018.06.26 13:08:40 | 2018.06.26 13:30:13



South Korea's largest portal operator Naver Corp. will inject fresh capital of 150 billion won (\$134.3 million) in Naver Webtoon Corp., its wholly-owned digital comic subsidiary, through purchase of 300,000 new shares, to finance globalization of Korean digital comics.

CARTOONING TECHNOLOGY WEB COMICS

WEBTOON IPO Debuts on Nasdaq

D. D. Degg 2 weeks ago 0 4 mins

[WEBTOON](#), the online comics giant goes public today.

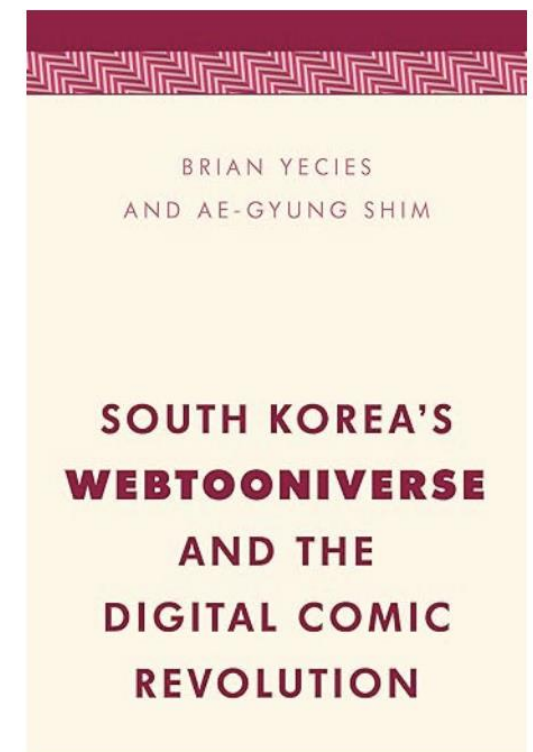
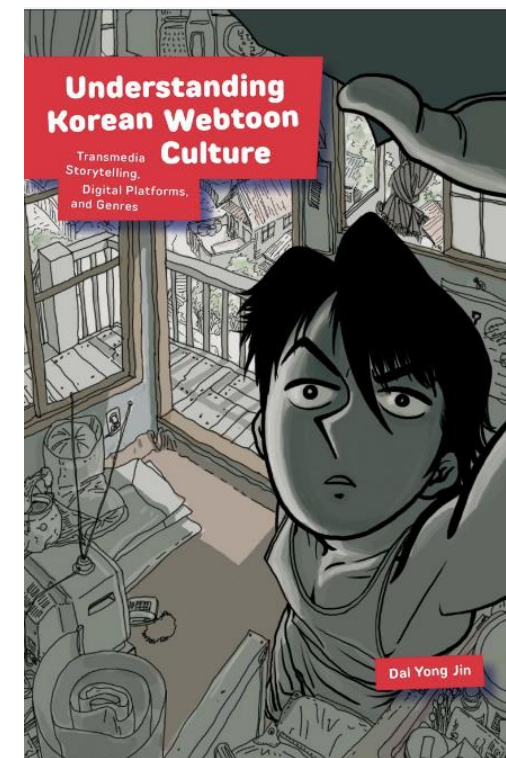


WEBTOON Entertainment Inc. Common stock (WBTN) Charts

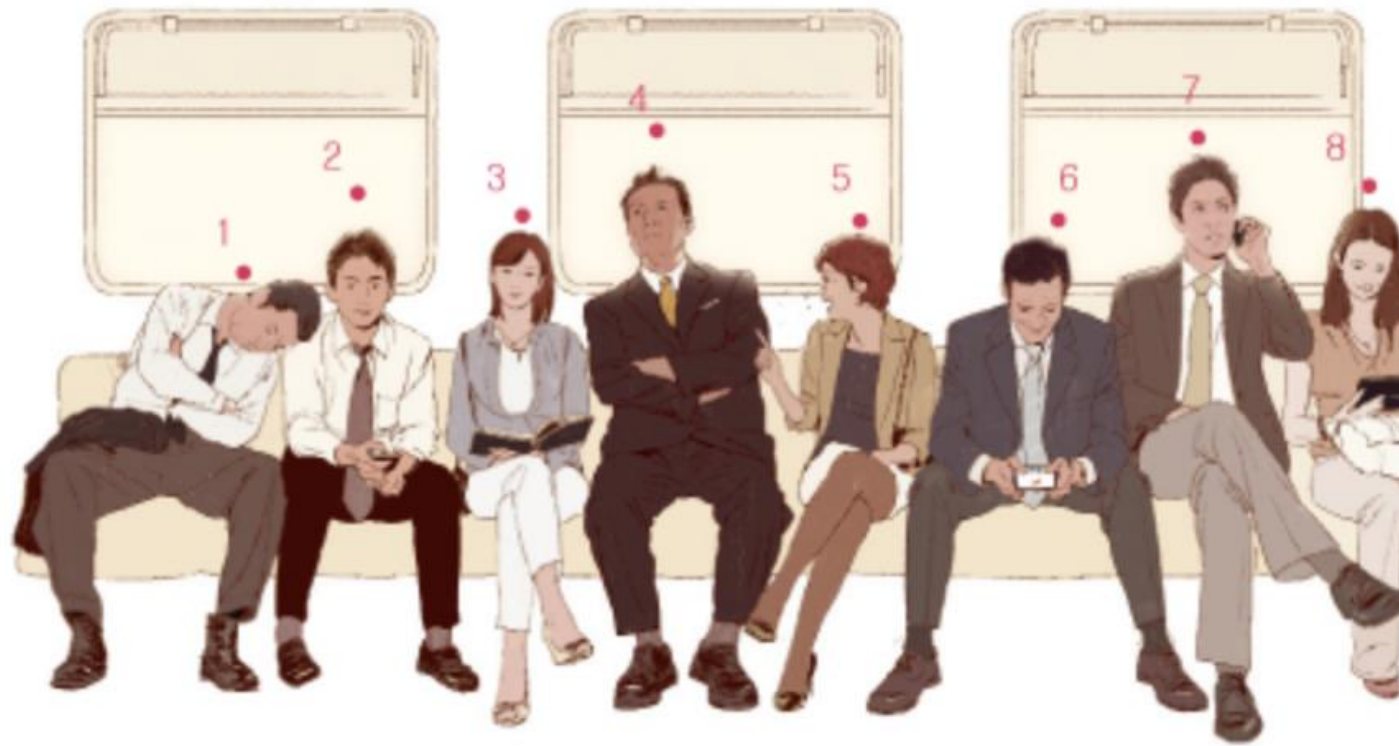
WBTN Advanced Charting

Nasdaq Listed

WBTN WEBTOON Entertainment Inc. Common stock



ACCESSIBILITY (TECHNOLOGY) RELATABILITY (CONTENT) ADAPTABILITY (POTENTIAL)



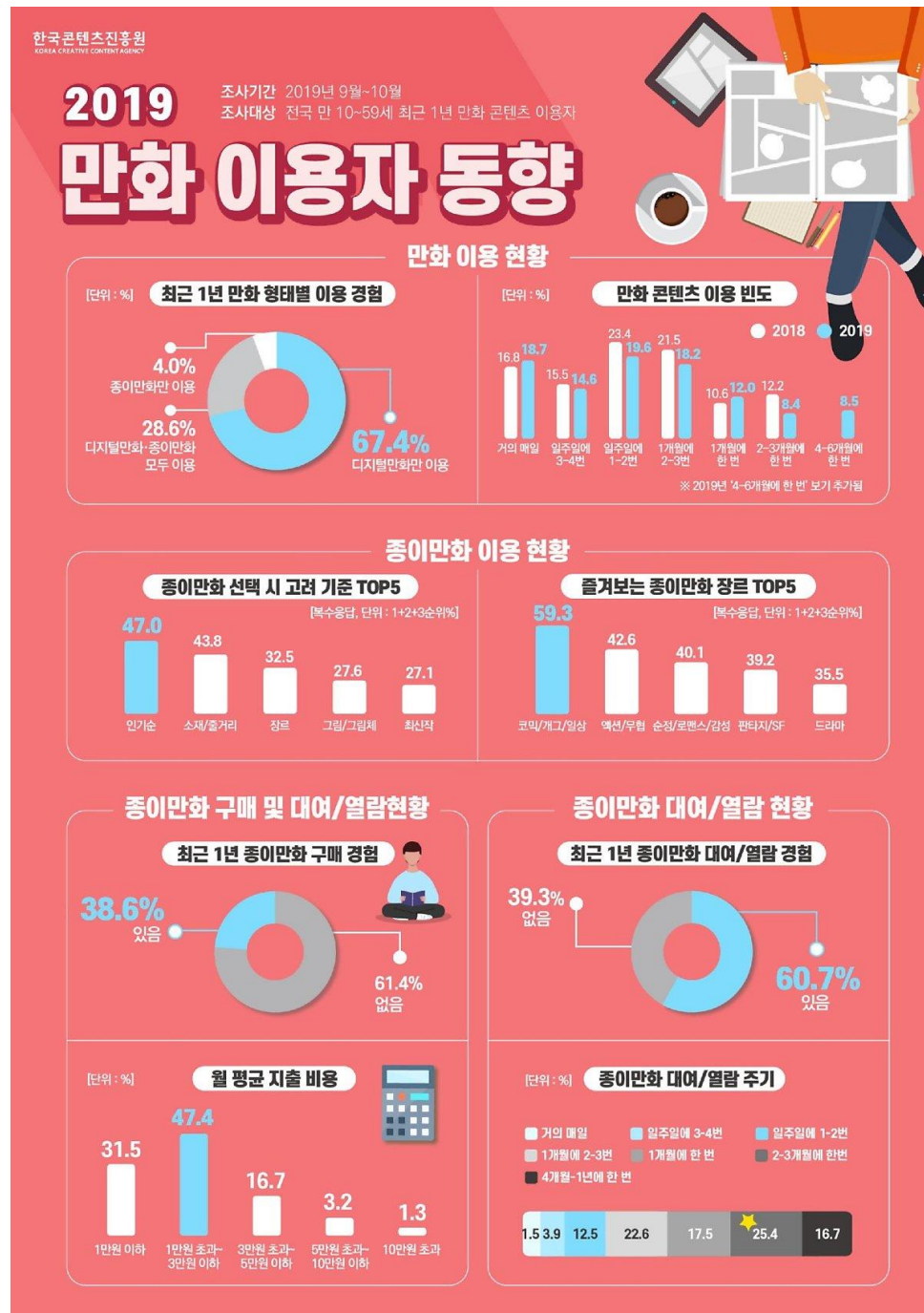
승객은 지하철에서 무엇을 할까?

