Korean Studies in Shift
Proceedings of the 2010 Pacific Asian Conference on Korean Studies
Edited by
Changzoo Song
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Preface

The world has changed drastically in the last two decades with the growth of communication technologies and increased globalisation. In particular, the changes that Korea has undergone during this time are enormous. The Korean society, economy, politics and culture, as well as the values of Korean people today are vastly different from those of two decades ago when numerous regional Korean Studies associations including the Pacific Asian Conference on Korean Studies were established. Except for the period right after the 1997 Asian financial crisis, Korea’s economy has grown continuously. Korean society has thus become more complicated, with socio-economic gap widened, and the population getting older. In particular, the Korean society has become more multicultural and multi-ethnic due to the increasing number of foreigners residing in Korea - such as migrant workers or migrant brides. Inter-Korean relations have also gone through serious changes in the last two decades. Just as Korea itself has changed, Korean Studies has also transformed very much in the last two decades. A new generation of Korean Studies has emerged in North America and Western Europe whose research interests are broader than their teachers. Korean popular culture has become widespread in most parts of the world such that today it is not unusual to see people watching Korean TV dramas regularly in Asia, North America, and even in Latin America. A more important development, however, occurred in Korean academia, where younger generation humanists have come out with more diverse perspectives in looking at Korean society and its history. All these changing realities of Korean society, culture, economy, and academia offer an unusual experimental field for various academic disciplines and a foundation on which new theories can be built.

Korean Studies has expanded in many parts of the world following the growth of Korea’s influence in the spheres of the global economy, politics and culture. While Korean Studies has emerged as a popular subject at universities in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, the quality of the subject has yet to develop further. At the same time however, in North America, Western Europe and Oceania, Korean Studies have not expand as quickly as in the aforementioned regions. To survive and prosper as an academic discipline, Korean Studies - just as any other academic discipline - must contribute to an understanding of our world. To do so, Korean Studies need to explore new objectives of research, develop new approaches, and expand its scope beyond the national borders of Korea. In addition, to prevent the study of Korea from becoming a passing trend, we also need to encourage young scholars and
researchers of other disciplines to explore new possibilities and bring new insight into Korean Studies. This will allow Korean Studies to engage in intellectual dialogue with other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. This requires a new openness within the discipline.

With this very perspective in mind, when I was asked to run the 2010 Pacific Asian Conference on Korean Studies, I chose ‘Korean Studies in Shift’ as the theme for this twenty-year old international conference. It was with this intention that I wanted to take this opportunity to exemplify how the discipline of Korean Studies can contribute to the understanding of Korea and the world by exploring new research objects, applying new approaches, and re-evaluating Korea’s rich heritage and its historical, social, cultural and political experiences. I also wished it to be an opportunity to explore the possibilities of building new theories based upon the changing realities of Korean society and culture in the last few decades.

Another of my wishes was to encourage young and emerging scholars (as well as established ones) to develop new research areas, approaches and theories in the discipline. By so doing, I wished to expand on the current areas within Korean Studies, as well as to refine and redefine the existing traditions in the discipline. As the conference was held in New Zealand, I hoped that it would become an opportunity to promote Korean Studies not only in New Zealand per se, but also in the broader Oceania area - including the Pacific Island nations - where Korean Studies is almost unheard of. Unfortunately, this was not quite achieved, regardless of my wishes.

Nevertheless, we were very lucky and I was really happy to see so many good papers presented at this two-day conference. Scholars from more than fifteen countries formed various panels for discussion, as well as presenting their papers individually. Participants included both established scholars and junior scholars in academic fields that are directly and indirectly related to Korean Studies. Proposals from postgraduate students, emerging scholars, policy makers and established scholars were also numerous. Papers informed by a comparative approach towards Korean studies and interdisciplinary and broader approaches were also many.

In addition to ordinary panels and sessions in all areas of social sciences and humanities (such as history, literature, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, political studies, economics and business), we also had several panels and plenary sessions on a variety of newly emerging fields in Korean Studies such as migration and diaspora studies, Korean food
studies, digitalization of Korean Studies information, and Korean Studies library. All of the above have contributed to making the conference richer and more meaningful.

I, as the Organising Committee Chair of the 2010 PACKS, sincerely appreciate all those who came and presented their papers during the two days of November 24 and 25, 2010 at the University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. Of the more than eighty papers that were submitted to the organizers of the conference, we have selected twenty-nine well written papers through a peer-review process to be printed. With the generous support from the Academy of Korean Studies and the New Zealand Asia Institute of the University of Auckland, we are humbly but at the same time proudly presenting the proceedings to the world. I hope that it will be a small contribution to the development of Korean Studies here in Oceania if not the world.

In retrospect, considering the fact that New Zealand is a rapidly globalising society and has become a meeting place of peoples and cultures of the East, West, South and North, it was really an ideal place to have such a conference.

