

Whom Is the Magazine For? The Collective-to-Individual Shift in Korean Periodical Foundings, from Ideology and Public Causes to Everyday Life and Private Interest, 1900–2025

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Abstract

A magazine is for someone in two senses. It stands in a relation to its reader: distributed to members as an entitlement of belonging, or sold to strangers who choose it. And it makes a promise: goods of the collectivity, a nation to serve or a public to join, or goods of the person, a household, a body, an interest. Using 20,890 inaugural issues of Korean periodicals founded in 1900–2025, we measure both senses and show that the collective-to-individual shift happened twice, a generation apart. On the relational axis, a publisher taxonomy (four sectors, twelve types, 94.3% classified) and blockmodeling of title vocabulary recover the organ and commodity vocabularies; their balance holds two thirty-year plateaus and quadruples in one step at the 1985–1994 liberalization (step $R^2 = 0.905$ versus 0.725 linear). On the promissory axis, a 99-morpheme addressee dictionary, fixed by two independent blind codings and a third full review ($\kappa = 0.845$; Fleiss 0.805), ranks titles from nation and state to body and self-interest; the index drifts upward all century (linear $R^2 = 0.70$), while address to the nation, stable through every earlier watershed, collapses only at the 2010 boundary (step $R^2 = 0.63$ versus 0.10). The reader became a buyer in 1988 and ceased to be addressed as a national around 2010. Both shifts survive publisher controls: publisher type predicts naming in all thirteen periods, and the addressee individualizes inside every surviving sector, led by the state (2.08 to 2.83). Ideology and public causes were not gradually replaced by everyday life and private interest: new addressees stacked onto old ones, and the oldest collective layer was dropped. Individualization thereby acquires a measured anatomy, drift below and rupture above, and a chronology in which the market turned a generation before the address. Dataset, taxonomies, dictionary, and code are released.

Introduction

Magazine historians call the periodical a barometer of its age; this paper turns the metaphor into an instrument. The founding of a periodical is a triply informative event. It is an entry record: someone committed resources to sustained publication, and the inaugural issue names who. It is an act of address: a title calls into being, before any reader exists, the kind of person it is for, in Warner's (2002) sense of a public constituted by address. And it is a bet: founders stake capital or institutional standing on the claim that a particular readership, and a particular aspiration, will answer. Aggregated over twenty thousand dated foundings, inaugural issues therefore preserve, in a rare and quantifiable form, both who produced culture and what a society invited its members to want, the supply side of Williams's (1977) structure of feeling. The periodical has earned that evidentiary role: it is the medium in which print capitalism imagined its communities (Anderson, 1983) and in which the early public sphere assembled (Habermas, 1989).

We put one question to this record: whom is the magazine for? The question has two senses, and the design follows them. In the relational sense, a periodical is for its reader either as a member, the organ of an organization received as an entitlement of belonging, or as a stranger, a commodity chosen and bought in a market; the distinction is the member/stranger divide of public-sphere theory made operational. In the promissory sense, a periodical is for its reader as bearer of collective goods, a nation to serve or a public cause to join, or as manager of private goods, a household, a body, a portfolio of self-interest. The title of this paper names a single historical claim about both senses: over 120 years, Korean periodical foundings moved from the collective to the individual, from ideology and public causes to everyday life and private interest. What has never been established is whether that movement is real at the scale of the whole founding record, when it occurred, in what temporal form, and whether it reflects a turnover of producers or a change of norms within them.

Three findings organize the answer. First, the shift happened twice, once in each register, a generation apart: the organ–commodity balance reverses in a single decade at liberalization, so that the reader became a buyer around 1988, whereas the promissory centre of gravity drifts upward all century and its topmost collective layer, address to nation and state, collapses only at the 2010 boundary. Second, beneath both shifts the producer population moved through five phases, from magazine capital through a school-borne institutional era to press and corporate capital and, since 2010, back to public bodies, and publisher type predicts naming in every one of thirteen periods. Third, the promissory shift survives controls for publisher sector: the addressee moves inside every population that continues to publish, and most inside the state sector itself.

Substantively, the paper provides the first founding-level, century-scale measurement of the collective-to-individual shift in a national culture, on both of its axes, and dates its two discontinuities. Methodologically, it releases two reusable instruments built on one archive: a theory-grounded publisher taxonomy with a fully specified classification pipeline, and an addressee-of-aspiration scale whose 99-morpheme dictionary was fixed by two independent blind codings and a third full review under a pre-registered majority rule. Theoretically, it gives individualization a two-layer temporal anatomy, drift below and rupture above, and shows that in a compressed modernity the final carrier of individual address can be the state.

Theoretical background

Two modes of periodical existence, and the producer population

The organ–commodity distinction is a convergence of several literatures rather than our invention. The corporate and organizational house organ, a periodical issued to members, employees, congregants, or clients, is an internationally recognized category with its own bibliography (Riley, 1992); Korean law draws the same line, exempting from registration publications distributed free by organizations to their own members (Periodicals Promotion Act, 2008, Art. 16); and Korean magazine historiography has long tracked the commercial/non-commercial balance of registered titles (Academy of Korean Studies, n.d.). What these traditions lack is a producer-side, founding-level record. Treating cultural production capacity as a population of organizations places the problem in the vocabulary of organizational ecology, with its foundings, densities, and selection (Hannan and Freeman, 1989), and connects it to the economics of cultural capital as a stock reproduced across generations (Throsby, 2001). Inaugural issues supply exactly the dated, attributable founding record for every entrant, across all genres and over a century, that this framing requires; to our knowledge no national periodical ecosystem has been observed at this grain and duration.

That the periodical, rather than the book or the broadcast, is the right site for this question has itself been theorized. Periodical studies constituted itself as a field on the claim that periodicals are autonomous cultural objects with a form of their own, serial and open-ended, each number at once a complete object and an instalment of a continuing enterprise (Latham and Scholes, 2006; Beetham, 1989). Two properties of that form carry the present design. First, mode of address: in Warner's (2002) account a public is a relation among strangers created by circulation, whereas an organ reaches readers whose relation precedes the text; the organ/commodity distinction operationalizes that member/stranger divide. Second, self-declaration: title and masthead work as periodical codes, a signifying system in their own right (Brooker and Thacker, 2009), which licenses reading twenty thousand titles as data. The medium also archives its own producer population, since every entry leaves a dated inaugural issue naming its publisher; the fragility of that record (Latham and Scholes, 2006) is what makes a preserved inaugural collection a rare measurement instrument.

The collective-to-individual axis

Individualization theory claims that late modernity re-addresses its members: institutions increasingly speak to persons as self-responsible planners of their own lives rather than as bearers of collective fates (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). The Korean debate adds compression: Chang (2010) argues that Korea traversed in decades what Europe traversed in centuries, producing individualization without individualism, an institutional re-addressing unaccompanied by liberal individualist culture (Chang and Song, 2010). Foucault's (1988) technologies of the self, and the literatures on emotional capitalism (Illouz, 2007) and makeover culture (McGee, 2005), describe the destination register: the self as permanent project of health, feeling, and employability. All of these are claims about address, about whom institutions speak to and what they invite. Yet their evidence is almost entirely late-century: value surveys from the 1980s onward, family statistics, interview studies. The theories narrate a century; the measurements cover its last quarter.

The founding title as observable address

Periodical titles are a peculiarly disciplined form of speech: short, public, legally registered, and strategic, a title must announce in a few morphemes for whom the object exists. Korean titles are built, as the results show, from a compact combinatorial grammar of scope, domain, and organizational-form words; the present study reads the stratum that grammar leaves free, the content morphemes in which a founding declares its promised benefit. When a 1948 weekly calls itself by the nation, a 1965 monthly by cultivation, a 1988 magazine by living, and a 2015 bulletin by health and mind, each names the intended beneficiary of reading. We call this variable the addressee of aspiration and order it on a four-level scale: L1 nation and state; L2 society, citizens, and the public; L3 home, family, and everyday life; L4 the individual body, psyche, and private economic interest. The scale operationalizes the collective-to-individual axis without a binary coding whose poles would be normative labels rather than observable categories; L3 and L4 are separated by a reflexivity criterion, whether the self is the object worked on, following Giddens (1991) and Foucault (1988).

Classifying publishers: sectors and types

Who publishes is a sectoral question before it is an industrial one. The nonprofit-sector research program of Salamon and Anheier established that organizations outside state and market require their own classification, and the resulting ICNPO distinguishes education and research bodies, religious congregations, philanthropic foundations, professional associations, and unions as separate

major groups (Salamon and Anheier, 1992, 1996). Welfare-triangle theory places these third-sector forms between the poles of state, market, and community (Evers, 1995; Pestoff, 1998). Media research adds a distinction inside the market pole: Benson's (2025) ownership typology separates market, private, civil-society, and public media, and distinguishes media firms from non-media firms that publish incidentally, the corporate house organ (Riley, 1992). Korean sources converge on the same architecture from two directions: the Encyclopedia of Korean Culture classifies magazines by commerciality and records that non-commercial monthly titles overtook commercial ones in 1985 (Academy of Korean Studies, n.d.), and Article 16 of the Periodicals Promotion Act (2008) exempts from registration publications issued by the state, local governments, or organizations for free distribution to their own members. Our taxonomy is the intersection of these literatures.

A simpler alternative deserves a note. The design could be collapsed into a single public-interest/private-interest dichotomy, whose nearest observable cousin, the commercial/non-commercial balance of registered titles, Korean magazine historiography has long used (Academy of Korean Studies, n.d.). But the public/private distinction bundles ownership, funding, access, and beneficiary into one label (Weintraub, 1997), and its only cleanly operationalizable core is the profit/nonprofit boundary defined by the nondistribution constraint (Hansmann, 1980). The two axes used here decompose the dichotomy into the components the record actually contains: who issues, and for whom. Folded along the first axis, the design reproduces the commercial/non-commercial tradition while preserving the off-diagonal cases that a single label erases: the firm that publishes for its own members, and the state that publishes for the general public.