- 1. 잠자는 사람 21.47%
- 2. 스마트폰 이용자 20.59%
- 3. 인쇄 매체 보는 사람 18.72%
- 4. 아무 일도 안 하는 사람 10.34%
- 5. 수다 떠는 사람 6.39%
- 6. 게임하는 사람 5.87%
- 7. 통화하는 사람 3.76%
- 8. 동영상 보는 사람 3.58%
- 9. 태블릿PC 이용자 3.30%
- 10. 음악 듣는 사람 2.60%

‘디지털 기기 천국’이 된 서울 지하철

〈시사저널〉 조사 결과, 승객 10명 중 4명이 스마트폰·태블릿PC 등 이용... 1년 새 객차 안 풍경 급변

강청완·고우리·홍재혜 인턴기자 | | 승인 2012.02.01(Wed) 23:39:34



OSMU model

Online reading (66.9%):
Portal & Application

Everyday
multisensory
experience

포털과 어플리케이션을 통한 만화 이용, 무려 66.9%

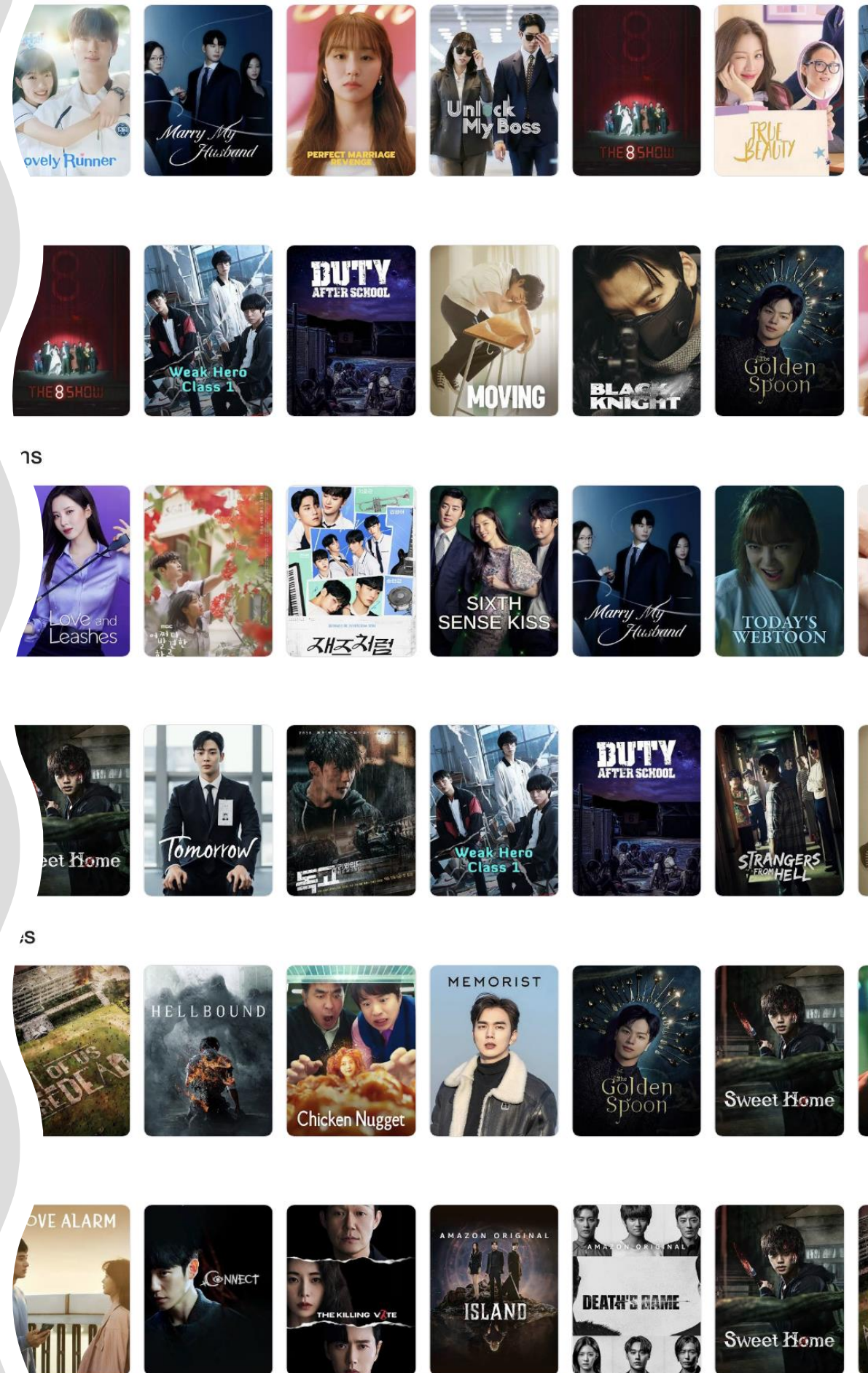


<https://post.naver.com/viewer/postView.nhn?volumeNo=27563430&memberNo=28980604>

WHEN YOU GOOGLE “WEBTOON DRAMA”

Relatability
Adaptability

**GLOBALITY
DIVERSITY**





WHAT IS WEBTOON?

- "Webtoon is a complex system created by the distinctive combination of two media (**comics** and **digital**)"
- "This web **graphic narrative**, developed in Korea specifically to utilize some of the potential that the **digital platform** offers"
 - Heekyoung Cho, "The Webtoon: A New Form for Graphic Narrative"
- "**Story-telling mechanism** that can capture complex reality and the psychological state of its characters without having to commit to one particular narrative voice." – Dafna Zur, "Modern Korean Literature and Cultural Identity in a Pre- and Post-Colonial Digital Age"

WHAT IS *MANHWA* [漫畫]?

“unrestrained drawing”

- 다음엇지 *taŭm ötchi*: “what’s next”

최남선
崔南善



Choi Namseon (1890-1957)



1913년 최남선이 발간한 어린이 잡지 '붉은 저고리' 창간
국립한글박물관

“Sequential art”
(Will Eisner)
“juxtaposed
pictorial and other
images in
deliberate
sequence” (Scott
McCloud)



Caricature by An Sökchu (*Chosun Ilbo*, 1927)



김동성이 기획하고 노수현이 그린 1924년 10월 13일자 네컷 만화 '명령구리 헛물켜기'. /조선일보DB



MÖNGT'ÖNGGURI
HÖNMULK'YÖGI

THE "FIRST KOREAN
COMIC STRIP"

Published in *Chosun Ilbo* from
1924 (148 times)

Episodic narratives about
everyday life/love rivalry of
Mr. Ch'oe Möngt'öng ("Idiot")
and Mr. Yun Param ("Flirt")
over *kisaeng* Onmae

Adapted to play (1925)
and film (1926)