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2010

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Section One (1):
Social Sciences - Politics, Economics, International Relations
A Fragile Relationship: New Zealand and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

Bellamy, Paul

After the War

New Zealand and DPRK relations were minimal after New Zealand’s seven-year military involvement in Korea; New Zealand reluctant to establish formal relations despite North Korean approaches. Given New Zealand’s limited capabilities and dependence on trade, the importance of regional stability and peace, and thus the Korean Peninsula’s significance, was recognised. Apart from the War and related Cold War environment, New Zealand’s position was influenced by various factors. These included concern over North Korea’s hostility towards the Republic of Korea (ROK or South Korea) and unwillingness to enter dialogue on peaceful reunification, along with its authoritarianism, poor human rights record and later nuclear program. New Zealand was critical of DPRK attempts to obtain recognition and its dubious diplomatic record. Furthermore, there was unease over DPRK moves to increase its regional presence, and the potential repercussions of this. New Zealand was influenced by the position of its partners and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) neighbours. It was aware of ROK sensitivities regarding interaction with the DPRK, and reluctant to risk damaging increasingly important relations with the ROK. Such factors were noted by both Prime Minister Rt. Hon. Robert Muldoon in 1979, and in 1991 by the Minister of External Relations and Trade, Hon. Don McKinnon, when they said that New Zealand would not enter into relations with the DPRK.¹

The DPRK’s role in terrorist attacks reinforced New Zealand’s position. After the DPRK was involved in a 1983 bombing in Myanmar that killed 17 ROK officials the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon. Warren Cooper was highly critical of the North. He said “we can only conclude from this outrageous incident that the costs of maintaining diplomatic relations with North Korea greatly outweigh any advantages. That is a lesson we will not quickly forget”.² The Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon. Russell Marshall also strongly condemned the “horrendous” destruction of

¹ Evening Post. 4 May 1979, p.4; and Minister of External Relations and Trade. 1991. ‘Visit of North Korean diplomat’, 7 June.
Korean Airlines Flight 858 in November 1987 by a North Korean bomb, saying it would “only add to North Korea’s isolation”.3

Despite this there was limited contact. Since 1973 groups of North Koreans organised by the New Zealand-DPRK Friendship Society have visited New Zealand.4 During the 1970s the Society, which numbered about 60 with approximately 100 on its mailing list, organised two to three delegations from North Korea. These had approximately 10 to 12 persons. Four North Koreans were granted visas in 1974 to stage an exhibition on North Korea, and a further three exhibitions had taken place by 1999. Such visits were reliant on visas being granted, fewer Society organised delegations arrived in the 1980s. For instance, the Government refused visas for four North Koreans in March 1980; reportedly as a 1978 DPRK ‘cultural delegation’ broke a prior undertaking through being involved in political meetings. In the late 1980s Workers’ Party of Korea (the DPRK governing party) leaders visited, as in 1991 did His Excellency Han Bong Ha, the DPRK Ambassador to Indonesia. The DPRK was the main destination of 974 short-term New Zealand traveller departures from April 1978 to 2000 (mostly to see friends and relatives), and members of Parliament visited the DPRK, including Rt. Hon. Helen Clark in 1991. Over this same period there were 668 visitor arrivals by DPRK residents, most often for holidays/vacations. Furthermore, there were 67 permanent and long-term arrivals by DPRK residents from April 1978 to 2000.5

Semi-official dialogue

With the Cold War ending, increased contact between the DPRK and ROK, countries like Australia reassessing relations with the DPRK, and the importance of dialogue in resolving Korean Peninsula tensions recognised, New Zealand began semi-official dialogue with North Korea in the late 1990s. In 1997 Kim Pyong Hong visited New Zealand as Acting Director of the Institute for Peace and Disarmament (North Korea’s representative body on the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific). He again visited in 1999 as North Korea’s Ambassador to Indonesia, and said “both countries should work together towards peace and co-operation”.6 A New Zealand diplomat (Heather Riddell) visited the DPRK for the first time in August 1997, followed shortly afterwards by a New Zealand customs official visit with the United Nations (UN). In July 2000 Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Hon. Phil Goff met the DPRK Foreign

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4 This promotes awareness, understanding and contact between New Zealand and DPRK citizens.
5 Statistics New Zealand data.
Minister Paek Nam-sun in Thailand. The joint communiqué said establishing official state relations “tallies with the international trend of reconciliation and cooperation and is beneficial to regional peace, security and prosperity”. Furthermore, “they agreed to positively develop the bilateral relations and continue dialogue and cooperation in regional and international arena”.7

**Formal diplomatic relations**

A New Zealand delegation visited the DPRK in September 2000, and the following month North and South Koreans met at a New Zealand conference. Here Pak Hyon-Jae, Director of the External Affairs of the Institute for Disarmament and Peace, Pyongyang, observed that New Zealand knew South Korea very well and now needed to know the North much better. Diplomatic relations were formally established in March 2001, MP Graham Kelly making the first official visit after this in July. Goff said “normalising relations with Pyongyang would enable New Zealand to engage North Korea on issues of key concern for the region such as security and humanitarian relief”. He also expressed hope that some economic ties might develop in the long-term. The DPRK said “the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries will contribute to the deepening of the mutual understanding and trusts of the two countries and peoples as well as to the development of bilateral relations in all fields”.8

New Zealand has various communication channels with the DPRK. These include formal diplomatic ties and engagement through international processes, such as the UN. New Zealand’s Ambassador in Seoul is cross-accredited to the DPRK, while Foreign Affairs Minister Hon. Winston Peters visited Pyongyang in November 2007. Commenting in December 2009, Patrick Rata (then Unit Head, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Asia Division) said New Zealand diplomats were treated with respect by their DPRK counterparts during a May 2009 visit, and appreciated the opportunity to both visit the DPRK and have dialogue with leaders. They had registered New Zealand’s concerns with the DPRK, such as over human rights. North Korea’s Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, is responsible for diplomatic relations with New Zealand. North Korean Ambassadors cross-accredited to New Zealand have visited three times since 2001, most recently in May 2007. From 1999 to 1 November 2010 there were 14 official

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New Zealand visits to the DPRK, generally for credentials and accreditation. The most recent visit occurred in May 2009.