Korean media history and the periodization debate

Korean press historiography treats 1980 (forced media consolidation under the Basic Press Act) and 1987–1988 (democratization and the shift from licensing to registration) as watersheds (Youm, 1996; Kwak, 2012). The standard evidence is volumetric: Seoul general dailies grew from six to ten and regional dailies from ten to thirty within three years of liberalization, the collapse of the newspaper cartel (Journalists Association of Korea, 2020); subsequent debate has concerned press freedom, competition, and quality (Cho, 2003; Kwak, 2012). What the daily-newspaper lens cannot show is what happened to the rest of the periodical ecosystem, the magazines, bulletins, journals, and house organs that outnumber newspapers by an order of magnitude in founding events; nor can volume statistics distinguish a larger field from a differently composed one.

Fields, isomorphism, and naming

Two theoretical traditions make naming analytically consequential. Bourdieu's field theory defines the autonomy of a field of cultural production as the degree to which production is governed by the field's own rules rather than by the external principles of state and market (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996), a concept notoriously resistant to quantitative operationalization (Sapiro, 2003; Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Neo-institutional theory predicts that organizations under uncertainty imitate legitimated forms (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). A periodical's title is where these forces become observable: a public claim to a category, assembled from a finite stock of naming morphemes. Blockmodeling in the structural-equivalence tradition (Breiger et al., 1975; White et al., 1976) can recover the categorical structure of that stock without pre-given genre labels, and regression on dyads can apportion the organization of naming among genre, publisher type, and the inertia of prior structure.

Research questions

RQ1 (producers): who founded Korean periodicals across 1900–2025, and through what phases did the producer population move? RQ2 (the relational sense of for): did the balance between the organ mode and the commodity mode shift from member toward stranger, and in what temporal form? We expect a discontinuous reversal at liberalization, with combinatorial micro-grammar drifting continuously beneath it. RQ3 (the promissory sense of for): did the addressee of aspiration shift from ideology and public causes toward everyday life and private interest, and in what temporal form? We expect layering then dropout: a drifting index with a discontinuous exit of the topmost collective layer. RQ4 (coupling): how do producers, relation, and promise interlock? We expect publisher identity to organize naming throughout, and the promissory shift to survive sector controls, distinguishing a norm shift from a composition effect. All expectations were fixed before the addressee dictionary was locked.

Data and methods

One archive carries two instruments (Fig. 1). The corpus and period frame feed two parallel measurement tracks: the relational axis classifies every publisher and blockmodels the naming vocabulary to score each period's balance between organ and commodity, and the promissory axis fixes a three-coder dictionary to score each period's addressee of aspiration. The tracks share the same records, the same fourteen periods, and the same equal-complexity test for temporal form, and are estimated independently until the coupling stage, where publisher-controlled models ask how producer, relation, and promise interlock.

Data

The Gachon Museum (Incheon, Republic of Korea), an affiliated institution of the Gachon Cultural Foundation, holds approximately 21,000 inaugural issues of Korean periodicals. The catalogue used here (July 2025 update) contains 20,980 records with fields for title, publisher, founding date, frequency, and a curator-assigned category; 20,890 records carry a parseable founding year (1900–2025) and constitute the analytic corpus. All analyses use the already-digitized catalogue; no new imaging or physical handling of the collection was required. Annual founding counts (Fig. 2) collapse after 2014 (197 titles in 2013; 63 in 2014; 29 in 2017). Two causes overlap: a real contraction of print-periodical founding following smartphone diffusion, and a contraction of the Museum's acquisition activity, visible as a fall in acquisition-year volume from 713 items (2013) to 18 (2023) while cataloguing lag remained short (2018 foundings were accessioned within the same year). Because the two causes cannot be separated with these data, the post-2014 records are retained but bounded as a distinct period whose sampling meaning differs from the rest; the acquisition-year distribution is reported in the supplementary dataset. The collection has been described bibliographically once before: a study of the 1,356 titles founded between 1900 and 1969 catalogued the physical and bibliographic properties of the earliest holdings (Lee et al., 2017). The present study is the first to use the full 1900–2025 range and to analyse publishers and titles as measurement instruments.

An external benchmark bounds the representativeness concern. The official registry of periodicals, maintained under the Newspaper and Periodicals Acts, moves in phase with the collection wherever the two records measure comparable things: the liberalization shock that dominates the collection's flow (press-company foundings rising 43-fold between 1975–1979 and 1990–1994) is the event that contemporary sources record as the collapse of the newspaper cartel (Journalists Association of Korea, 2020), and the mid-1980s onset of the organ-side expansion matches the documented 1985 crossover of non-commercial over commercial monthly titles (Academy of Korean Studies, n.d.). The registry's continued growth (23,719 registered periodicals in 2021, up 4.1% on the year; Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2022) does not contradict the collection's post-2014 contraction, because the registry is a stock of active registrations increasingly carried by internet-only classes, whereas the collection records the flow of print foundings. The registry microdata carry per-title registration dates, so a year-by-year print-registration benchmark is directly replicable alongside the released materials.

A two-axis publisher classification grounded in prior literature

Axis 1 classifies the publishing organization into four sectors and twelve types (Table 1). The sector level follows the state–market–community triangle (Evers, 1995; Pestoff, 1998); the third-sector types follow ICNPO major groups (Salamon and Anheier, 1996); the four-way split of the market sector (press companies, book publishers, magazine houses, and non-media firms) follows media-ownership typology and the house-organ literature (Benson, 2025; Riley, 1992). Educational institutions are kept as a separate, explicitly hybrid sector: public and private schools cannot be distinguished from the publisher string alone, and at 19% of all records the category is too large to bury. Axis 2 classifies the publication's function into three layers (member-serving, public-serving, and scholarly/coterie) following Article 16 (Periodicals Promotion Act, 2008), the serving-orientation distinction in nonprofit theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1992), and Korean magazine historiography (Choi, 2004). It is operationalized from the curator category field (5,537 raw values merged into 13 macro-genres), which is independent of the publisher field, so the cross-tabulation of the two axes serves as a validity check (market-sector output is 72% public-serving; education-sector output is 87% member-serving or scholarly).

Table 1

The two-axis publisher taxonomy (Axis 1 shown). Axis 2 assigns each title's function (member-serving / public-serving / scholarly-coterie) from the independent curator-category field. Classification was executed as a five-stage pipeline (Table 2). A regex rule base assigns 80.3% of records; a manual dictionary (all 310 publisher strings occurring at least twice among rule-base residuals, classified item by item and released in full) adds 3.4%; auxiliary patterns (military units, clan associations, information offices) add 2.7%; a title-and-genre inference stage for publishers whose strings are uninformative adds 7.9%; 1,189 records (5.7%) remain unclassified. Period-wise classification rates range from 85.8% (2015–2025) to 97.4% (1965–1969); the decline itself (the growth of publishers that fit no classical organizational template) is reported as a finding, and a seeded 500-record audit workbook for the residual is released with the data.

Type	Sector	Operational markers (examples)	Grounding
Educational institution	Education (hybrid)	universities, schools, student councils	ICNPO G2; hybrid public/private
Academic body	Third sector	learned societies, research institutes	ICNPO G2
Occupational/civic association	Third sector	associations, cooperatives, alumni, clan bodies	ICNPO G11
Religious body	Third sector	churches, temples, denominations, YMCA	ICNPO G10
Foundation/cultural center	Third sector	foundations, cultural centers, medical corps.	ICNPO G8/G1
Union/party	Third sector	labor unions, parties, legislators' offices	ICNPO G11/G7
Public agency	State	ministries, local governments, public corps., public broadcasters, museums	Welfare triangle: state; ownership: public
Press company	Market	newspaper, broadcasting, wire services	Ownership: market media
Book publisher	Market	publishing houses, bookstores	Publishing industry
Magazine house	Market	magazine/press/media firms; bare “○○-sa” trade names	Periodicals Act registrants
Non-media firm	Market	joint-stock and industry-named companies	House-organ publishers
Unclassified	n/a	residual after five stages	n/a

Table 2

The five-stage classification pipeline. Stages 2–4 and the full dictionary are released with the data.

Stage	Content	Records	Share
1. Rule base	Regex matching to 12 types	16,772	80.3%
2. Manual dictionary	310 recurrent residual publisher strings, hand-classified	713	3.4%
3. Auxiliary patterns	Extended rules (military, clan, YMCA, information offices)	560	2.7%
4. Title/genre inference	Assignment from title and curator category where publisher string is uninformative	1,656	7.9%
5. Residual	Unclassified (audit workbook released)	1,189	5.7%

The naming-morpheme network

Titles and publisher strings were tokenized with the Kiwi morphological analyzer v0.17 (Lee, n.d.) into common nouns, proper nouns, and foreign-word tokens; tokens are deduplicated within each record so that a title/publisher pair such as “Changjo / Changjo-sa” contributes each morpheme once. The full vocabulary is ~ 18,000 types (mean 3.77 tokens per record); the 50 highest-frequency morphemes serve as network nodes, the count constrained by the sparsest periods. Edges are Salton cosine associations (Salton and McGill, 1983) computed within each period. Throughout the paper, Korean terms are given in Revised Romanization, with English glosses in parentheses supplied by the authors.

One property of Korean requires explicit treatment. The analyzer decomposes compound nouns: “sahoegwahak-yeonguso” (social-science research institute) into social + science + institute, the publisher prefix “doseo-chulpan” (book publishing) into book + publishing. Edges therefore mix genuine co-occurrence of distinct words with fragments of single lexicalized compounds. Among the 100 strongest whole-period edges, 18 (24% of cosine weight) are compound-internal; the strongest, publishing–book (cosine 0.878), derives entirely from the conventional prefix of publisher trade names. We do not delete these edges, since that “social science” congealed into one unit

is itself part of the naming grammar; instead we compute a compound-internal ratio for every edge, report the two edge classes separately, and replicate all analyses with compound-derived edges removed (robustness set).

Period design and sample equalization

Fourteen periods are used (Table 3): twelve equal-width five-year periods spanning 1955–2014, bracketed by two consolidated periods, a formative era (1900–1954, 322 records) and a transitional era (2015–2025, 317 records), whose sparsity makes finer division impossible (1900–1949 in total holds 216 records). Equal width is required so that inter-period comparisons live on a single time axis; five years is the floor at which a 50 × 50 matrix remains estimable (three-year bins drop to 183 records). The near equality of the two bracket periods (322 vs. 317) makes them symmetric exceptions with the same justification. Because period samples range twelvefold (317–3,859) and raw matrix density ranges 0.040–0.460, all inter-period comparisons use sample-equalized (EQN) matrices: 200 draws of n = 300 records without replacement per period, cosine matrices averaged; split-half reliabilities of the EQN matrices are 0.983–1.000 in every period. Raw-matrix results are reported alongside and agree in direction.