▲(자료제공처: 한국영상자료원) 영화 《명령구리》의 한 장면

Everydayness

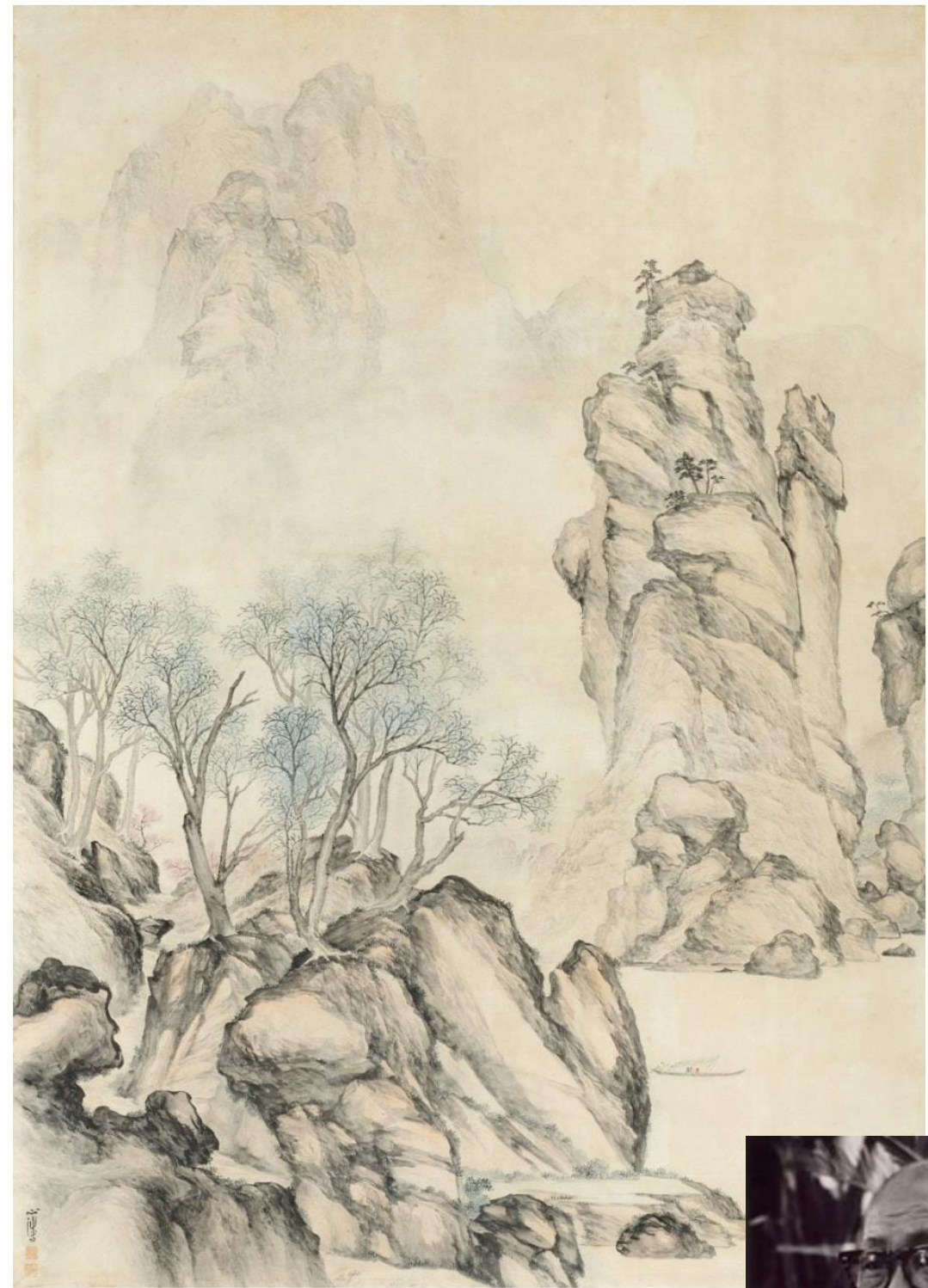


김동성



1923년 잡지 '동명'에 실린 김동성의 '만화 그리는 법' 1화. /국립중앙박물관

Kim Tongsoŋ, "How to draw manhwa" (1923)

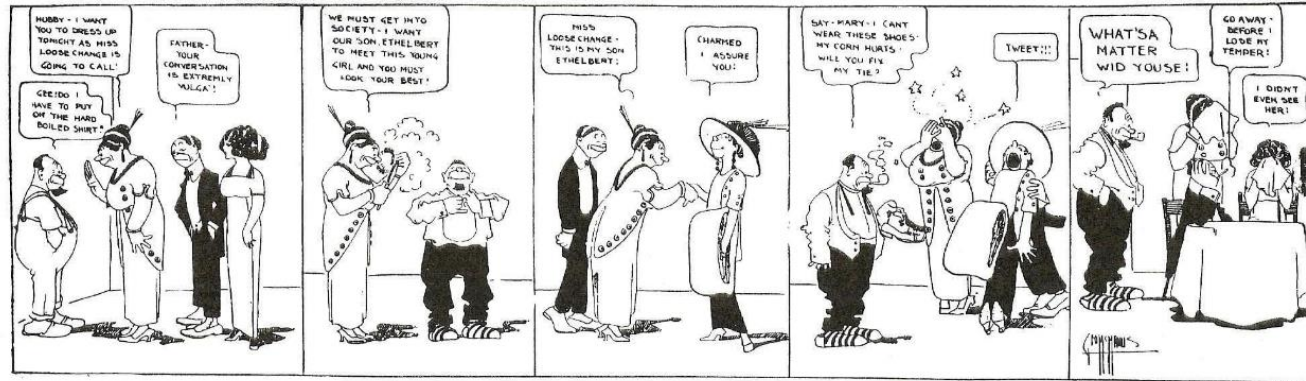


노수현의 전형적인 화풍이 잘 드러난 1957년작 '계산정취(溪山情趣)'. /국립현대미술관 이진호

No Suhyŏn, "kyesanjŏngch'wi" (1957)



Bringing Up Father

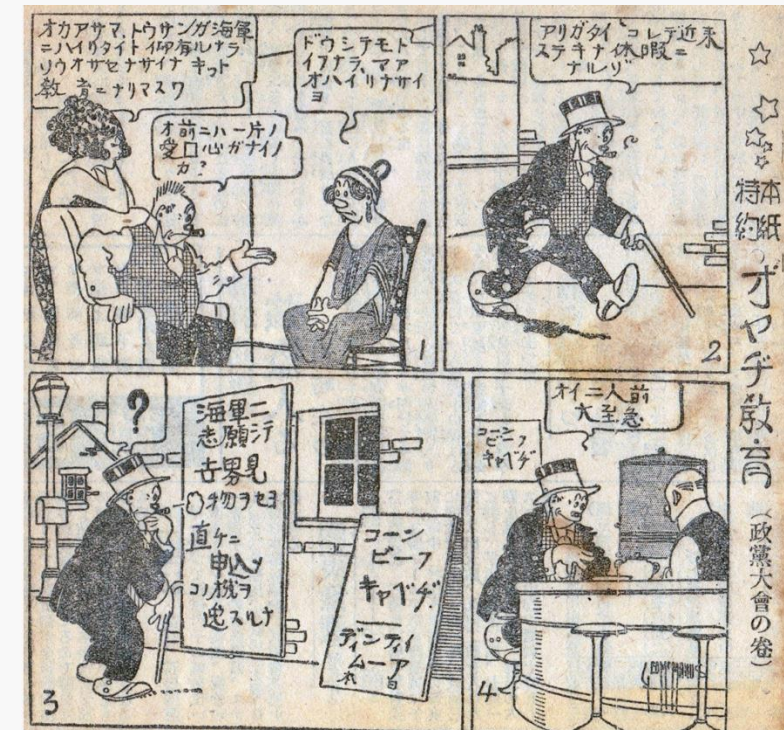


The first strip to bear the title Bringing Up Father. [January 2, 1913]

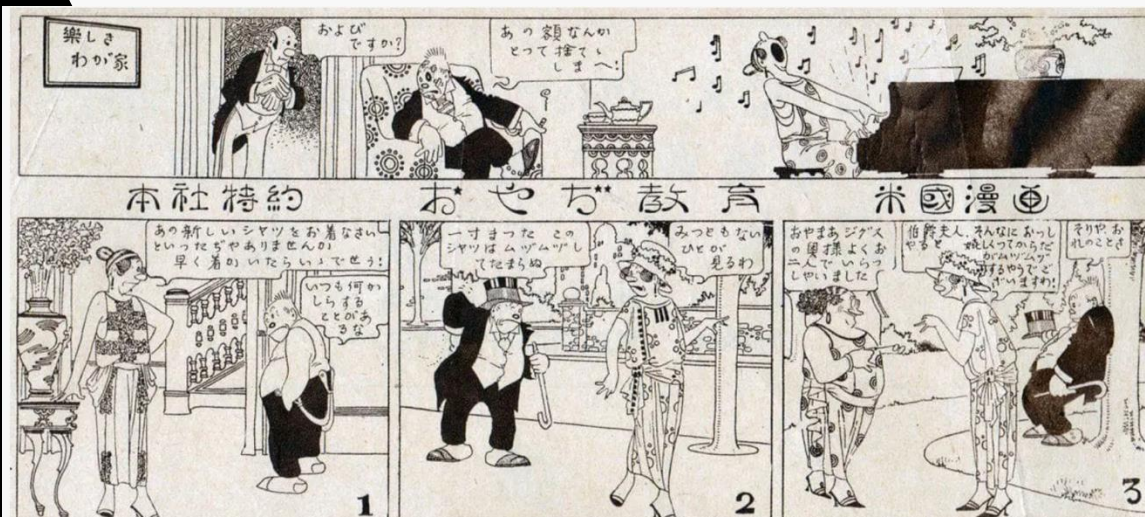
George McManus



McManus having a coffee in 1952



Another panel from Bringing Up Father. Note the numbers in the bottom-right corner that indicate the reading order. The order here is from left-to-right



A Japanese translation of Bringing Up Father, published in Asahi Shimbun. Only the daily strips were published in black-and-white. Color comics, though they did become a part of the American Sunday strip, never gained traction in the same way in Japan.