New Zealand has sought to increase Korean Peninsula security and North Korea’s development. New Zealand contributed US$2.5 million between 1995 and 2005 to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO). This was aimed at helping provide an interim supply of oil until DPRK reactors capable of producing nuclear weapons material were replaced with reactors that could not easily make such material. Development aid worth $4.1 million was also provided to the DPRK between 1995 and 2009. This was primarily to address major food shortages through international aid agencies and small head of mission fund. 9

Contentious issues significantly influence the bilateral relationship. Key obstacles to closer relations are North Korea’s human rights record along with its nuclear and missile tests. Rata noted in December 2009, “New Zealand supports the Six Party Talks and hopes that the DPRK will open up to the international community. It supports dialogue with the DPRK, its denuclearisation, progress in respect for human rights, and hopes the DPRK lives up to its international commitments”. Furthermore, “New Zealand seeks the DPRK to refrain from provocative acts such as nuclear and missile tests”, and “looks forward to a DPRK positively engaged with the international community, showing respect for human rights and upholding its international commitments. This would help create an environment where further reflections on New Zealand policy towards the DPRK can be made”.

Reaction to this position is mixed. His Excellency Noh Kwang-il, the ROK Ambassador to New Zealand, believes New Zealand’s policy is “reasonable and rational” with the ROK closely consulted. Contrasting this, the New Zealand-DPRK Friendship Society opposes New Zealand’s position. The Reverend Don Borrie, its Chairperson, believes there was a “noticeable relaxation” of attitudes towards the DPRK under the previous government but there now is a hard-line anti-DPRK position. He believes that “New Zealand-DPRK relations will only improve if New Zealand opens up to the DPRK, and is prepared to show genuine concern and interest in the wellbeing of its people”.

Relations between North and South Korea have been especially tense since the sinking of the ROK naval ship Cheonan in March 2010, and North Korea’s shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in recent days. An international investigation concluded the sinking resulted from a DPRK torpedo (the DPRK has denied this), and New Zealand has responded. Foreign Minister Hon. Murray

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McCully in May 2010 expressed grave concern. He urged the DPRK to “refrain from further destabilising acts”, and to “refocus its efforts towards peace and dialogue”. New Zealand would support the ROK and others in “considering appropriate responses that encourage stability on the Korean Peninsula”. In July 2010 Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. John Key reaffirmed his support for the ROK by condemning North Korea’s attack and expressing his condolences to the bereaved families. He reiterated New Zealand’s on-going commitment to peace and security on the Korean Peninsula, and support for efforts to achieve North Korea’s complete and verifiable denuclearisation. Rev Don Borrie questions the international investigation’s conclusions and New Zealand’s stance.

Likewise, New Zealand expressed “outrage” over the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island. McCully said this incident represented “a new and dangerous level of aggression” by the DPRK. Moreover, “New Zealand joins other countries in expressing our sense of outrage over this attack and the consequent loss of life”. This response has been termed “timely and proper” by the ROK Embassy. Rev Don Borrie believes that New Zealand “needs to be actively promoting dialogue, not confrontation, including seeking the replacement of the ceasefire Armistice Agreement with a Peace Treaty”.

### Economic ties

New Zealand regulations give effect to UN Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions on the DRPK. These prohibit the supply, sale or transfer to the DPRK of certain military items, dual-use technologies, and luxury goods. Furthermore, a UN sanctions committee has designated five DPRK individuals and eight companies involved with its nuclear and missile development be subject to a travel ban and asset freeze. In January 2010 it was reported that an Auckland-registered company was used in an attempt the previous month to ship arms from North Korea to Iran. This prompted debate over New Zealand company laws, the company’s sole director pleaded guilty earlier this month to charges of giving false residential information to the Companies Office.

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10 Minister of Foreign Affairs. 2010. ‘McCully condemns North Korean link to Cheonan sinking’, 21 May. The ROK Embassy in New Zealand believes New Zealand’s response “was timely and adequate as well as useful, which is in line with the reaction from the international society”. Private correspondence with ROK Embassy in New Zealand, 27 May 2010.
13 Private correspondence with ROK Embassy in New Zealand, 24 November 2010.
(she was convicted and discharged). Rev Don Borrie believes the incident “encourages the popular perception of the DPRK as an irresponsible trader”, and “does not take into account the relativity of the DPRK arms trade, the quantity of arms it sells is insignificant compared to the quantity sold by the Western allies, Russia and China”. It has also been reported that North Korea attempted to purchase bus parts and beef from New Zealand (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade is not aware of any such transaction).

Economic ties are minimal. The total value of New Zealand exports and re-exports to the DPRK was $36,907 from 1983 to 1987, with the cost of goods imported totalling $8,953. The value of New Zealand exports to the DPRK between 1988 and 1999 totalled $882,244, peaking in 1990. Raw hides and skins (other than fur skins) and leather comprised the highest value export. There has been no recorded trade since 1999 but New Zealand products apparently reach the country through China. The value of DPRK imports into New Zealand during the same period totalled $15,951, having peaked in 1992. Seeds, fruits, grains, plants, straw and fodder comprised the highest value import.