Table 3
The fourteen-period design. EQN split-half reliabilities are 0.983–1.000 in every period.

Period	Years	Titles	Density	Character
T01	1900–1954	322	0.040	Formative era (empire, colony, liberation, war); consolidated
T02	1955–1959	373	0.087	Post-war reconstruction
T03	1960–1964	369	0.113	Between the 1960 revolution and the 1961 coup
T04	1965–1969	657	0.140	Early industrialization
T05	1970–1974	950	0.184	Yushin era
T06	1975–1979	1,026	0.198	Heavy-industrialization era
T07	1980–1984	1,939	0.278	Basic Press Act; forced media consolidation
T08	1985–1989	3,617	0.454	Registration liberalization (1988); founding boom
T09	1990–1994	3,859	0.460	Local autonomy; consumer-market expansion
T10	1995–1999	3,352	0.424	OECD accession and the 1997 financial crisis
T11	2000–2004	1,861	0.287	Early internet transition
T12	2005–2009	1,178	0.165	Specialty print alongside online
T13	2010–2014	1,070	0.161	Smartphone diffusion; founding decline begins
T14	2015–2025	317	0.047	Transitional era (print contraction × acquisition decline); consolidated

From titles to a screened lexicon

Titles alone, tokenized with the same analyser, yield 18,123 unique noun morphemes. Because aspiration words are a minority register inside titles dominated by organizational, geographic, and domain vocabulary, we screened rather than sampled: every morpheme occurring in ten or more records (1,007 types, covering 64.0% of all token occurrences) entered a screening list, together with 45 lower-frequency seed and candidate words, 1,052 rows in all. The sub-threshold tail (17,116 types, almost all single-occurrence proper-name fragments) cannot move period-level series and was excluded by rule.

Three-coder classification and the final dictionary

Each screened morpheme was classified as L1, L2, L3, L4, not applicable, or ambiguous, by the criterion of promised-benefit locus stated in a written codebook (Krippendorff, 2018), in three passes. An initial machine-assisted classification of all 1,052 rows was produced with a large language model (Claude, Anthropic) working from the codebook; following publisher policy on documenting AI assistance, we report it as Coder 1 and subject it to the same reliability assessment as the human codings. The first author then reviewed every item with written rationales (Coder 2); agreement with Coder 1 was 94.6% (Cohen's κ = 0.732; Cohen, 1960). The corresponding author classified the full list independently as Coder 3, blind to both prior codings except for the 63-item seed lexicon exposed by the template; agreement with Coder 1 was 97.2% (κ = 0.845) and with Coder 2 96.4% (κ = 0.840), and Fleiss's κ (Fleiss, 1971) across the three codings was 0.805, in the almost-perfect range (Landis and Koch, 1977). Final labels follow a majority rule fixed before

the third coding: two-of-three agreement decides, and full three-way splits (two items: love, liberation) are demoted to the ambiguous set. The final dictionary contains 99 aspiration morphemes (Table 4; L1 14, L2 34, L3 22, L4 29); 11 items remain ambiguous, nine of them demographic identity words (woman, child, youth) that no coder assigned to any level. The dictionary, all three codings, rationales, and the 26 majority-rejected candidates are released in full.

Table 4

The addressee-of-aspiration scale. Final dictionary of 99 morphemes fixed by two independent blind codings and one full review (blind-pair $\kappa = 0.845$; Fleiss $\kappa = 0.805$), majority rule registered in advance. Full dictionary, codings, and rejected candidates are released.

Level	n words	Criterion (benefit locus)	Examples (romanized)
L1 Nation & state	14	the national or state collectivity	minjok, gungmin, tongil, aeguk
L2 Society & citizens	34	the public, civic and social values	sahoe, simin, minju, sasang, gyoyang
L3 Home & everyday life	22	household, leisure, daily life	saenghwal, gajeong, yeohaeng, chwimi
L4 Body & self-interest	29	own body, psyche, private economic gain	geon-gang, maeum, tuja, seonggong

Analytical models

Stacked blockmodeling (RQ2). The fourteen standardized period matrices are concatenated into a 50×700 profile and CONCOR (Breiger et al., 1975; White et al., 1976) is applied once, with periods as relations. Solutions are validated on two criteria: external validity (Cramér's V against the thirteen macro-genres, which never enter the network, benchmarked against degree-preserving nulls from curveball randomization of the bipartite record-by-morpheme matrices; Strona et al., 2014; $B = 300$) and bootstrap stability (record resampling; adjusted Rand index; Hubert and Arabie, 1985). Fit R^2 is not used as evidence (see Validity and robustness). The final solution was re-estimated in UCINET 6.772 (Borgatti et al., 2002) from the released stacked DL input: CONCOR reproduces the two-block partition identically (29/21 membership), and the four-block refinement agrees up to a single boundary morpheme (daehak, 'university'; ARI = 0.94).

Period-wise MRQAP (RQ4). For each period T02–T14, the period's EQN matrix is regressed on five dyadic covariates: genre homophily (cosine of period-specific genre profiles), publisher-type homophily (cosine of period-specific profiles over the twelve types of Table 1), frequency-class homophily, log-frequency gap, and the previous period's EQN matrix. The lagged term is a control: naming structure is strongly self-reproducing and genre is stable across periods, so omitting the lag roughly doubles the genre coefficient. Significance uses Double-Dekker semi-partialling MRQAP (Dekker et al., 2007) in UCINET 6.772 (Borgatti et al., 2002), 10,000 permutations per period with a fixed seed; simple QAP node-relabeling permutation (Krackhardt, 1988) yields uniformly larger p values and is reported in the released statistical workbook.

Multilayer blockmodel and social signatures (validity). A multilayer degree-corrected stochastic blockmodel (Holland et al., 1983; Karrer and Newman, 2011), fitted as a single partition shared across the fourteen period count networks and maximized by greedy relabeling from 200 random restarts, supplies a density-based partition to set against CONCOR's profile-based one. Every morpheme also receives two social signatures computed from the records in which it appears: a publisher signature (the institutional-sector share of those records) and an audience signature (the member-serving share among member- and public-serving records, derived from the curator category field). Point-biserial correlations of each partition with each signature are tested by permutation (10,000 draws).

QAP drift analysis (RQ2). All 91 pairs of period matrices are correlated (14×14); the discontinuity hypothesis predicts localized drops across regulatory breakpoints (1961, 1980, 1988, 1998), the drift hypothesis a monotone decay in time distance. The Mantel correlation of time lag with structural similarity is tested by matrix permutation (10,000 permutations). For the naming-grammar ratio, a linear-trend model and a one-step model with equal parameter counts (two each) are compared head-to-head by R^2 .

Measures and tests

For each period we compute, per 1,000 foundings, the share of titles containing at least one morpheme of each level, and an individualization index: the mean level (1–4) over aspiration-bearing titles (2,757 records, 13.2% of the corpus; period coverage 7.6–15.6%), with record-level bootstrap uncertainty (500 resamples). Temporal form is tested by the equal-complexity comparison introduced above, a two-parameter linear trend against a two-parameter one-step model with grid-searched breakpoint, on T02–T14. Sector decomposition recomputes the index within the four publisher sectors. Robustness bounds the ambiguous set at its most collective and most individual plausible assignments, with per-item leave-one-in impacts, and checks dictionary-version stability across the three coding stages.

Results

Five phases of publisher composition (RQ1)

Table 5
reports the complete founding counts, all fourteen periods by all twelve publisher types; Fig. 3 shows sectoral shares. Five phases emerge.

T01	Years	Total	Educ.	Acad.	Assoc.	Relig.	Found.	U&P	Public	Press	Book	Magz.	Firm	Uncl.
	1900–54	322	52	40	25	4	1	1	27	16	15	113	10	18
T02	1955–59	373	131	61	29	15	1	1	27	4	9	72	4	19
T03	1960–64	369	131	53	37	9	0	3	42	7	13	55	5	14
T04	1965–69	657	217	122	94	20	9	1	48	8	14	91	16	17
T05	1970–74	950	361	153	128	20	11	2	61	15	12	123	19	45
T06	1975–79	1,026	373	161	162	37	15	0	50	20	24	106	29	49
T07	1980–84	1,939	785	250	213	144	46	2	117	51	54	143	62	72
T08	1985–89	3,617	865	406	447	158	89	47	211	330	148	608	161	147
T09	1990–94	3,859	409	418	439	153	86	19	190	854	169	718	226	178
T10	1995–99	3,352	353	392	371	125	127	13	218	436	199	540	386	192
T11	2000–04	1,861	191	216	234	60	56	6	124	214	133	217	270	140
T12	2005–09	1,178	111	150	162	46	49	2	90	69	84	145	131	139
T13	2010–14	1,070	87	97	151	22	59	2	119	60	44	167	148	114
T14	2015–25	317	13	16	63	5	28	0	73	21	7	17	29	45

Table 5. New titles by period and publisher type, complete classification, all fourteen periods and twelve types (N = 20,890). Educ. = educational institutions; Acad. = academic bodies; Assoc. = occupational/civic associations; Relig. = religious bodies; Found. = foundations/cultural centers; U&P = unions/parties; Public = public agencies; Magz. = magazine houses; Firm = non-media firms; Uncl. = unclassified after the five-stage pipeline (5.7% overall). Percentage shares and the four-sector aggregation are provided in the supplementary dataset.

First market era (–1954). Magazine houses lead outright (113 titles, 35% of the period, the era of Gaebyeoksa and Sinmungwan) and the market sector as a whole holds 47.8%. Colonial- and liberation-era cultural production was carried by specialized magazine capital.

Institutional era (1955–1984). War destroyed that capital, and schools filled the vacuum: educational institutions published 33–40% of all new titles for thirty years, peaking at 785 titles in T07 (1980–1984), while the market sector shrank to 16%. Campus bulletins, school journals, and student-council magazines were the largest single conduit of periodical production in the developmental era.

Transition (1985–1994). Press-company foundings rose 43-fold (20 in T06 to 854 in T09); magazine houses re-emerged (143 to 718); educational foundings halved in a single period (865 to 409) even as total foundings grew. The two leading publisher populations exchanged places within a decade.