최남선이 [영석바지]라는 제목으로 국내에 처음 소개한 조지 맥머너스의 작품. [시대일보], 1924.03.31.

→ Asahi Graph (1923)

→ Sidae Ilbo (1924)

THE BIRTH OF KOREAN MANHWA (CO-MIX) UNDER COLONIAL MODERNIZATION

Digital/Platform capitalism

Published in *Chosun Ilbo* from 1924 (148 times)

Modern desire & critique

Episodic narratives about everyday life/love rivalry of Mr. Ch'oe Mǒngt'ǒng ("Idiot") and Mr. Yun Param ("Flirt") over *kisaeng* Onmae

Adaptability

Adapted to play and film (1926)

Trans-nationality

Kim Tongsǒng (1890–1969); exposed to journalism during his study in the US in the 1910s

Hybridity

No Suhyǒn (1899–1978); known for Korean polychrome painting



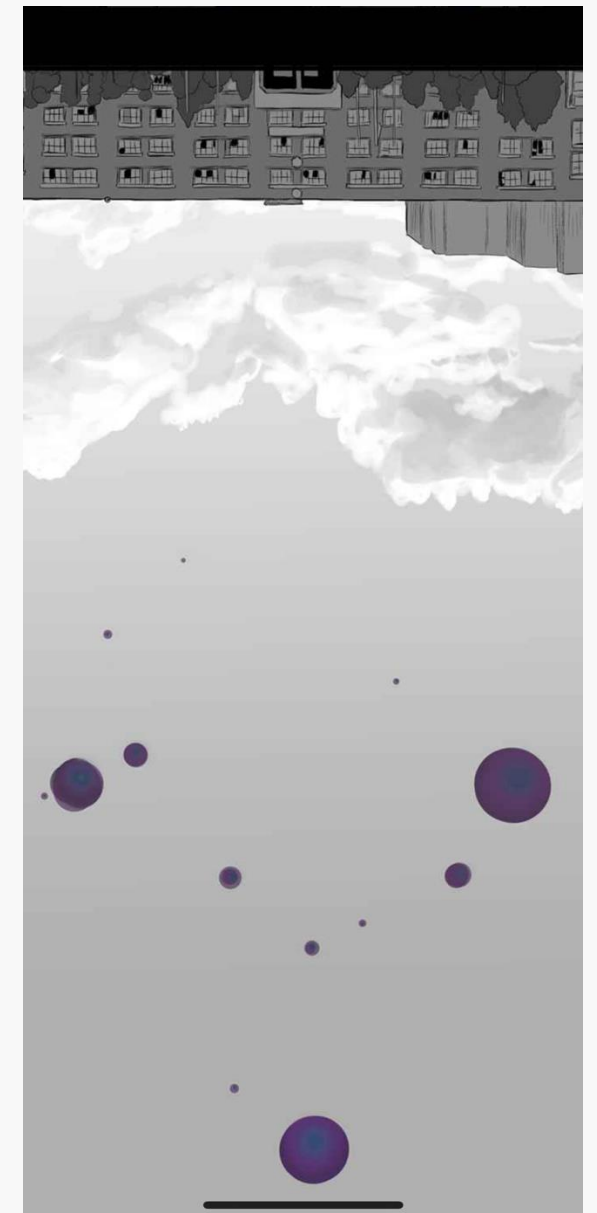
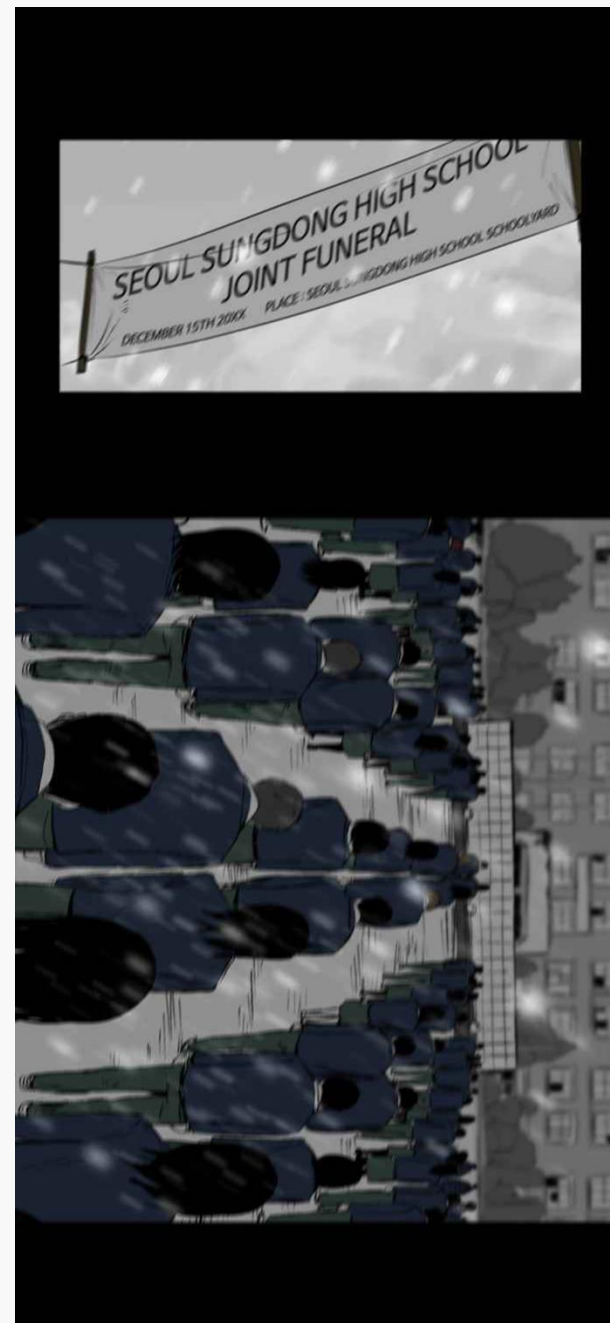
김동성이 기획하고 노수현이 그린 1924년 10월 13일자 네컷 만화 '명팅구리 헛물켜기'. /조선일보DB



Vertical Reading?

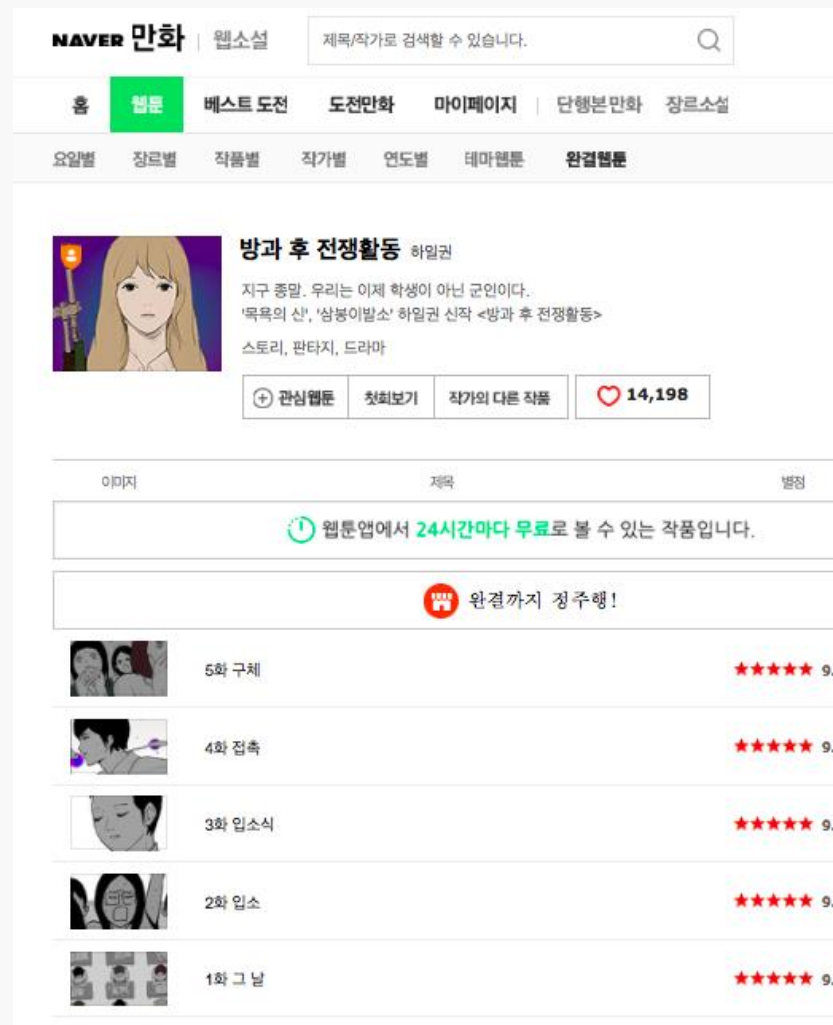
“Infinite canvas” (Scott McCloud)

e.g., vertical layout optimized for action/horror/thriller genre



HA Il Kwon's *Duty after School* (2012–13)