Some interest in business ties has been expressed in both countries. In the late 1990s the DPRK said it was interested in sending working gangs to work in the fishing, forestry and restaurant sectors. Similarly, it indicated an interest in exporting to New Zealand goods such as zinc, and has sought information about New Zealand’s agricultural technology. New Zealand investment in the garment and manufacturing sectors was welcomed, and in 2002 a DPRK delegation had discussions with the New Zealand Trade Development Board. Some New Zealand companies have examined opportunities in the DPRK, and the Society supports the ‘New Zealand Friendship Farm’ (Sambong Cooperative Farm). From April 1978 to October 2010, 136 DPRK residents travelled to New Zealand for business (the number peaking in 2010), and the DPRK was the main destination for 210 New Zealanders travelling for business, this peaking in 2000.

Personal inter-action

Some general interaction occurs. During the last ten years 1 to 2 small delegations to the DPRK were organised by the Society. In 2006, Tim Kearns taught at the DPRK-New Zealand Friendship...
School (Taedong Middle School No. 1), reportedly the first Westerner to teach in the DPRK, and returned to teach in 2008. This was arranged by the Society. The Presbyterian Church and Society hope a New Zealand teacher will teach English at the Kumsong School and Kumsong Middle School No.1 in Pyongyang during 2011. They also seek $11,000 to fund this. The Waikato Institute of Technology (WINTEC) and Kim Hyong Jik University of Education have signed a letter of intention to cooperate and work collaboratively, and a team from the Miranda Naturalists Trust visited the DPRK in 2009 to study migratory birds. The Society organised a visit by Dr Tim Beal and Hon Matt Robson (a former MP) earlier this month. This visit to consolidate existing relations and build new ones was deemed “fruitful.” The Society hopes to facilitate next year a visit by one or more Porirua City community leaders.

Religious interaction takes place. Humanitarian aid has been provided by the New Zealand Presbyterian Church. For instance, in July and August 2010 funds ($NZ5000) were raised from Presbyterian Church congregations, especially from Korean Christian people in Auckland, to support a noodle factory and bakery opened by the Bongsu Church in Pyongyang. These were delivered by Rev Richard Lawrence, an academic tutor at WINTEC, the following month. Richard renewed WINTEC’s acquaintance with the Kim Hyon Jik University of Education, visited the New Zealand Friendship Farm, and participated in the 10th Pyongyang Science and Technology Book Fair during a one week visit. Rev Dr Stuart Vogel of the Presbyterian Church’s Asian Advisory Committee has also travelled to the DPRK. His key interests and contacts are with the Korean Christian Federation of the DPRK, their two “open” churches in Pyongyang, the projects and institutions they operate and Christian house groups.

Travel data further illustrates personal interaction. The DPRK was the main destination of 21 short-term New Zealand traveller departures from 2001 to October 2010 who visited friends and relatives. Furthermore, about 100 people currently receive hard copies of the Society’s Pyongyang Report on the DPRK. North Koreans visit New Zealand too. One hundred and twenty visitor arrivals by DPRK residents occurred between 2001 and October 2010. Of these, 32 were to see friends/relatives and 29 were for business. Eight residence applications by North Koreans were approved from 1 July 1997 to 7 November 2010 (mostly under the business/skilled and uncapped family sponsored streams). In 2007 up to ten annual scholarships were offered by New Zealand to allow DPRK students to study here. These were linked to progress being made towards

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20 Private correspondence with Tim Beal, 19 November 2010.
22 Private correspondence with Rev Dr Stuart Vogel, 27 November 2010
23 Statistics New Zealand data.
24 Department of Labour data.
denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula. In August 2009 New Zealand told the DPRK it was postponing the scheme’s implementation given North Korea test-fired a long-range rocket, withdrew from the Six-Party Talks, and conducted a nuclear test. The scholarships have yet to be revived. In 2008, a DPRK soccer team visited to participate in the FIFA under-17 women’s World Cup.

Future

New Zealand needs to be actively engaged with the Asia-Pacific region, and can help achieve regional peace and security, particularly through a multilateral approach and strong constructive relations with its neighbours. New Zealand recognises the Korean Peninsula’s significance, its relations with North Korea being primarily shaped by contentious issues such as the regime’s poor human rights record, concerns around which are often shared and shaped by other allies and partners, particularly the ROK. Unfortunately, these issues will probably remain in the near-future, there currently appearing little likelihood of significant liberalisation in the DPRK or its complete and verifiable denuclearisation. Moreover, the threat of conflict between the ROK and DPRK remains. The recently released Defence White Paper refers to tensions on the Korean Peninsula as likely to continue with any conflict having a serious impact on security and confidence in the wider region. Apart from the prospect of New Zealand humanitarian relief, it is likely that New Zealand would consider the possible use of military force if requested or mandated by the UN in support of regional peace and security.

Another issue is North Korea’s future leadership given Kim Jong-il’s health problems. If a successfully managed succession to Kim Jong-il’s youngest son Kim Jong-un or a collective leadership occurs there is a greater likelihood of continuity in relations with the DPRK. However, though the regime has shown durability a contested succession risking civil war and external intervention, and a failed succession are possibilities that would impact upon New Zealand-DPRK relations. Such factors complicate the New Zealand-DPRK relationship and hinder more constructive dialogue and engagement to foster mutual trust, transparency and cooperation. Within this context the relationship appears unlikely to significantly improve in the near-future. Achieving reunification on the Korean Peninsula under democracy will be very challenging. Although it appears unlikely in the near-future, a unified, peaceful, democratic and strong Korea will have a major impact on international relations, and the ability to make a vital and positive

contribution to the international community. Given regional peace, prosperity and stability are vital New Zealand interests, especially given New Zealand’s geographic location, limited capabilities and significance of trade, its strong relations with this Korea would be very important.