Second market era (1995–2009). The market sector holds 45–51% of foundings, but its internal composition rotates: press foundings recede (854 → 214) while non-media firms peak (386 titles in T10), the age of the corporate house organ.

Re-institutionalization (2010–). In T14 the single largest publisher type is the public agency (73 titles, 23.0%), and foundations/cultural centers reach their all-time share (8.8%). The institutions of the 1960s were schools; the institutions of the 2020s are local governments and cultural foundations. Simultaneously, the classification-rate decline (97% → 86%) records the spread of publishing capacity to organizations fitting no classical template, and the residual carries signal: titles of unclassifiable publishers led the commodity turn at the breakpoint (B/A = 0.82 vs. 0.53 among classified publishers in 1985–1989) and remain commodity-named in the re-institutionalization era while the classifiable world reverts (1.19 vs. 0.82 in 2010–2014). The distinction between the two market eras (magazine capital before 1954, press and corporate capital after 1995) becomes visible only under the literature-grounded taxonomy; an earlier eight-category scheme that merged press companies, book publishers, and magazine houses into one “commercial” class conflated the two eras.

The vocabulary of the organ and the vocabulary of the commodity (RQ2)

The most robust block solution of the stacked profile is a bipartition (Table 6; Fig. 4; bootstrap ARI = 0.669 vs. 0.599 for four blocks; Cramér’s V against the macro-genres 0.787 vs. 0.772). Series A (29 morphemes: university, research, institute, society, bulletin-of-record, national and city names) designates affiliation: the title inscribes who issues, and the periodical presents itself as the organ of an organization. Series B (21 morphemes: newspaper, monthly, weekly, journal, literature, publisher names, news, information) designates the medium: the title inscribes what this is, and the periodical presents itself as a commodity. The B/A balance of a period therefore indexes the mode of existence under which its new periodicals were born. The four-block refinement (V = 0.772; degree-preserving null mean 0.444; z = + 7.18, p = 0.003) splits A into institutional and representative-unit vocabularies and B into press-transmission and literary-publishing vocabularies, but is retained only as interpretive extension.

Table 6

The two-series CONCOR solution of the stacked profile, independently reproduced in UCINET 6.772. Image matrix (mean stacked-profile correlation): within-A = .105, within-B = .051, between = .009; pooled-cosine means .033, .022, .013. Genre composition uses each morpheme’s dominant macro-genre; genre labels never enter the network.

Series	n	Time centre	Morphemes (romanized, gloss)	Dominant macro-genres
A (affiliation-designating)	29	1987	hanguk (Korea) · yeongu (research) · daehak (university) · yeonguso (research institute) · munhwa (culture) · hakhoe (learned society) · gyoyuk (education) · yeonguhoe (research society) · Seoul · sahoe (society) · Daehan (Korea[n]) · gwahak (science) · nonmunjip (collected papers) · haksaeanghoe (student council) · nonchong (collected treatises) · yeonguwon (research centre) · hoebo (bulletin) · gyeongje (economy) · saenghwal (living) · Incheon · daehagwon (graduate school) · hakbo (academic gazette) · gukje (international) · saneop (industry) · jungang (central) · hyeondae (modern) · yeonhaphoe (federation) · gyeongyeong (management) · daehakgyo (university)	scholarly 21 · bulletin 5 · religion 2 · newspaper 1
B (medium designating)	21	1991	sinmun (newspaper) · sinmunsa (newspaper company) · munhak (literature) · hyeophoe (association) · chulpan (publishing) · jeongbo (information) · doseo (book) · wolgan (monthly) · sosik (tidings) · nyuseu (news) · gyohoe (church) · segye (world) · hyeobuihoe (council) · yesul (art) · chulpansa (publishing house) · munye (literary arts) · jugan (weekly) · munhwasa (culture house) · bulgyo (Buddhism) · jeoneol (journal) · donginhoe (coterie society)	popular magazine 6 · newspaper 4 · literary 4 · bulletin 3 · religion 2 · specialty 1 · scholarly 1

The balance between the series reverses in a single decade (Fig. 5). The B/A token ratio sits between 0.17 and 0.27 for the six periods 1955–1984 (mean 0.22, SD 0.03), holding essentially level across those thirty years, then passes through 0.54 in T08, and then sits between 0.80 and 1.03 for the six periods 1990–2025 (mean 0.89, SD 0.08). The series thus traces two plateaus separated by a single step, and with equal parameter counts, the one-step model fits R² = 0.905 against R² = 0.725 for the linear trend.

The grammar shift is the compositional shift. The educational-institution share and the B/A ratio, computed from independently recorded fields, correlate at r = − 0.912 (permutation p = 0.0003, N = 14). As schools withdrew from publishing, titles shed affiliation marks and took on commodity marks. Part of this coupling is constitutive (titles issued by schools naturally contain school vocabulary) but the shift is not reducible to composition: it survives the removal of school-published records entirely, and it runs within the market sector itself (see Validity and robustness, item iv).

Continuity beneath turnover (RQ2)

The micro-grammar of morpheme combination, by contrast, changes without steps. Across all 91 period pairs, structural similarity decays monotonically with time distance (Mantel $r = -0.639$, permutation $p = 0.0001$; -0.747 excluding the two bracket periods), and no localized drop appears across regulatory breakpoints: the pairs spanning 1980 and 1988 are among the most similar adjacent pairs ($T07-T08 = 0.72$; $T08-T09 = 0.80$; Fig. 6). The 1988 liberalization thus registers as a rupture of volume (Fig. 2), a turnover of composition, and a step of grammar balance, but as continuity of combinatorial micro-structure. New entrants inherited the existing grammar even as they changed which of its two series predominated.

Two orthogonal axes of the naming grammar (a validity note)

If the naming series were communities in the usual sense, clusters of morphemes dense with mutual connection, a density-based blockmodel should recover them. It does not; it recovers instead a second, orthogonal axis of the grammar. The multilayer DC-SBM converges replicably (pairwise ARI = 1.00 across independent restarts) on a partition unrelated to the CONCOR series (ARI = 0.02) and strongly disassortative: a fifteen-morpheme class of organizational-form and format markers (institute, learned society, association, publishing house, newspaper company, monthly) against a thirty-five-morpheme class of domain and place terms (Korea, research, university, literature, culture, Seoul), with only 1% of edge weight inside the smaller class and 55% crossing between the two.

The two methods thus retrieve the two axes of classical structural linguistics (Saussure, 1959): density-based stochastic equivalence recovers the syntagmatic axis, which morphemes combine (the modifier-head frame of the Korean compound title: Korea + research institute; monthly + literature), and profile-based structural equivalence recovers the paradigmatic axis, which morphemes substitute for one another, the naming series that carry the organ/commodity distinction. The external genre criterion, invisible to both procedures, aligns far more strongly with the paradigmatic partition (Cramér's $V = 0.787$) than with the syntagmatic one ($V = 0.328$); a pooled single-layer DC-SBM falls between ($V = 0.744$). The choice of CONCOR is a match between method and question, not a legacy default.

The two axes also divide the social labor of naming (Fig. 7). Series membership correlates with each morpheme's publisher signature (point-biserial $r = 0.58$ with the institutional-sector share of its records, permutation $p < 0.001$) and, more weakly, with its audience orientation ($r = 0.35$ with member-serving share, $p = 0.013$), while the syntagmatic classes correlate with neither ($r = -0.01$ and 0.04 , n.s.). The paradigmatic axis carries the social information of naming; the grammar of combination is socially neutral.

Four layers of address across fourteen periods (RQ3)

Figure 8a plots the four layers; Table 7 reports the full series. Society-and-citizen address (L2) is the century's backbone, never leaving the 46–109 band: the colonial era's enlightenment vocabulary (gaebyeok, sasang) gives it an early peak, the democratization decade another (85.7 in 1985–1989). Home-and-everyday address (L3) traces an arc that peaks with liberalization (46.1 in 1990–1994) and thins as print lifestyle magazines migrate off paper. Body-and-self-interest address (L4) is the only layer that rises across the whole century, from under 10 to 36.4 in 2010–2014, and it keeps rising through re-institutionalization: whoever publishes, the body is increasingly the addressee. Nation-and-state address (L1) holds a flat band, 14–28, for eleven consecutive periods.

Table 7
Addressee layers per 1,000 foundings, coverage, and the individualization index.
Aspiration-bearing records n = 2,757.

Period	Years	L1	L2	L3	L4	Coverage %	Index
T01	1900–1954	28.0	108.7	6.2	9.3	14.3	1.99
T02	1955–1959	18.8	61.7	10.7	8.0	8.8	2.09
T03	1960–1964	13.6	46.1	8.1	8.1	7.6	2.14
T04	1965–1969	15.2	71.5	18.3	4.6	10.5	2.13
T05	1970–1974	17.9	65.3	23.2	7.4	11.1	2.19
T06	1975–1979	20.5	47.8	20.5	11.7	9.6	2.21
T07	1980–1984	16.0	68.6	28.4	13.9	12.0	2.31
T08	1985–1989	26.5	85.7	31.5	17.1	14.9	2.25
T09	1990–1994	15.8	76.2	46.1	24.6	15.6	2.49
T10	1995–1999	15.5	78.8	29.2	16.7	13.6	2.33
T11	2000–2004	23.6	68.8	24.2	22.6	13.2	2.30
T12	2005–2009	20.4	67.1	11.0	23.8	11.6	2.31
T13	2010–2014	5.6	58.9	22.4	36.4	11.5	2.72
T14	2015–2025	6.3	78.9	15.8	31.5	12.6	2.52

The nation steps out at 2010 (RQ3, upper layer)

The L1 series is the paper's sharpest fact. Its century-long band survives every canonical watershed: it does not fall at liberation, does not fall at the developmental turn, does not fall at democratization, and does not fall when the market era arrives. It falls at the 2010 boundary, to 5.6 and then 6.3 per 1,000, and an equal-complexity comparison is unambiguous: one step at 2010–2014 fits with $R^2 = 0.630$ against 0.097 for a linear trend. The residual is itself informative: what remains of L1 after 2010 is largely the word state in public-agency titles. Nation-address did not decay; it was discontinued.