Interactive/participatory reading & Transmedia storytelling/cultural production



16920 추천
9.8 평점
24198 댓글

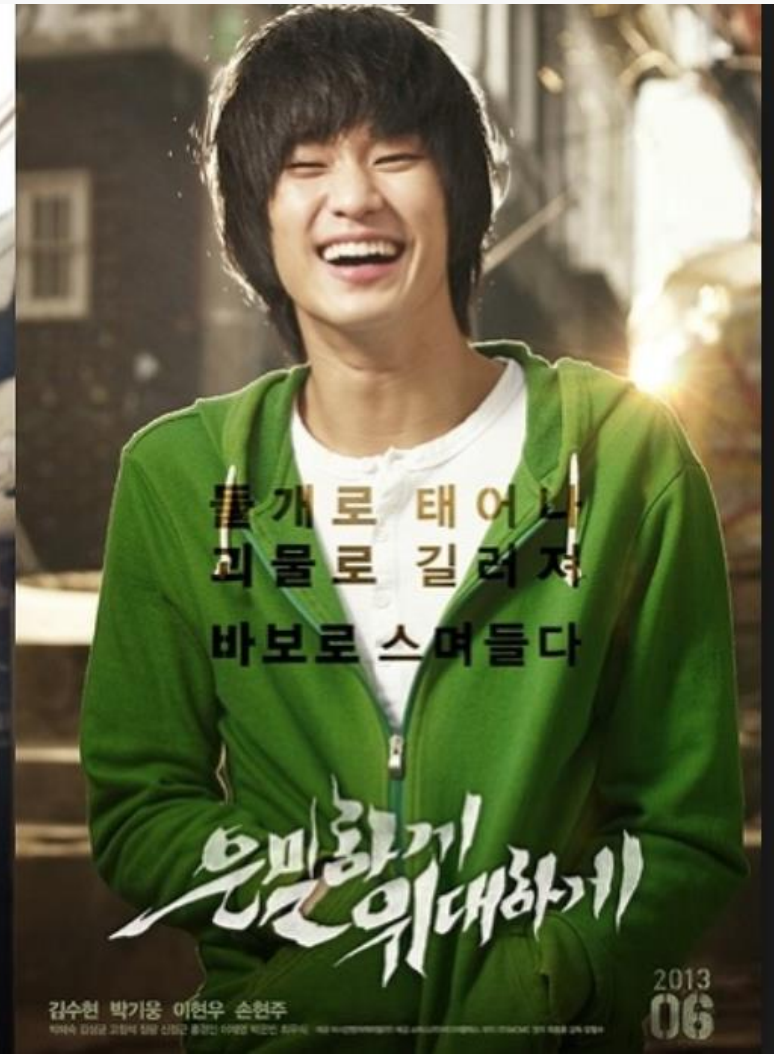
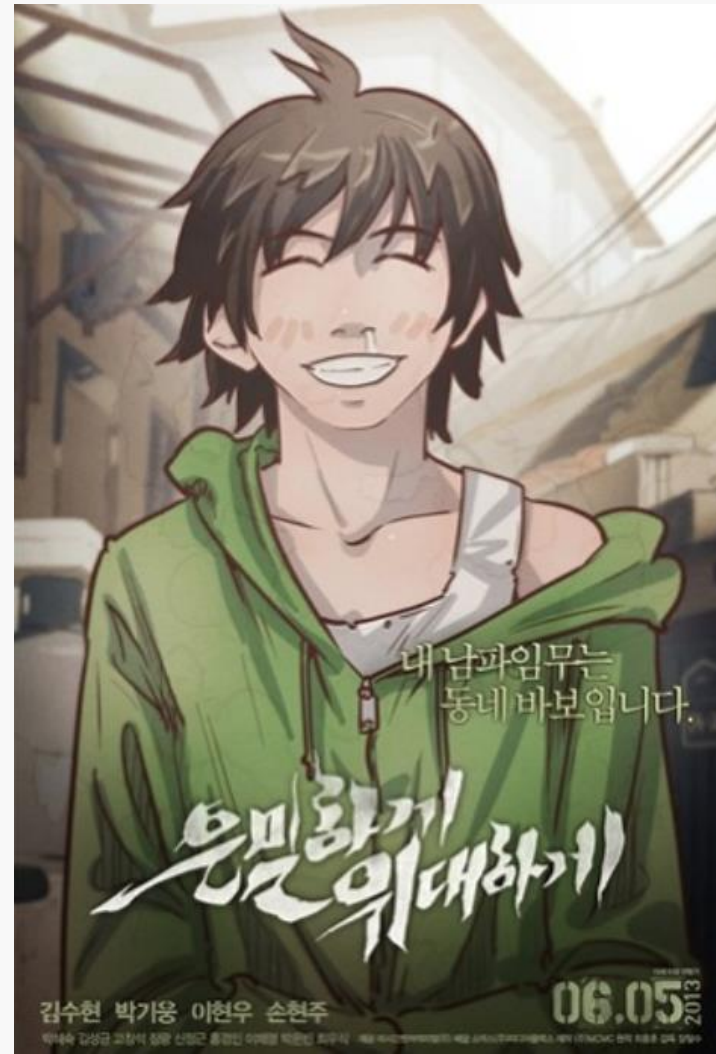
Webtoon *Duty after School* (2012–13)



TV Drama *Duty after School* (2023)



Cartoonist HUN



- published from 2010 to 2011 on Daum
- 300 million views in total
- an exceptionally high ranking (9.7 out of 10)
- won the 2011 Korean Content Award
- adapted into a film in 2013 (7 million tickets)
- the highest box office record at that time for a webtoon-based movie

This chapter focuses on two coming-of-age webtoons that appropriate Cold War images and words to graphically narrativize young lives on the fringe of a neoliberal society. To express the “growing pains” of millennial pölle, they present dystopic scenes in which the imperative of survival (saengjon) suppresses the vitality of everyday living (saenghwal) and outweighs the potential of one’s life (saengmyöng). The liminal, superfluous existence of their cartoony characters smartly exploits the images of wormified subjects from the tradition of division aesthetics while largely leaving the formerly prevailing visions of that tradition untranslated. For instance, the contemporary heroes scarcely pursue a vision of nonalignment, as Choi In-hun’s intellectual protagonists did in the 1960s (see chapter 1), nor does their “crawling” consciously tackle social amnesia, as Park Wan-suh’s female war survivors did in the 1970s (see chapter 2). It is also rare for these webtoons to provide a direct critique of national division or to rehabilitate a homogeneous community, as projected in Jo Jung-rae’s minjung narrative (see chapter 3).

공화국에선 '혁명전사'
이곳에선 '간첩'



난 스파이다.

Rhyuhwan / Donggu
the North's top agent /
(surplus) in the south

Kanch'ŏp (spy)

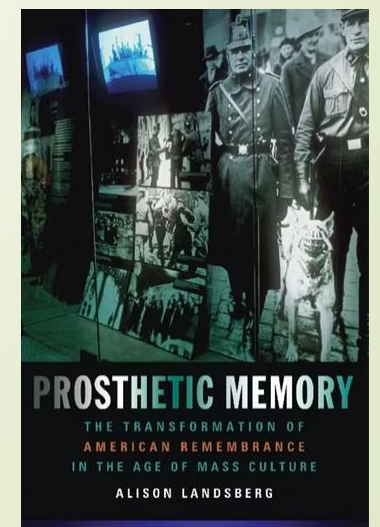
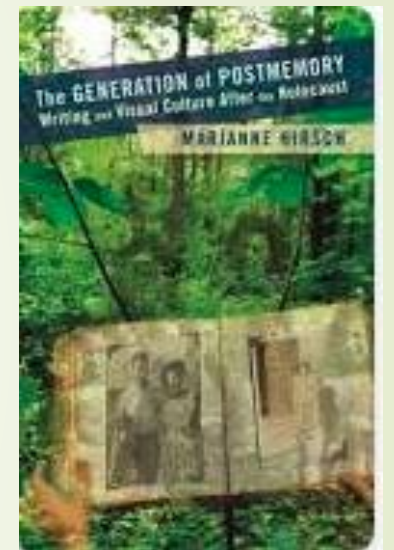
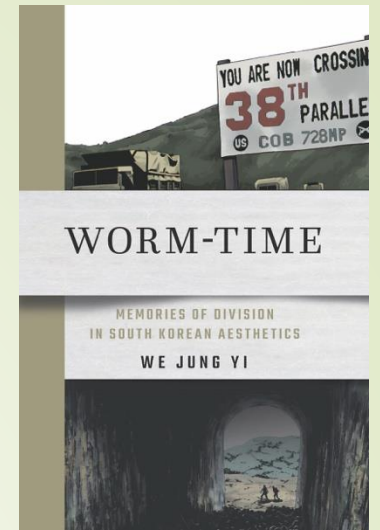