* The author is most grateful for the kind cooperation of the interviewees (HE Noh Kwang-il, Patrick Rata and Rev Don Borrie). Interviews were conducted between August 2009 and November 2010. Comments reflect the personal opinions of interviewees and are not necessarily those of their employers. He is also most grateful for the comments expressed via correspondence. Some information here has appeared in his article ‘New Zealand and North Korea: limited ties, uncertain future’, New Zealand International Review, July/August 2010.

Paul Bellamy has undertaken work for various international organisations and has published in diverse areas, including co-leading an international study of human security. He has published various articles on Korea and visited South Korea twice in 2009. Please note that the views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of his employer.

References
This paper is primarily based on interviews and private correspondence with HE Noh Kwang-il, Patrick Rata, Rev Don Borrie, Rev Richard Lawrence, Rev Dr Stuart Vogel and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade supplemented by Statistics New Zealand and Department of Labour data. However, the following material was also utilised.


* Evening Post. 4 May 1979, p.4


Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2001. ‘Historic diplomatic link with North Korea’, 26 March.


The ‘privileged’ identities of Korean New Zealander returnees: agents of change or greedy expatriates?

Lee, Jane YeonJae

1. Introduction

In this paper, I want to explore how overseas Koreans are received and perceived in Korean society. In particular, I want to understand how Korean New Zealander returnees are resettled through their interactions with the locals in their everyday lives. The paper has two major objectives. Firstly, it aims to discuss how Korean returnees are perceived by the locals. I argue that there are two major discussions about overseas Korean (Gyopo) returnees; seeing them as either agents of change or as greedy expatriates. I will discuss this through current debates from both academic and non-academic literatures along with personal narratives of the returnees. Secondly, the paper aims to illustrate how the two broad discourses regarding overseas Koreans effect the returnees’ everyday lives either positively or negatively. The returnees’ narratives illustrate that no matter how they feel about themselves, they are often stereotyped or seen as different from the local Koreans, based on their overseas status. I will convey this through a number of narratives from my primary research.

2. Context

2.1 Korean immigrants in New Zealand

Koreans are a recent immigrant group compared to other ethnicities in New Zealand. In the 2006 census, the Korean population had increased to 30,792 from 19,026 in 2001. Koreans began to immigrate to New Zealand as part of the ‘new wave’ in the 1990s, when large
numbers of middle-class Koreans left for Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Chang, 2006). This population is also highly concentrated in the largest metropolitan area, Auckland (2008 population 1.4 million), where about two-thirds of the Korean population of New Zealand reside (Friesen, 2008). 94% of all Koreans in New Zealand are either first or 1.5 generations and 87% have resided in New Zealand for less than ten years (Chang, 2006:6). High proportions of Korean immigrants are well educated and many were previously employed in skilled occupations in their home country (Lidgard and Yoon, 1998). However, unable to find formal employment commensurate with their skills, many became self-employed, establishing small businesses such as dairies (aka variety stores), restaurants, souvenir shops, cafes, travel agencies and hair salons (Lidgard, 1996). Although there have been a number of research papers which examine the first generation Korean immigrants’ settlement and health issues (Lee et al., 2010; Spoonley et al., 2003; Yoon and Boyer, 1995; Tan, 2008; Ho et al., 2003), research on the children of those immigrants – 1.5 generation Korean immigrants – is very limited. Importantly, although an exact number is difficult to find, a large number of those children are returning to their homeland, mostly after their tertiary education.

2.2 The political and social reception of returnees in Korea

Until the Overseas Koreans Act 1999 that allowed quasi-dual citizenship, re-immigration into Korea by overseas Koreans who had become citizens of foreign nations was not an easy process (Park & Chang, 2005; Kim, 2008). Overseas Koreans who were not officially Korean citizens any longer were treated as foreigners, meaning that they had either to give up their overseas citizenship upon their permanent return or be considered as “illegal stayers”. Since 1997, the Korean government has begun to develop a new set of policies toward their expatriates as part of the state’s nation-building processes (Park & Chang, 2005).

The Overseas Koreans Act was implicitly driven by economic interests. It was developed to build stronger relationships between Korea and those overseas Korean
communities with financial capital and skills (Park and Chang, 2005). This Act allows Korean expatriates to register as ‘overseas Korean’ local residents which gives the returnees quasi-local rights in areas such as banking, owning a house, medical insurance and pensions. This open co-ethnic Korean policy has attracted a large number of Koreans living overseas to return to Korea. In 2005, there were about 18,000 Korean Americans living and working in South Korea (Skrentny, Chan, Fox and Kim, 2007), and this number has tripled over the past three years (Korean Ministry of Justice, 2007). Overall, more than 90,000 ‘overseas Koreans’ were residing in Korea in 2007 (Lee, 2008; Choi, 2008). However, the focus has been on them as workers, and their experience in settling into Korean society has been little studied. (Kang, 1995; Kim, 2009).

3. Discourses of return migrants

In this section, I will discuss the construction of certain discourses about co-ethnic returnees. Firstly, I will consider how a growing number of return theories argue that co-ethnic returnees can be considered as agents of change, bringing positive impacts to the local society. Secondly, I will examine a different discourse about returnees which view return as a failure and see it as unsustainable movements.