The centre of gravity drifts (RQ3)

The individualization index tells the opposite temporal story (Fig. 8b). It rises from 1.99 to 2.52, peaking at 2.72 in 2010–2014, and here the linear model wins: $R^2 = 0.696$ against 0.602 for the best single step. The layering-then-dropout expectation stated for RQ3 is thus confirmed: individualization proceeded as accretion below and rupture above. New, more private addressees were stacked onto the old collective ones for a hundred years, each stratum keeping its plateau, and only the topmost collective layer was eventually dropped. A single-index narrative would average these two forms into a gentle slope and miss both.

Producer type organizes naming across the century (RQ4)

Table 8
and Fig. 9 report the period-wise MRQAP series with Double-Dekker permutation significance.

T02	Years	Genre (X1)	Publisher type (X2)	Freq. gap (X4)	Prior structure (X5)	R ²
	1955–59	+ .168 ***	+ .204 ***	+ .010	+ .177 ***	.18
T03	1960–64	+ .115 **	+ .172 ***	+ .023	+ .336 ***	.23
T04	1965–69	+ .167 ***	+ .171 ***	+ .030	+ .318 ***	.30
T05	1970–74	+ .153 ***	+ .144 ***	+ .043	+ .477 ***	.38
T06	1975–79	+ .197 ***	+ .192 ***	+ .002	+ .335 ***	.31
T07	1980–84	+ .140 ***	+ .117 ***	+ .020	+ .585 ***	.50
T08	1985–89	+ .109 ***	+ .086 **	+ .041	+ .658 ***	.55
T09	1990–94	+ .088 **	+ .084 **	+ .037	+ .744 ***	.65
T10	1995–99	+ .040	+ .070 **	–.012	+ .772 ***	.67
T11	2000–04	+ .045	+ .097 ***	+ .008	+ .735 ***	.63
T12	2005–09	+ .042	+ .120 ***	–.007	+ .650 ***	.52
T13	2010–14	+ .103 ***	+ .141 ***	+ .016	+ .556 ***	.42
T14	2015–25	+ .061	+ .223 ***	+ .021	+ .339 ***	.24

Table 8. Period-wise MRQAP on the naming-morpheme network (standardized coefficients; 1,225 dyads per period). Frequency-class homophily (X3) never exceeds .08 and is omitted for space. Significance: Double-Dekker semi-partialling MRQAP (Dekker et al., 2007), UCINET 6.772, 10,000 permutations per period, fixed random seed: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Read column-wise, the series describe an asymmetric U. In the institutional era, genre and publisher type organize naming side by side (.14–.20, both $p < .01$). At the apex of the second market era (T10) both fall to their minima while the inertia of prior structure peaks at .772; genre drops out of significance (.040, n.s., and stays non-significant through T12), whereas publisher type weakens to .070 but never loses significance. In the re-institutionalized era only publisher type returns, monotonically (.097 → .120 → .141 → .223, all $p < .001$), reaching in T14 the highest value of the century, while genre stays at .061 (n.s.). In the print periodical of today, who publishes determines the name more strongly than at any point since 1900.

A norm shift inside sectors, led by the state (RQ4)

Composition explains part of the drift: market publishers always addressed more individually (sector mean 2.59 already in the institutional era), so the market's rise mechanically lifts the index. But the shift survives inside sectors. Between the institutional era (1955–1984) and 2010–2025 the mean addressee level rises from 2.08 to 2.60 in the third sector, from 2.59 to 2.92 in the market, and, most strikingly, from 2.08 to 2.83 in the state sector itself; only education is flat (2.14 to 2.05, on 13 late foundings). The norm-shift expectation of RQ4 is supported, with an addendum it did not anticipate: re-institutionalization did not re-collectivize address. The public agencies that now dominate foundings speak the vocabulary of health, mind, and everyday life. The state has adopted the addressee it once competed with.

Two steps of one shift (RQ4, synthesis)

Read together, the two axes date the title's claim. The relational sense of for turned first: between 1985 and 1994 the organ-to-commodity balance quadrupled, and the reader of the median new periodical became a purchasing stranger. The promissory sense turned a generation later: the addressee index had been drifting upward all along, but address to the nation held its century-long band through liberalization itself and exited only after 2010. The sequence reproduces at the level of address what the producer record shows at the level of supply. Liberalization changed who could sell print and therefore to whom print stood in relation; it did not, by itself, retire the collective reader. That retirement waited for the digital migration and the re-institutionalization of print, when the publishers that remained, increasingly public bodies, adopted the individual addressee themselves. The collective-to-individual shift of our title is one movement with two escapements: relation in 1988, promise around 2010.

Validity and robustness

Four checks discipline the results. (i) Blockmodel fit R^2 is not evidence: in simulations, a planted four-block network (within .8 / between .1) yields $R^2 = 0.467$ with perfect recovery ($ARI = 1.00$), an Erdős–Rényi control 0.022, and a degree-heterogeneous random network without block structure 0.068, the level of empirical co-occurrence matrices; block validity therefore rests on the external genre criterion versus bipartite curveball nulls ($z = +7.18$) and on bootstrap stability. (ii) Randomizing the projected matrix directly is anti-conservative because projection manufactures cliques; all nulls are generated at the bipartite level (Zweig and Kaufmann, 2011; Strona et al., 2014; Neal, 2014). (iii) Analyses excluding compound-derived edges, alternative node counts (30, 40), a ten-year periodization, and the twelve-period design excluding both bracket periods leave every substantive conclusion unchanged in direction (supplementary set). (iv) The organ-to-commodity step survives compositional turnover: excluding all records published by educational institutions, the B/A ratio still steps from a 1955–1984 mean of 0.37 to a 1990–2025 mean of 1.02 (step $R^2 = 0.822$ vs. 0.661 for the linear trend), and restricted to market-sector publishers alone it rises from 1.0–1.4 before 1985 to 3.0–5.3 after 1995. The naming norm moved within sectors as well as through their replacement.

Robustness of the promissory axis

Bounding the eleven ambiguous items at their most collective and most individual plausible assignments moves the index by at most 0.162, and only upward in the late periods, so the headline estimates are conservative; the linear-over-step result for the index and the 2010 step for L1 are invariant under both bounds (the latter to three decimals). Per-item leave-one-in impacts exceed 0.05 for a single word (love, at 0.162). The two headline findings also survive all three dictionary stages, from single-coder through reviewed to majority-rule versions, with the L1 step sharpening as marginal words were removed. Full sensitivity tables are released.

Discussion

Two steps, one shift: dating compressed individualization

Three implications follow. First, compressed individualization now has a supply-side date structure. Chang's (2010) thesis is usually evidenced from family and survey data confined to recent decades; the founding record shows the process running the whole century and locates the decisive discontinuity not at democratization or marketization but around 2010, when the national addressee left the masthead. The layering-then-dropout form also refines Beck: institutions did not gradually re-address their members so much as add private registers while retaining collective ones, until the collective register was abandoned wholesale. Accounts that read 1987–1988 as the master watershed are right about the relation and early about the promise; accounts that locate individualization in the neoliberal 2000s are right about the promise and late about the relation.

Schools were the developmental era's cultural infrastructure

Developmental-state scholarship has documented Korea's educational expansion (Amsden, 1989; Seth, 2002); cultural-industry scholarship documents the state's turn from censor to promoter after the late 1980s (Kwon and Kim, 2013). Between them lies a thirty-year gap in which neither the market nor the state carried cultural production. Our data supply the missing term: for three decades, one third to two fifths of all new periodicals issued from schools and universities. The educational expansion that the development literature narrates as human-capital formation was simultaneously an expansion of media-production infrastructure, and the -0.912 coupling with the naming grammar shows that this infrastructure shaped not only how much was published but what kind of thing a periodical was: an organ of an institution. Cultural production capacity can be sustained for a generation by organizations whose primary purpose is not cultural production at all.

Liberalization seen at ecosystem scale

The standard account of 1987–1988 counts daily newspapers: six to ten in Seoul, ten to thirty in the provinces (Journalists Association of Korea, 2020). At ecosystem scale the event is larger and different in kind. Press-company foundings rose 43-fold in ten years; magazine capital, extinguished at the top of the field since the colonial era, re-emerged; the incumbent infrastructure (schools) lost half its founding volume in five years while the field as a whole grew. Liberalization did not merely enlarge a market; it exchanged the producing population. Yet the QAP surface shows no break in naming micro-structure at the same moment. The precise description of a

media-regime change is therefore three-layered: rupture of volume, turnover of composition, continuity of grammar. Volume statistics alone, the usual evidence in periodization debates, capture only the first layer.

Second, the state finding inverts a common reading of re-institutionalization. Publishing capacity returns to public bodies after 2010, and one might expect address to re-collectivize accordingly. It does not: the agencies that now found periodicals hail residents as bodies and households, not as nationals, and the technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988) have become technologies of administration. This is emotional capitalism (Illouz, 2007) and makeover culture (McGee, 2005) arriving through the state rather than the market, a combination the Western literature does not anticipate and that compressed modernity may explain.

Measuring field autonomy

Bourdieu defined the autonomy of a cultural field as governance by the field's own rules rather than by state or market principles (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996). The MRQAP series offers one longitudinal metric: the ratio of what external attributes explain to what the field's own prior structure explains. On this metric, the Korean naming field reached maximal autonomy at the apex of the second market era (1995–1999: external coefficients .04–.07, inertia .772), when production was dense enough that naming answered chiefly to its own precedent, and heteronomy returned with re-institutionalization, publisher type climbing to its century maximum (.223) as the market thinned. The autonomy of the naming field lasted as long as the density of market production sustained it.

Third, the fate of *gyoyang* (cultivation) marks the hinge of the whole axis. The word that named collective self-formation, the citizen cultivating himself for membership, peaked in the 1960s and then vanished from titles rather than migrating to the individual pole; its sensitivity test shows any recoding matters only before 1975. The individualizing century did not privatize cultivation; it discarded it, and health inherited its slot. Aspiration moved not from one philosophy of the self to another but from formation to maintenance.

Re-institutionalization and the future of the print periodical

The most consequential finding concerns the present. As market publishers exit print, the periodical form has not disappeared; it has been re-absorbed by institutions (now public agencies, local governments, and cultural foundations rather than schools), and its naming has re-attached to the publisher to a degree unseen since 1900. Print periodicals are becoming, again, organs. The digital displacement of print is a global process, but its institutional residue has, to our knowledge, not been measured anywhere; the Korean record is a first case against which other post-digital print cultures can be compared. Three implications follow: the condition of a cultural form should be tracked in the sectoral composition of its producers, not only in output volume, for which this study supplies a century-long baseline and a reusable classification; in the re-institutionalized phase the continuity of print periodical culture rests with the public sector and foundations, which argues for treating periodical publishing capacity as an object of local cultural policy; and the archive that made this study possible is itself infrastructure, converting ephemeral founding events into a permanent record of productive capacity.