Ri Panghui/Yi Myŏnghyŏn
killer/sweetheart in the 1999
blockbuster *Shiri*

Transmemory:

the translation of and transformation through memory

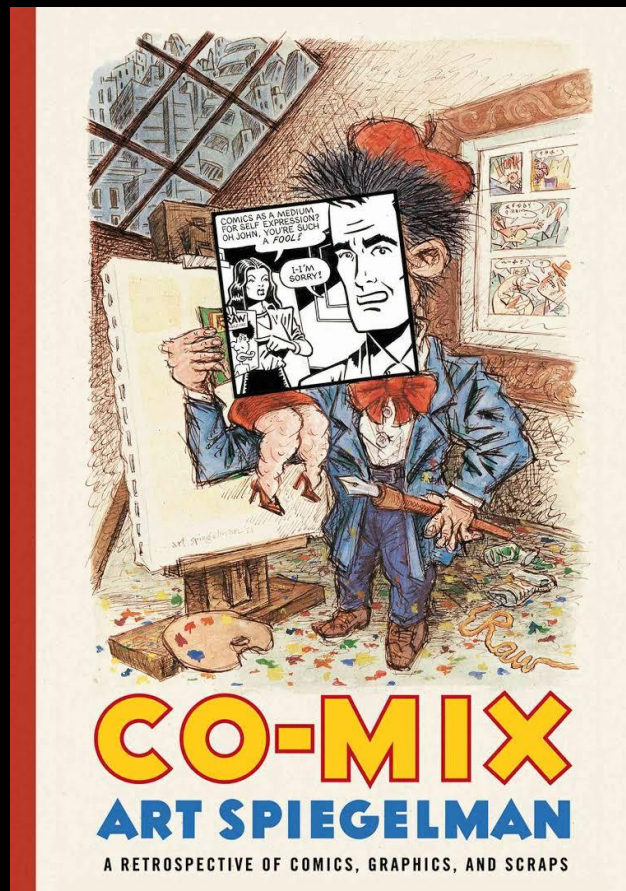
- Integrates critical studies on the inter- and transgenerational inheritance of traumatic memories (e.g., Marianne Hirsch's "postmemory") & the transportability in the age of mass media (e.g., Alison Landsberg's "prosthetic memory")
- Challenges the notions of "post-ness" and "inauthenticity" assumed for second-generation remembrance and mass-mediated representations.



THE TRANSMEMORY APPROACH TO THE THREE MODES OF LIFE

- Approaching division aesthetics as works of transmemory allows us to distinguish several modes of living in the continuum that spans the postcolonial, Cold War, and neoliberal periods. To elucidate these, I utilize three words that not only share the common root of “life” (*saeng*; 生) in the Sinographic script but also convey its heterogeneous nuances. The first is *saengjon* (生存), a mode of survival in the unending state of war that this book identifies as wormifying conditions. The second is *saenghwal* (生活), a mode pertaining to everyday living and vitality, even as a parasitic being. The third is *saengmyŏng* (生命), a mode laden with the imperative to fulfill one’s life through respecting others, especially the less fortunate who can no longer fulfill their own potential. These modes are imbricated with one another, as together they constitute *saeng*, or *sam* (삼) in native Korean. In truth, every human lives all modes at once. Still, each mode impacts people’s lives disparately. For instance, it would be a luxury to discuss the quality of *saenghwal* when one’s *saengjon* is at stake. Whereas *saengjon* and *saenghwal* are bound to the domains of biopolitics and social economy, *saengmyŏng*, with its invocation of reciprocal responsibilities and symbiotic possibilities, is linked to the domains of ethics and justice. And this definition of *saengmyŏng*, a term with broad application, strongly resonates with the idea of “living in relation to others” as expressed by the word *sangsaeng* (相生). *Worm-Time*, pp. 10-11.

Still, the new media texts draw on, as well as redraw, old aesthetic conventions in forging intimate, virtual connections among the surplus youth who want to pause their saenghwal-for-saengjon and pose a question about saengmyŏng as hierarchized by late capitalism. The war webtoons under discussion para-sitically transplant the literary and cinematic imagination of border riding onto the web's "infinite canvas" as they render artificial breaks in the flow of diegetic time.⁸ In addition to eliciting multisensory and affective responses from online users, this caesura that harnesses mobile technology—which I call a "mobile caesura"—enables them to disengage from the neoliberal order in which each individual must survive on their own, however contingently. By doing so, it further facilitates the operation of transmemory to pierce through the unrelenting developmentalist myth in divided Korea. Like Roland Barthes's *punctum*, by which he denotes a photographic detail that pricks the viewer to look for what lies beyond the realm of the visible,⁹ the two texts' mobile caesuras turn our gaze toward those lives that have become obscured, forgotten, or neglected in the prolonged time of wormification.



“Co-mix” as a noun and a verb: “mix[ing] together the words and pictures.” See “Mixing Words and Pictures: Art Spiegelman Discusses the Art of Comics: Interview by Rebecca Sutton” (2013)

INTER/TEXTUALITY, TRANS-NATIONALITY/MEDIALITY AND HISTORICITY OF CONTEMPORARY CO-MIX

C L O S E R E A D I N G & C O N T E X T U A L I Z A T I O N



ORIGINALS

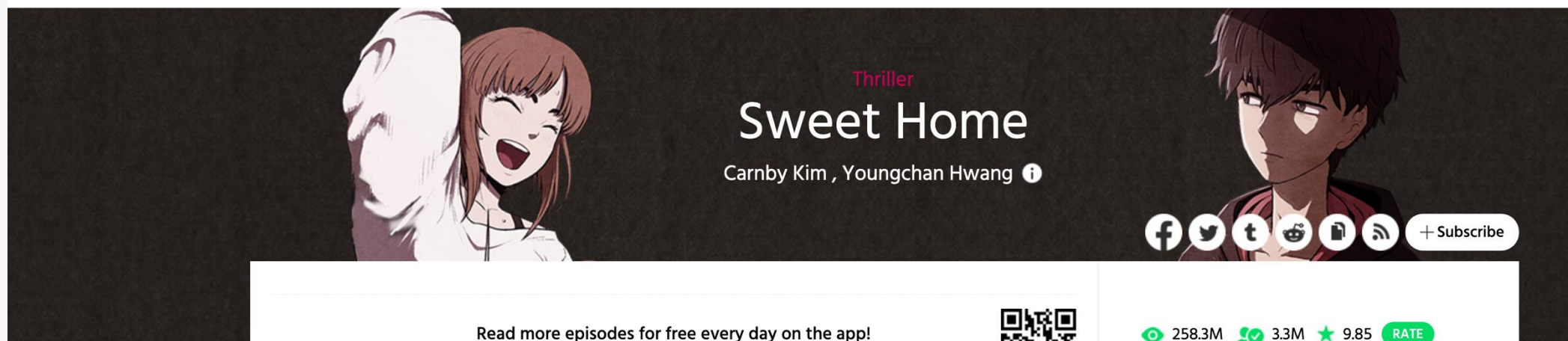
GENRES

POPULAR

CANVAS

Creators 101

Publish



Read more episodes for free every day on the app!
Scan the QR code to download the **WEBTOON** app on the App Store or Google Play.



	Ep. 14	Apr 2, 2018	184,651	#15
	Ep. 13	Mar 26, 2018	191,064	#14
	Ep. 12	Mar 19, 2018	179,384	#13
	Ep. 11	Mar 12, 2018	180,429	#12

258.3M 3.3M 9.85 **RATE**

COMPLETED

Now a major adaptation on streaming. After an unexpected family tragedy, a reclusive high school student is forced to leave his home -- only to face something much scarier: a reality where monsters are trying to wipe out humanity. Now he must fight alongside a handful of reluctant heroes to try and save the world before it's too late.



NAVER 웹툰 | 웹소설 | 시리즈

제목/작

홈 웹툰 컷츠 ^N 베스트도전 도전만화 마이페이지

전체 로맨스 판타지 액션 일상 스릴러 개그 무협/사극 드라마 감성 스포츠



<지금우리학교는>

siru**** 글/그림 | 베스트도전

일상적인 학교에서 벌어진 학생감금 사건.. 그사건의 진실규명에 더커져버린 또다른사건.. 그리고 어느새 돌이킬수없는....지금우리학교는!!