3.1 Returned migrants as ‘agents of change’

“Must we conclude that returned migrants cannot function as vehicles of social development? Or once again, can we argue that within proper institutional framework the means and the energy of returnees could act as a progressive force? Although I would like to adhere to the second alternative, all evidence seems to be contrary” (Cerase 1974:261).

1 During the 1990s, after the economic crisis, President Kim Yong Sam launched the ‘Segehwa’ movement. The movement aimed to make Seoul into a multicultural society by building stronger connections to foreign markets. Those Koreans with good English skills and international connections have been seen as important human capital. (Park & Chang, 2005)
Cerase (1974) views return migrants as potential agents of social and economic developments back in the home nation. This view has been adopted by numerous recent scholars and many studies have focused on this position. (Ghosh 2000; King 2000; Mesic and Bagic 2009; Conway and Potter 2009). Cerase (1974) asserts in his famous article about return migrants from the United States to Southern Italy that depending on the physical, moral and technical conditions of returning migrants, the ‘effectiveness’ of the use of their capital and lifestyle earned abroad will differ. In other words, not all returnees will return in retirement or because they could not succeed in their host society, but return at a young age with social and financial capital – and bring positive impacts.

Conway and Potter (2007; 2009) have developed the idea further and argued that youthful returnees in the 21st century can be ‘agents of change’ in their home nations. Although the actual impact of returnees on local societies depends on factors such as how advanced the returnees are in their careers, or how culturally adaptive they can be, the ‘transnational presence’ of returnees is expected to become more meaningful and influential in today’s society (Conway and Potter, 2009). For instance, Caribbean transnational return migrants have been seen as human agents, where one returnee may bring changes to local farm management (Conway and Potter, 2007). Bernard (2005 sited in Conway and Potter, 2007) has illustrated in his study that overseas returnees to Puerto Rico have not only been highly educated overseas, but had good local connections and knowledge which enhanced their critical role in local development.

### 3.2 Return migration and negative impacts

“If you come back with money, they are jealous. If you come back with nothing, they ridicule you” (Gmelch, cited in Oxfeld & Long, 2004:10). The notions of exclusion and marginalisation experienced by returnees upon their return to their homeland are apparent in a number of recent studies (Glick Shiller & Fouron 2001; Kong 2003; Tsuda 2003a, 2009; Oxfeld & Long 2004; Christou 2006; Koh 2008; Cangbai 2008). “In earlier cases…

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transmigrants were expected to eventually return home, and long-distance nationalism\(^2\) contained a call to come and rebuild the land. To accept permanent settlement elsewhere was generally defined as national betrayal” (Glick Shiller & Fouron 2001: 4). Similarly, Tsuda (2003a) explains that in Japanese culture, even if the living standard in the home country is difficult, one should endure; leaving one’s nation to gain a better life overseas is considered as a betrayal and being disrespectful to the nation.

A difference in socioeconomic status between the returnees and the rest of society has been regarded as a major factor that generates exclusion from the receiving homeland society (Koh 2008; Long & Oxfeld 2004; Brettell 2003), while political discrimination and social power also place returnees into marginal positions within the society (Tsuda 2003; Cangbai, 2008). Kong (2003) argues that Chinese returnees in Hong Kong adopt multiple identities once they return, allowing separate political and cultural activities. Nadia Kim (2009) illustrates a similar trajectory amongst the Korean-American second generations living in Los Angeles, who feel that while they are racial outsiders in America, they are cultural foreigners in Korea. Hence, they can have no sense of home in either place and always feel in-between the two. She concludes that being treated like cultural outsiders by their own ethnic people is the more stressful and that they eventually find America to be their home. Kim (2009) strongly argues that sense of ‘home’ is thus gained through cultural familiarity.

Despite the increasing awareness of the ‘othering’ of returnees, the theme has been only briefly mentioned without further investigation of the processes behind it, and this suggests themes for further research. When ‘exclusion’ is talked about, most studies make assumptions that the locals of the receiving countries are jealous of the returnees’ overseas experiences because of the differences in their cultural and political backgrounds. To call it simple jealousy is not enough. A different view needs to be interrogated to reveal why

\(^2\) Long-distance nationalism is a claim to membership in a political community that stretches beyond the territorial borders of a homeland. It generates an emotional attachment that is strong enough to compel people to political and personal actions that range from displaying a home country flag to deciding to return and die in their homeland (see Glick Shiller and Fouron, 2001)
certain tensions are created in the first place and what roles -agency factors have in constructing such notions about their overseas co-ethnic groups.

4. Methodology

In order to understand the links between the returnees’ complex personal stories and larger societal issues, ethnographic research was necessary. This qualitative study was based on in-depth interviews and participant observations of forty young Korean New Zealander returnees who have returned voluntarily to Korea over the past ten years.

Forty interview participants were identified through a snow-balling sampling method. Fifteen male and twenty-five female participants were chosen, which is representative of the actual proportion of sex among returnees. The age range of the participants was between twenty-three and thirty-three. The majority of the participants were either still single or in a relationship, and only seven participants were married. Over 75% of the participants had returned alone, leaving close family members in New Zealand. Occupations were diverse, ranging from engineers, computer scientists, designers, accountants, civil servants, lawyers, academics, home-makers and other specialist professionals. While a majority of the participants were successful in their careers, some were unemployed.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews of one to three hours duration were conducted in settings comfortable to participants, such as cafes, restaurants, their houses or workplaces. All of the interviews were undertaken in Korean. Detailed field notes on matters including the participants’ settings and their facial expressions were taken during the interviews. These notes aided data analysis by providing a broader context for the responses. Follow up interviews were also carried out about a month later with ten selected participants, which offered an opportunity to ask further questions. I was also fortunate to be able to spend some time with some of the returnees in their everyday activities, which permitted a deeper understanding of their lives. This layered approach produced a rich account of the participants’ lives and concerns. Following ethical requirements, the interviews were audio-
taped with the participants’ agreement. The resultant narratives were critically read and thematically coded.