Limitations

First, the collection is a curated archive, not a census; acquisition intensity varies by era and is confounded with real contraction after 2014, which we bound rather than resolve; the registry benchmark constrains the aggregate trend, but genre- and era-specific acquisition bias remains possible. Second, the classification is rule-plus-dictionary based; 5.7% of records remain unclassified and the residual audit is pending. Third, the two bracket periods rest on ~320 records each and are treated as descriptive anchors, not as observations equivalent to the equal-width periods. Fourth, the analysis reads titles and publishers, not contents: it maps the grammar of self-presentation, not discourse. Fifth, the coupling between publisher composition and naming grammar ($r = -0.912$) is partly constitutive, since titles issued by schools tend to contain school vocabulary; robustness item (iv) shows the coupling is not tautological, but we report it as a consistency check rather than as independent confirmation. Finally, all associations are observational; the 1988 liberalization functions as an event boundary, not as an identified cause.

Several further limits bound the promissory axis. Aspiration words appear in 7.6–15.6% of titles per period; the index measures the aspiration-bearing stratum, not all foundings. Titles are supply, not demand: they record what founders bet readers would want, not whether the bet succeeded. Morphemes drift semantically across a century; the dictionary is time-invariant by design, and the *gyoyang* test shows that period-bounded recoding would matter only before 1975. The title register is conservative: late-period individual vocabulary (healing, wellbeing) barely reaches mastheads, so the late rise of L4 is if anything understated, and the 2000s dip in L3 is sensitive to whether English loanwords such as LIFE are counted, a variant we release. The third coder's template exposed the 63-item seed lexicon, a limited breach of blindness we disclose.

Conclusion

Whom is the magazine for? For most of the Korean twentieth century, for a member: of a school, a church, an association, a nation, with the commodity reader growing alongside. In one decade around 1988 the relation flipped, and the periodical became, at the median, a thing strangers buy. The promise moved more slowly and then, around 2010, more absolutely: the household and the body displaced the public cause, the nation left the masthead, and even the public agencies that now sustain print address their readers one body at a time. The Korean periodical changed sides twice, and the two turnings, a generation apart, are the measured shape of the collective-to-individual shift this paper set out to test. The dataset, both taxonomies, the dictionary, and all code are released as a baseline for asking the same double question of any founding record.

Data availability

The record-level classified dataset (20,890 records), the publisher taxonomy and 310-entry manual dictionary, all matrix files and UCINET verification outputs, the 99-morpheme addressee dictionary with all three coder files and sensitivity runs, and complete analysis code are openly deposited on Zenodo (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.22119389>).

Declarations

Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Ethical approval

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Author Contribution

J.S. and J.-S.L. designed the study. J.S. led the data analysis, performed the full review of the machine-assisted coding, and wrote the manuscript. J.-S.L. performed the blind independent coding and revised the manuscript. Both authors reviewed and approved the final version.

Data Availability

All data supporting the findings of this study are openly available in the Zenodo repository at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.22119389>. The deposit contains the record-level classified dataset of 20,890 Korean periodical inaugural issues (1900–2025, Gachon Cultural Foundation collection), the publisher taxonomy with its full classification dictionary, all network matrices in UCINET DL format, thirteen independent UCINET verification logs, the 99-morpheme addressee-of-aspiration dictionary with all three coder files and sensitivity analyses, publication figures, and complete analysis code, corresponding to Supplementary Information items S1–S9 of the manuscript.

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Figures

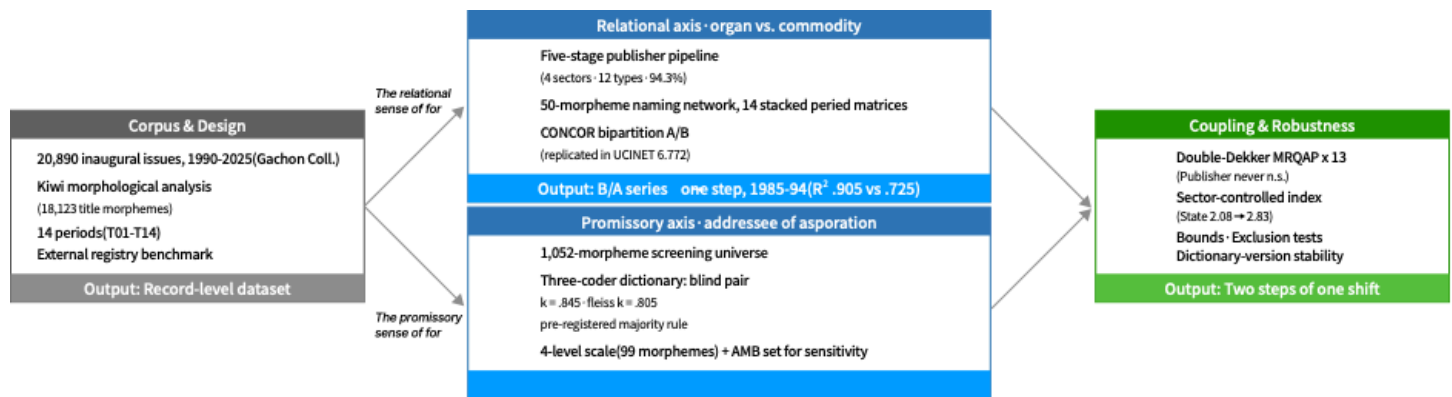


Figure 1

Analytical framework: one archive, two measurement axes, one question. The corpus and period design feed the relational axis (organ versus commodity, via publisher classification and CONCOR blockmodeling) and the promissory axis (addressee of aspiration, via a three-coder dictionary with a pre-registered majority rule), joined in the coupling and robustness stage.

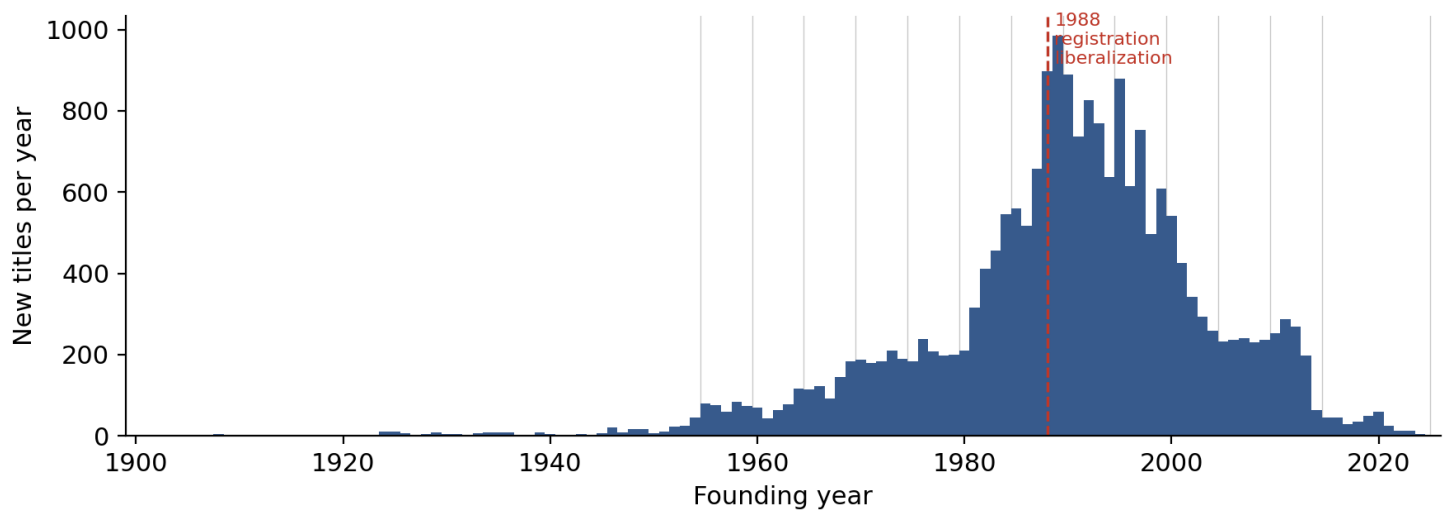


Figure 2

Annual founding counts of Korean periodicals in the Gachon Museum collection, 1900–2025 (N = 20,890). Grey lines mark the boundaries of the fourteen analytic periods; the dashed line marks the 1988 shift from licensing to registration.