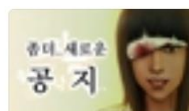
+ 관심 7,283

첫화보기 · 제1화 <여느때처럼..>

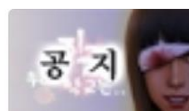
공유하기

총 28화

최신화부터 | 1화부터



[작가입니다^^]
★ 9.33 09.04.23



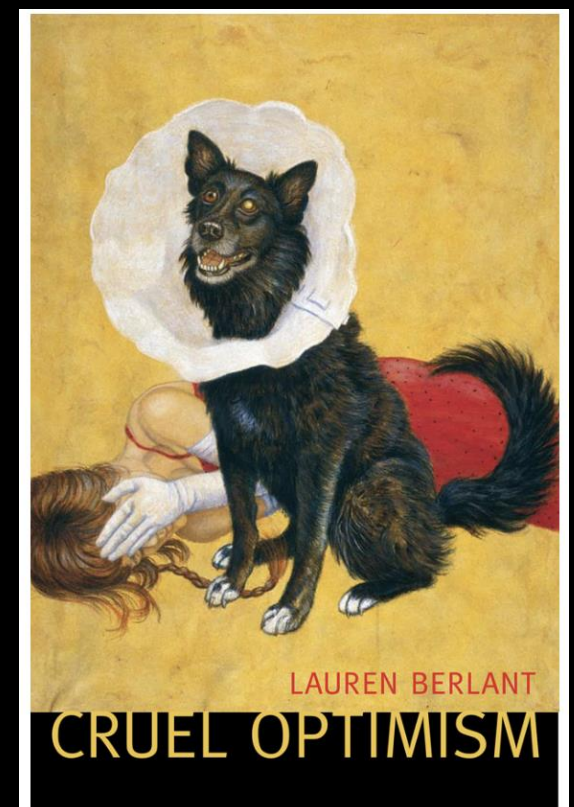
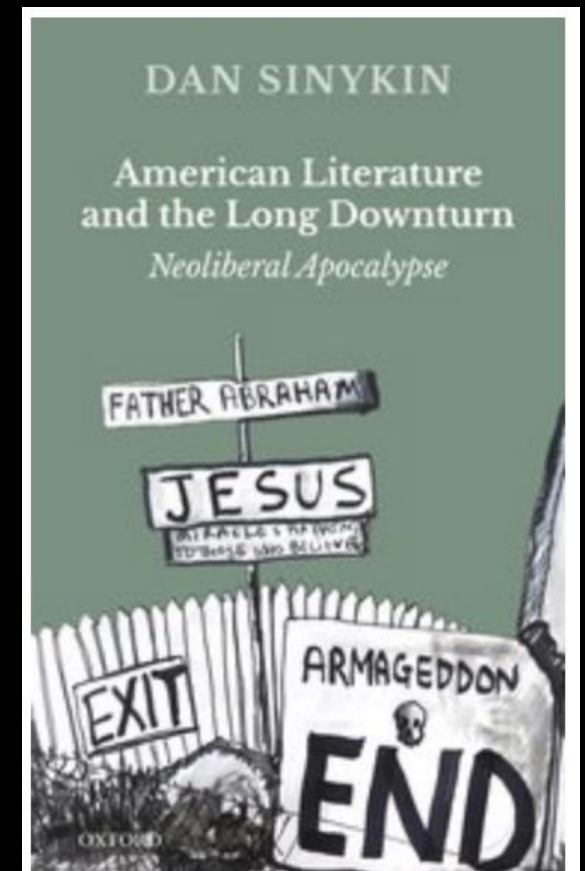
[새로운 공지]
★ 9.22 09.04.14



How does each of the original webtoons appropriate and reinvent zombie/monster conventions to illustrate twenty-first-century Korean society amid global neoliberalism? What explains their appeal to “generation MZ” (MZ *sedae*, comprising millennials and generation Z), whom we can see not only as early adopters of popular media content but also as participatory subjects in internet-based social activism? And what if, in pointing to the dead end of late-capitalist biopolitics and elevating a vision of posthuman, trans-species relationality, these dystopic coming-of-age texts ultimately reassert the dominant order of self-empowerment for survival, along with heteronormative gender roles?

RESEARCH Q.

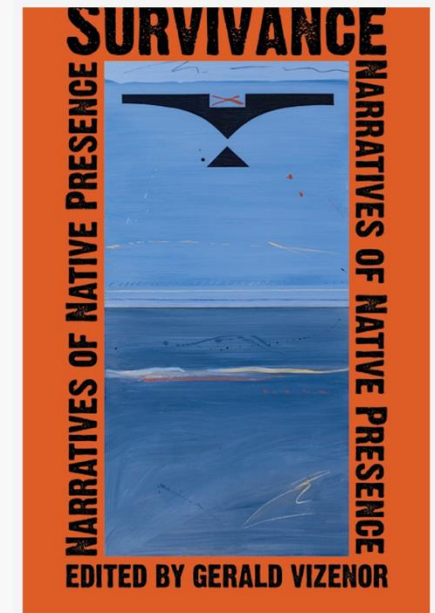
- Neoliberal apocalypse as a narrative mode employed to “reveal the textures of life ... under neoliberalism”
- where “fantasies of the good life” from the period of high growth, such as “upward mobility, job security, political and social equality, and lively, durable intimacy,” have been shattered by neoliberal restructuring.



- If we were to read the two Korean webtoons not as stories of survival charged with passivity, victimhood, and nihilism but as an “aesthetics of *survivance*” with a glimmer of resistance, succession, and even hope that emanates through the precarious present and anthropocidal future, it would be because they envision *contingent* engagement among endangered lives, human or nonhuman.



- Gerald Vizenor: “Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction.”
- “Native American Indians have resisted empires, negotiated treaties, and as strategies of survivance, participated by stealth and cultural irony in the simulations of absence in order to secure the chance of a decisive presence in national literature, history, and canonry. Native resistance of dominance, however serious, evasive and ironic, is an undeniable trace of presence over absence, nihility, and victimry.”



관계적
항존(抗存)

- Beenash Jafri: “the forms of relational survivance that emerge in the context of the neoliberal multicultural settler city.”
- “relational survivance ... generated from spaces of difference, tension, and incommensurability”

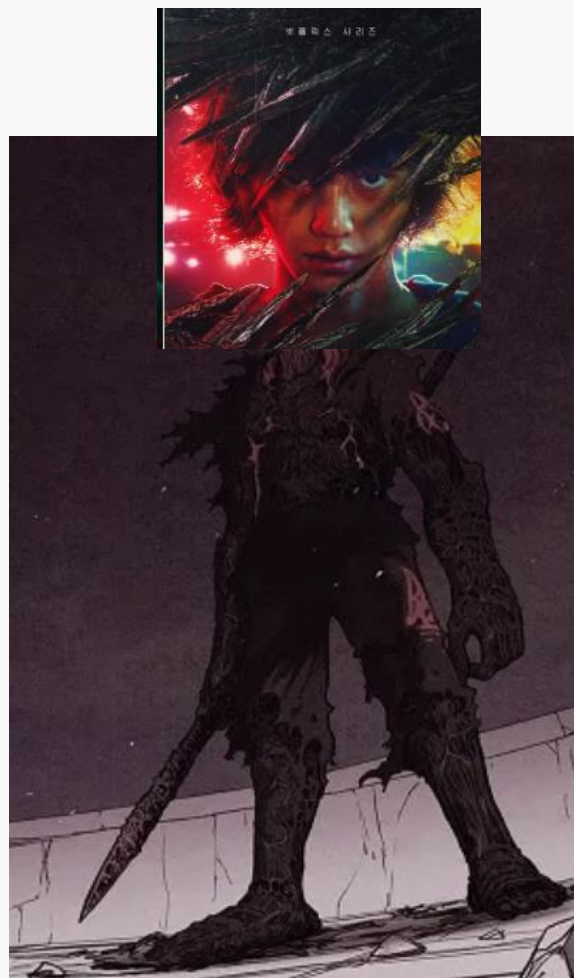


“death-worlds” & “living dead” (Achille Mbembe) “aesthetics of survivance” (Gerald Vizenor) “relational survivance” (Beenash Jafri)

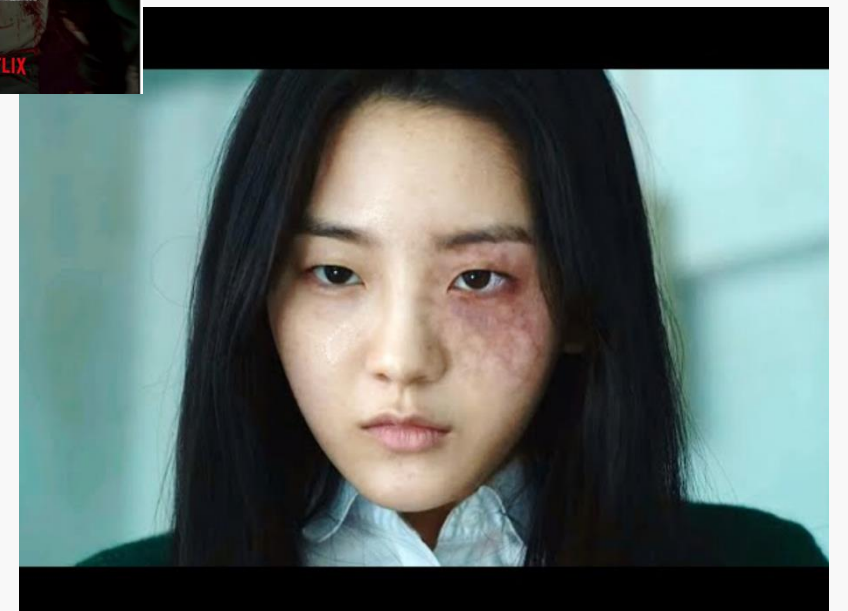
HALF MONSTER & HALF-ZOMBIE

FOR & AGAINST “SURVIVING ON YOUR OWN”