5. Identification with ‘privileged’ transnational returnees

In this section, I will illustrate how the two broad discourses of return migrants have either a positive or a negative effect on the Korean New Zealander returnees’ everyday lives. The returnees’ narratives illustrate that no matter how they feel about themselves, they are often stereotyped or seen as different from the local Koreans, based on their overseas status. I will illustrate these stories through a number of narratives from my primary research.

5.1 Identities of Gyopo (overseas Koreans) in South Korea

A majority of the returnees indicated that they are often stereotyped as different once they are known as Gyopo to others. Marry Seo (28, F) indicates that whatever she does at work she is judged, because her co-workers know that she is from New Zealand:

People tend to think that when you are from overseas, you don’t have polite manners to your co-workers. So, whenever I show certain (polite) manners, they tell me that I’m not like any other overseas Koreans and judge me very positively. On the other side, when I say things out-front to others, they say that I do this because I’m from overseas.

As Marry said, whether it being positive or negative aspects, returnees’ actions are seen as different because they are Gyopo. Similarly to Marry, David Kim (26, M) shows a strong view that he doesn’t want his co-workers to know that he is from New Zealand:

I don’t want any spotlight on me because I’m from overseas. You know, it’s like... I don’t like that look of “he doesn’t know anything”... For instance, if they (co-workers) find out that I’m from overseas, I think it creates more disrespect for me than any respect. I don’t like it when people just assume and say “you probably don’t know this...” and often, I hear this when they are talking about army
experience or university experience... it’s not that I get hurt or really offended, it’s really no big deal, but it does annoy me a little.

Although David says that “it’s no big deal”, his Gyopo identity does affect his everyday life. Alicia Choi (26, F) feels that the reason that Gyopo are seen differently in Korean society is that Korean people are still reluctant to accept different cultures and other ethnicities. Alicia thinks that had she worked in New Zealand, she would feel less different, compared with her feelings of alienation in Korea:

> If I tried harder and found a job in New Zealand and mingled with the co-workers, like going to work parties and BBQs, I would have been accepted more and wouldn’t be seen as much different from the rest of the Kiwis. But here (in Korea), I am always seen differently... just from not knowing certain Korean words, they think that it’s because I’m a New Zealander. Nobody accepts me fully as a Korean person here.

This is a very interesting narrative and it illustrates that being ‘cultural outsiders’ can be experienced as a greater stress than being ‘ethnic outsiders’ – sharing similar culture is seen as more important that nationality when it comes to acceptance.

Along with the fact that returnees are seen as ‘cultural outsiders’, there are certain perceptions that returnees from the West are privileged:

> They tend to think that I was privileged living overseas. However, they don’t realise that we had to go through a lot of difficulties by growing up in New Zealand as 1.5 kids. You know the things that we had to go through, helping out with our parents’ businesses and having to adjust to a new culture wasn’t easy in the beginning...

Raymond Kim (32, M)

Similarly to Raymond, a number of other returnees also indicated the experience of being seen as rich and privileged. Helen Park (26, F) for instance, thinks that Korean New Zealanders did go through a better education system compared with Koreans:

> We grew up in a good environment... For instance, we didn’t have to study as hard as Korean kids do, and Korean people may think that we achieve things too easily..?
People see me like that very often... they think that I probably grew up without any difficulties, they tend to think that we didn’t have any hardships in our lives...

Although Helen feels that Korean New Zealanders are privileged to a certain extent, she does not agree that Korean New Zealanders don’t know any hardships. A ‘privileged’ discourse about Gyopo from the West is constructed because of the English skills that the returnees possess, and these are seen as something highly valuable in Korean society. With their English skills, this group have better opportunities for professional employment. A number of the returnees resented those who viewed their English skill as a natural outcome of being Gyopo, as the locals did not respect the hardship behind gaining that skill. As Korean New Zealander returnees are mostly 1.5 generation, they still remembered the difficult time in their school years when they could not speak any English at all. Unlike second generation immigrants, they had had to work extra hours each day in order to gain their English skills.

5.2 Can Korean New Zealander return migrants be considered as ‘agents of change’?

When this question was raised during interviews, a majority of the participants showed great enthusiasm for the topic, illustrating the important role that they have in Korean society as ‘agents of change’. Kyle Oh, who is working as a graphic designer in Korea, said that it is important to have overseas Korean employees like himself in his company:

I think returnees bring many benefits to our company... not to mention the kinds of international networks that we are creating... but I think in general, returnees bring back something valuable to the society. Things are changing rapidly these days and we (Korea) are becoming a global society. I feel that returnees have a great role in this process. For instance at our work, I found that returnee workers are way more creative compared to local Korean employees.