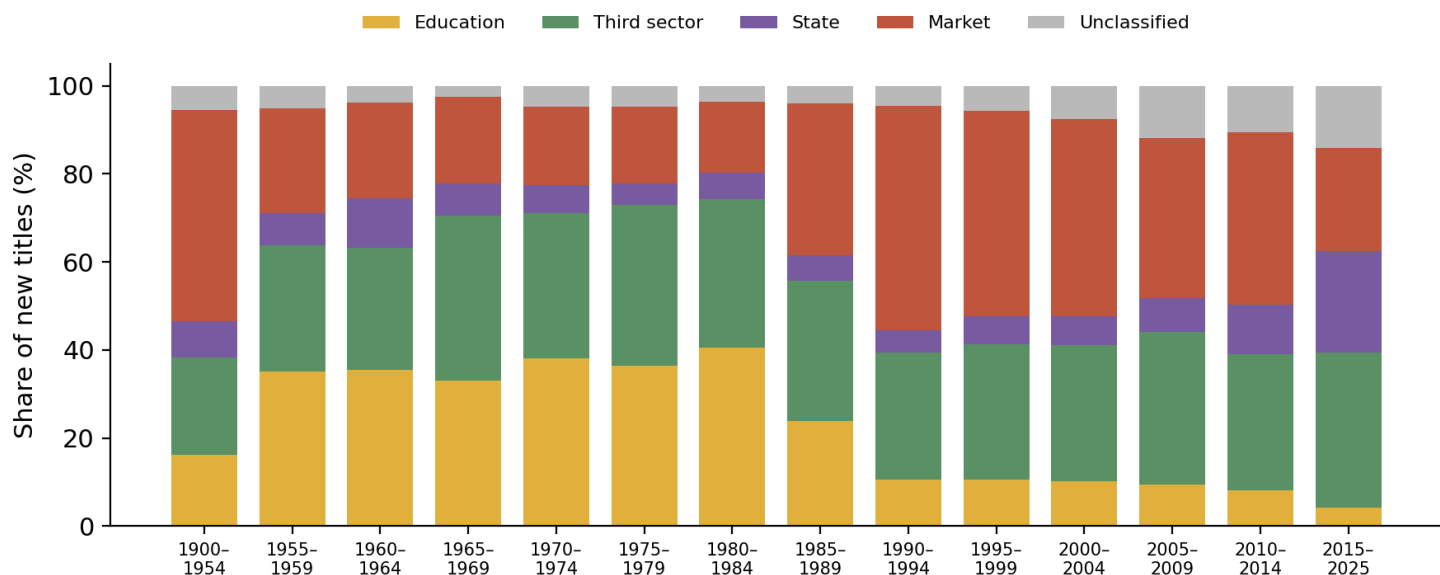


Figure 3

Sectoral composition of new periodical titles across the fourteen periods

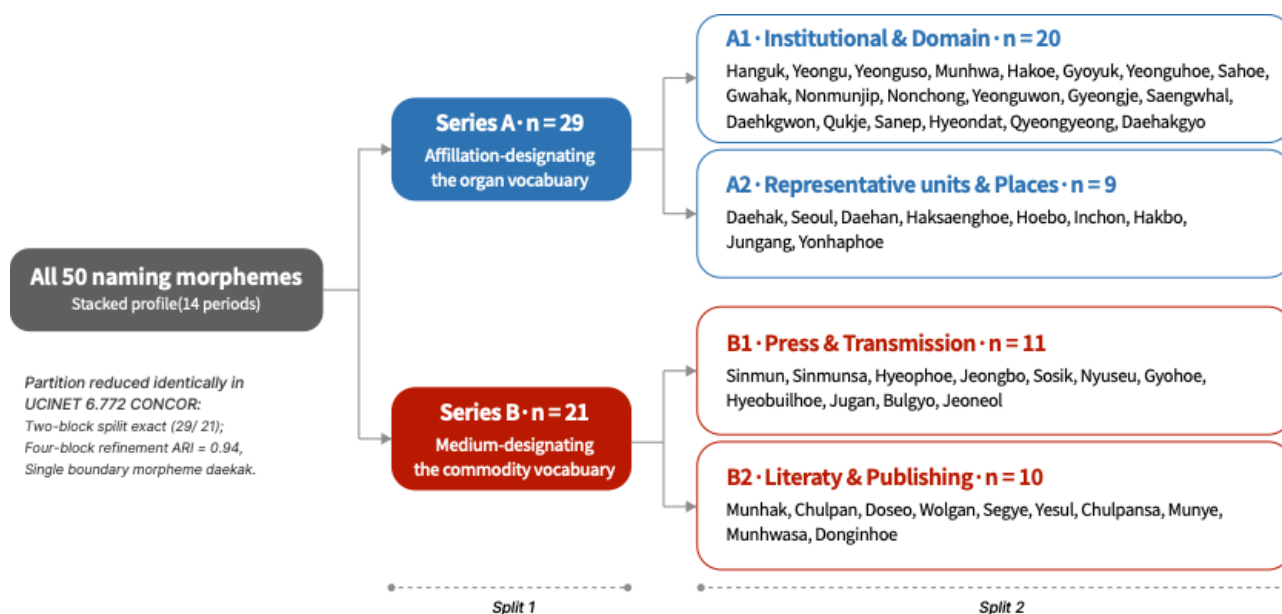


Figure 4

CONCOR splitting tree of the stacked fourteen-relation profile (UCINET 6.772, maximum depth 2). The first split separates the affiliation-designating series (A, n = 29) from the medium-designating series (B, n = 21); the second divides each into two sub-vocabularies.

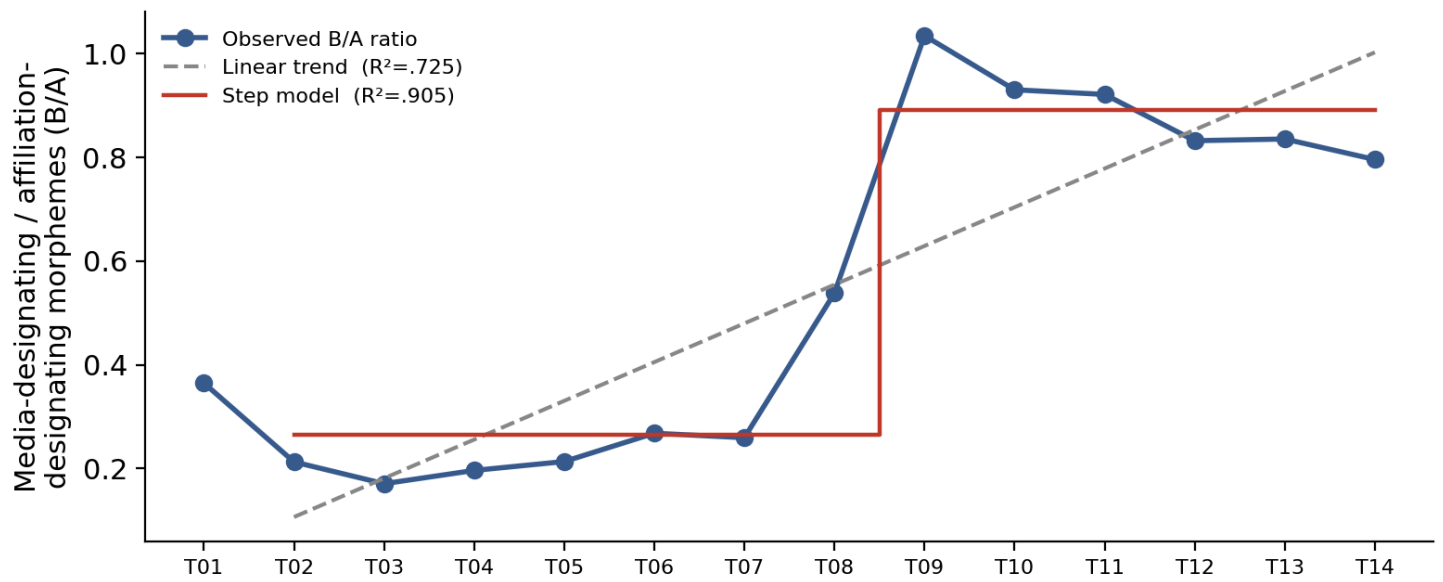


Figure 5

The naming-grammar ratio (media-designating over affiliation-designating morpheme tokens) across periods, with equal-complexity linear and step fits.

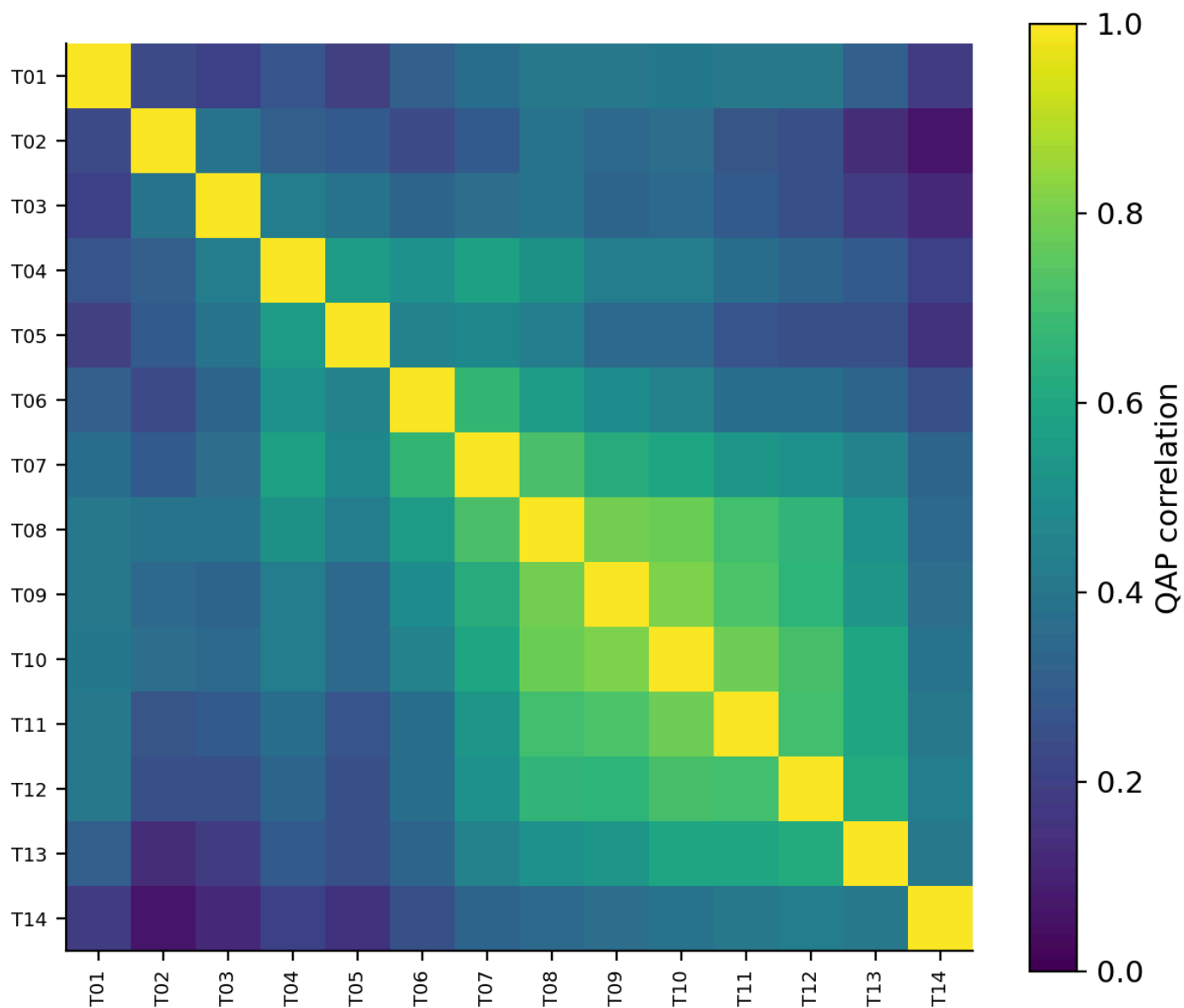


Figure 6

QAP correlations among the fourteen period matrices. Similarity decays smoothly with time distance; no discontinuity marks the regulatory breakpoints.