Sweet Home



Right Now, Our School



방통위 제재라는 이름의 행운

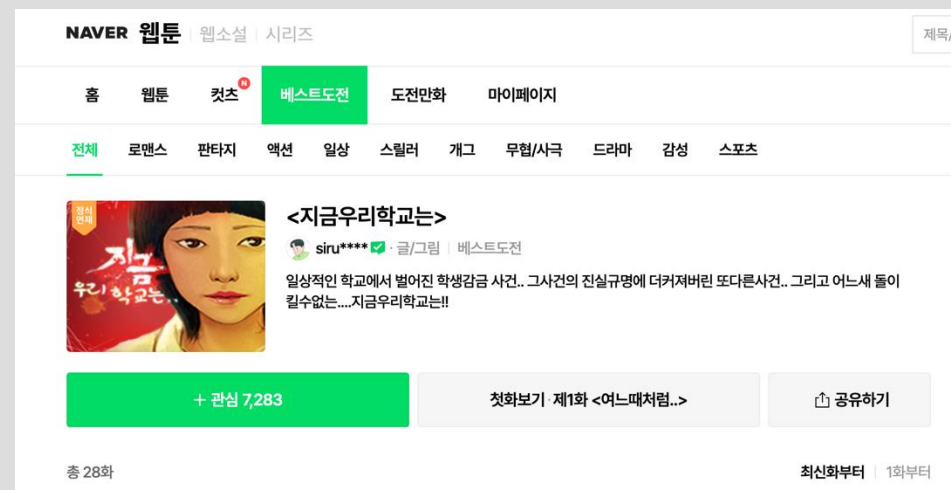
김 장영열 사진 백종현 2011-11-24

좋아요 6% 공유

<지금 우리학교는> 주동근



하지만 <지금 우리학교는>의 '19금 수위'는 결정적으로 [주동근](#) 작가의 작품을 더 많은 독자들이 감상할 수 있는 계기가 됐다. [주동근](#) 작가는 포털 사이트 네이버의 '도전만화' 코너 출신이다. 누구나 자신이 그린 만화를 올릴 수 있는 이 코너에서 네티즌의 별점과 댓글 평가가 우수한 작품은 '네이버 웹툰'에 연재될 수 있는 기회를 얻기도 한다. 도전만화에 <지금 우리학교는>을 연재하던 시절, [주동근](#) 작가의 삶은 녹록지 않았다. 애니메이션학과를 졸업한 그는 게임회사에 취직해 원화가로 활동하겠다는 청운의 꿈을 품고 경주에서 상경했지만 취업은 어려웠고 6개월 만에 생활비도 바닥났다. 아르바이트로 근근이 생활을 이어가던 중 그는 '왜 한국에는 좀비 만화가 없을까'라는 생각에 한 학교 학생들이 좀비로 돌변해가는 <지금 우리학교는>을 구상하게 됐다. 도전만화 코너에 초반부 에피소드를 연재하던 어느 날, [주동근](#) 작가는 네이버 담당자에게 두번의 연락을 받았다. 첫 번째 연락은 "방송통신위원회(이하 방통위)가 <지금 우리학교는>처럼 잔인한 웹툰이 아무런 제재없이 도전만화 코너에 연재되고 있다. 작가에게 당장 만화를 내려달라고 전해달라"는 내용이었고, 두 번째 연락은 "당신의 만화를 네이버 웹툰에 연재해도 되겠나"는 원고 청탁이 요지였다. "방통위의 제재가 없었다면 과연 네이버 담당자가 내 웹툰을 눈여겨봤을까? 그런 점에서 한편으로는 방통위가 고맙다." [주동근](#) 작가의 이름은 이러한 우여곡절을 거쳐 세상에 알려지게 됐다.

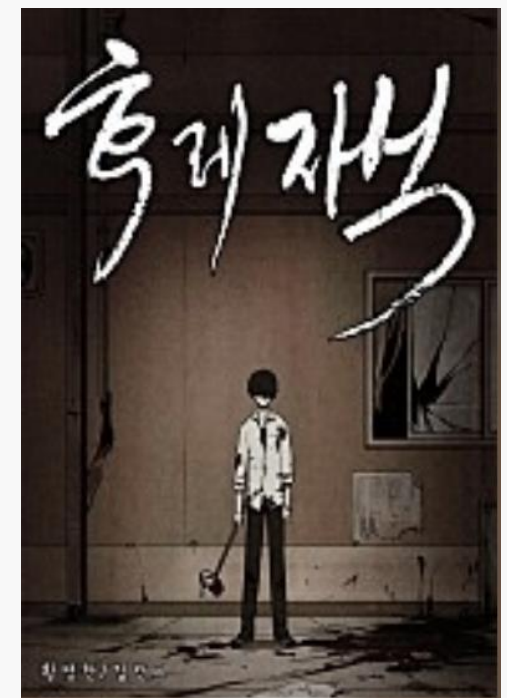


<지금 우리학교는>은 [주동근](#) 작가가 "언젠가는 영화화되기를 꿈꾸며" 야심차게 만든 웹툰이다. 과학실에서 좀비 바이러스에 감염된 한 여학생이 교실로 뛰어들어오면서 이야기는 시작된다. 영문도 모른 채 친구를 부축하던 학급 동료들은 친구에게 물려 사람을 뜯어먹는 좀비가 되어간다. 앰불런스에 실려가는 학생들이 구조원을 물고, 사고를 수습하러 학교에 온 경찰관들이 좀비가 되어가며 '좀비 바이러스'는 건잡을 수 없이 퍼지고 나라에서 '비상 계엄령'을 발동하는 사태까지 일어난다. 하지만 이 작품의 핵심은 <28일후...> <[새벽의 저주](#)>와 같은 대부분의 좀비영화들이 그렇듯 "'좀비 바이러스'를 해결하는 것이 아니라 극단적인 상황에서 변해가는 등장인물들의 심리"를 다루는 데 있다고 [주동근](#) 작가는 말한다. 격투 과정에서 부상당해 피흘리는 학급 친구를 감염자로 의심하고, 좀비가 된 선생님을 흥기로 찔러 죽여야 하는 상황에서 학생들은 어른이 되어간다.

SWEET HOME (2017–20)

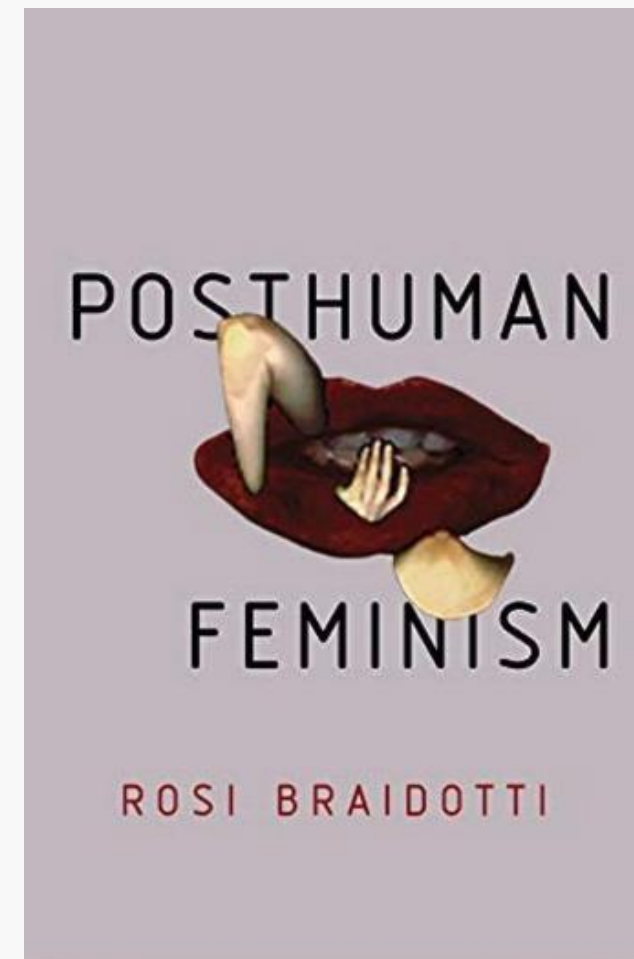


Kim K'anbi (Kim Mint'ae; b. 1982) and drawn by
Hwang Yŏngch'an (b. 1983)



Bastard (Hurejasik;
2014–16, Naver)

Rosi Braidotti's posthuman perspective warns us that "female self-aggrandizement" without feminist solidarity across class, race, and species merely fortifies the hyper-individualism and patriarchal familism promoted by the capitalist market economy while colluding with Western cultural imperialism.



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RESEARCH ARTICLE | MARCH 01 2018

Melodramatic Tactics for Survival in the Neoliberal Era: Excess and Justice in *The Heirs* and *My Love from the Star*

We Jung Yi

Journal of Korean Studies (2018) 23 (1): 153–173.

<https://doi.org/10.1215/21581665-4339098>

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Abstract

This article examines two 2013 TV miniseries, *The Heirs* and *My Love from the Star*, by relating their melodramatic aesthetics to the survivalist imperative under neoliberal governance. From the colonial *sinp'a* theater to Golden Age films, melodrama has operated as a popular mode of imagination that