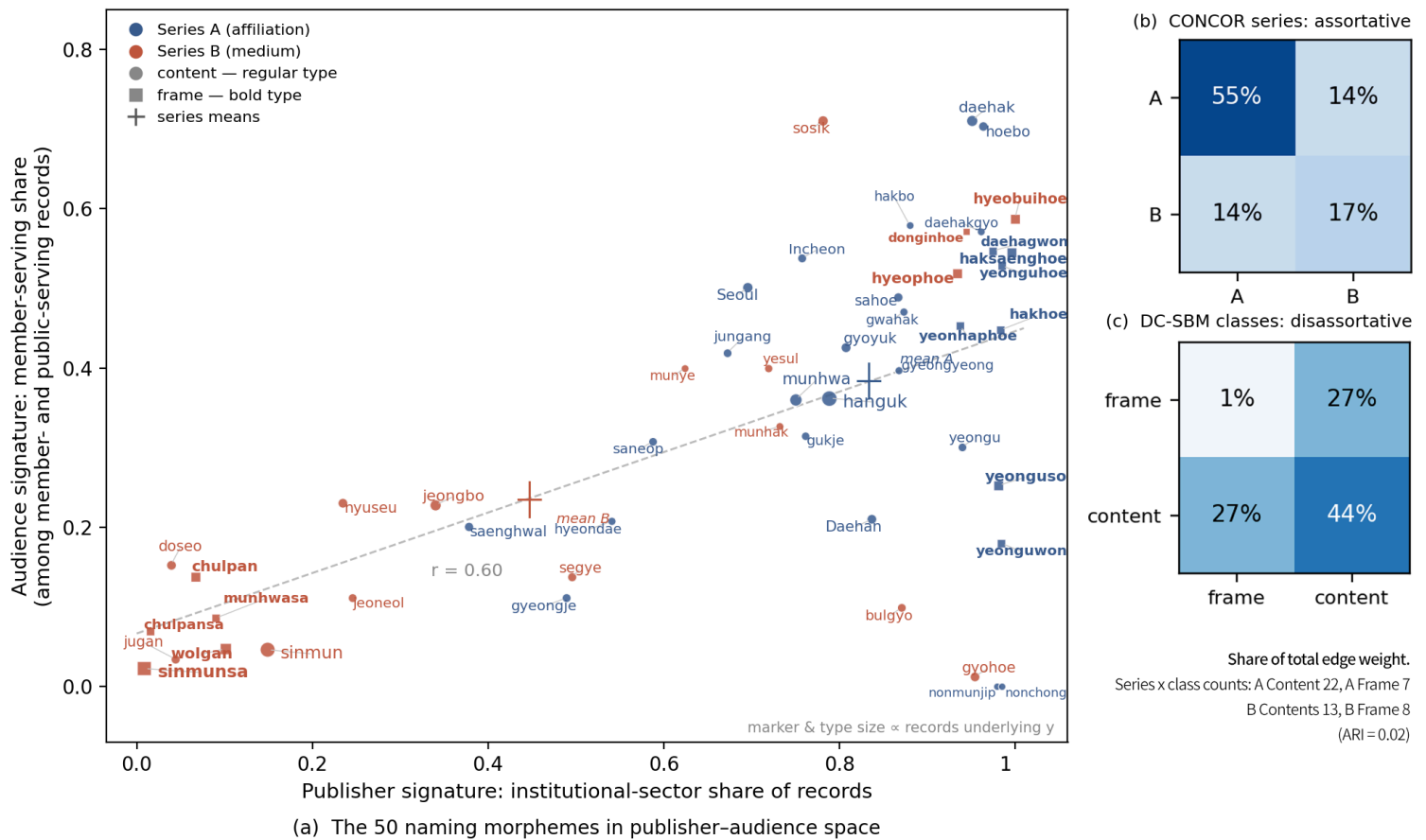


Figure 7

The two axes of the naming grammar and their social content. (a) The 50 morphemes placed by publisher signature (institutional-sector share of their records, x) and audience signature (member-serving share among member- and public-serving records, y). Colour gives the paradigmatic series (stacked CONCOR); bold type and square markers give the syntagmatic frame class (multilayer DC-SBM); marker size scales with the records underlying y; $\times$ marks the series means. The series separate along the publisher axis ($r = 0.58$); the syntagmatic classes separate on neither. (b, c) Share of total edge weight within and between blocks: the CONCOR series are assortative, the SBM classes disassortative (1% within the frame class); the two partitions are mutually unrelated (ARI = 0.02).

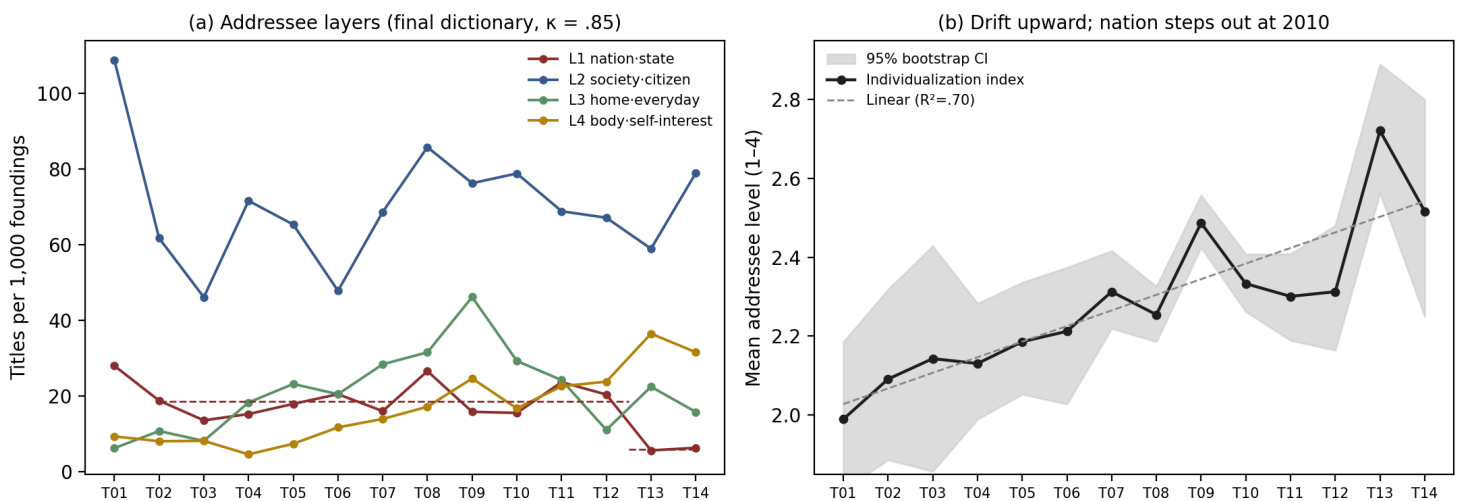


Figure 8

(a) Addressee layers per 1,000 foundings, fourteen periods; dashed lines show the one-step fit for L1 (breakpoint 2010–2014). (b) The individualization index with 95% bootstrap bands and linear fit. Final dictionary ($\kappa = 0.845$).

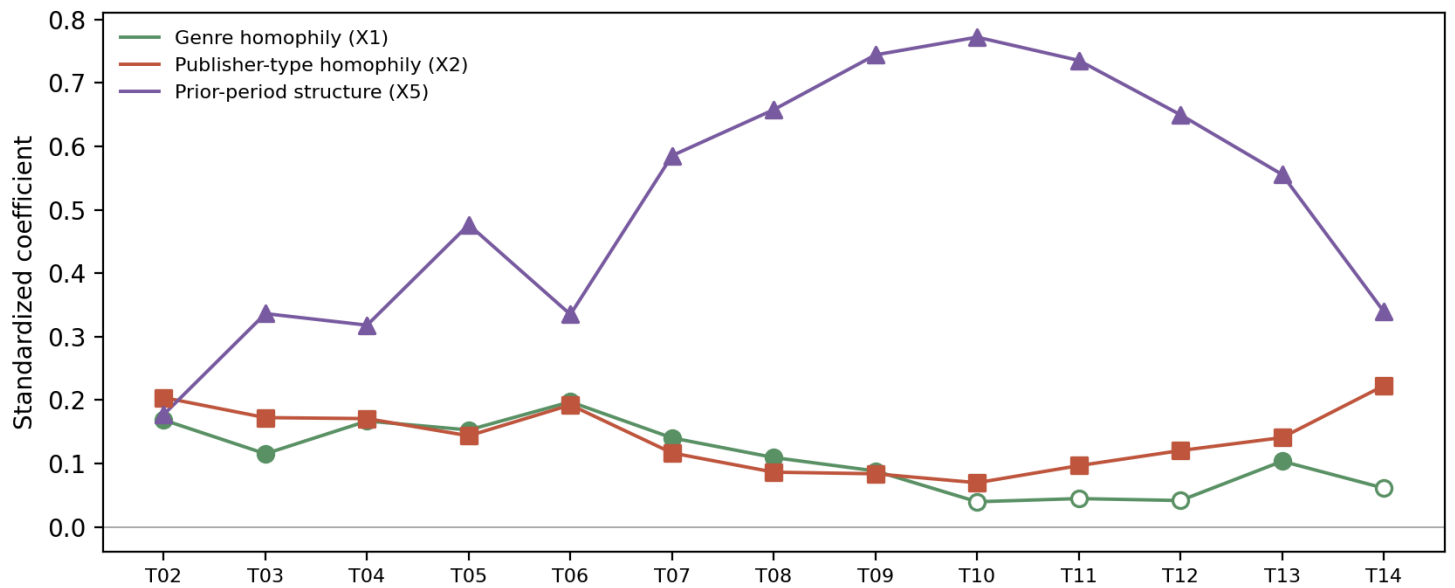


Figure 9

The organizing principles of naming across the century: genre and publisher-type homophily fall toward the market apex while structural inertia peaks, and only publisher type recovers. Filled markers $p < 0.05$, open markers not significant (Double-Dekker semi-partialling, 10,000 permutations).