Kyle has a number of returnee workers at his work including some who returned from Australia and America. He explained that the employer of the company likes to employ overseas Koreans because they tend to think ‘outside of the square’ and their work tends to
be more innovative. Such an account illustrates that returnees as a group of skilled workers are not only valued for their English skills but for the ability to work innovatively. David Kim (26, M) who is working as an English teacher at a local primary school explained that he is different from rest of his co-workers. The English teaching sector has increased dramatically in Korea over the last ten years and now it is common for primary and secondary schools to employ teachers who are native English speakers. David argued that he is different from American or Canadian English teachers because he has strong Korean ethnic ties:

*I feel that those English teachers from America or Canada just come to Korea to earn money and experience Korean culture, not because they particularly enjoy teaching or they like kids. But because I’m Korean, I care about the students more and teach with more concern for each student.*

Such a view was shared by a number of other returnees working as English teachers. Further, Michelle Jo (F, 25) argued that native speaking returnee teachers are more versatile at work because they can also speak Korean:

*Because I am bilingual, my boss gives me extra administrative jobs such as consulting with parents and writing reports. I am employed as a 'native speaking' teacher, so I get paid the same amount as the other English teachers receive.*

Michael Lee (28, M) returned to Korea and started working for the New Zealand embassy in the education sector. He explains that because he is a ‘1.5’ generation person, he understands both the Korean and the New Zealand culture which is a merit in his job:

*I know that there are plenty of other people out there who have better work experience than me. However, with my cultural and social understanding of both countries, I have been making many changes in the education policy between Korea and New Zealand.*

5.3 Conflict, exclusion and jealousy

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Helen returned to Korea when she graduated from university at the age of twenty-one. She graduated from her university at a young age because she was able to commence her tertiary study after sixth form (equivalent to junior year at high school). When she returned to Korea in 2005, she was able to find her first job easily because there was a high demand for professionals with English skills in that year. She was appointed as the auditor of a leading international pharmacy company. Her first year was very smooth. Everyone welcomed her to the company. A number of the senior executive staff asked her for help with projects that required English. She was considered to be a highly valuable member of her team. However, when she was promoted to a higher position, she started to feel excluded:

As you know... I was employed at a very young age. Then I got promoted very quickly after I started working for the firm. I think my co-workers think that I got promoted only because of my English skills.... But that is really not true. Because I had English skills, I was involved in many important international projects, so I worked extremely hard and worked extra hours compared to others. So I think I deserved to be promoted, but that’s not what others think... so I felt that when I got promoted, others were talking behind my back. I didn’t really care what others thought. But I was a little hurt by a co-worker who I have become friends with. When I realised that she was acting strange to me (after the promotion), I was really annoyed and hurt. I used to commute with her every day and we were really close you know... but after all, she was not a true friend...

Helen was hurt not by exclusion by her co-workers, but by the loss of a friendship. The friend whom she lost after her promotion was an older woman who had helped her a great deal when she was first settling at her workplace. She had explained Korean culture and norms to Helen and made her feel welcome. Helen explained further how difficult it is for her to make friends in Korea because for some reason, she is always made to feel different. She tends to ‘protect’ herself from close friendships with Koreans because she is afraid of being hurt again.

Danielle Yoon (28, M) grew up in a small town in New Zealand. After graduating from university, he was employed as a software developer at a computer engineering company in
Seoul. Similarly to Helen, Danielle was promoted quite quickly compared with his co-workers because he was in charge of many international projects. Although he could have been a valuable member of his team, he eventually left his job and returned to New Zealand:

So this incident happened few weeks after I got promoted... It was at a work drink party... The general manager was telling me that I was no longer promoted and that I would be put back into my old position because I had been doing poor work over the last month. I was like what the h***? Then I eventually found out that the general manager had changed my last month’s work report and put all that I had achieved under his name!! I just couldn’t believe that things like this could actually happen in a real world you know... I knew that most people at work knew that this thing had happened as it became quite a huge issue. Then the funny thing is... nobody blamed the manager and just acted real quiet about it. I just couldn’t take it anymore. Just thinking about it now makes me angry.

6. Conclusion: can ‘innovative’ linkages be made through return migration?

This brief paper has attempted to clarify how certain discourses about Gyopo (overseas Koreans) can affect the everyday lives of Korean New Zealander returnees either positively or negatively. A majority of the returnees in this study indicated that they were often stereotyped as different once they were known as Gyopo by others. They were often seen as more individualistic, as ignorant of Korean culture, rich or privileged. Importantly, despite their strong ethnic ties to Korea, they were always seen as cultural outsiders. Further, I have argued through the returnees’ stories that a barrier between the returnees and the locals is still prevalent in Korean society. The stories of Helen and Danielle were presented as strong case studies which depicted experiences of exclusion and jealousy at work because of the returnees’ ‘privileged’ position. Such a ‘privileged’ position however, was something that the returnees had had to strive for, but did not prove a happy experience for either Helen or Danielle. While it may seem to be an abstract ambition to make a connection between return
and development, ethnographic accounts of the returnees I studied provided vivid pictures of how innovative linkages both can and cannot be achieved through return migration.

References


India and Korea: the evolving partnership

Raghavan, Vyjayanti

The 2008 ‘great global financial crisis’ will be seen in history as a major turning point that changed the financial landscape of the world. It will induce major changes in economic theory, the philosophical outlook that governs it and the institutional structures that sustain it. In the aftermath of the crisis that overtook the world in September 2008, both India and Korea have played an important role in stabilising the world economy. At the same time, they have also acquired an important voice in determining the shape of things to come. This paper will examine how the crisis is going to have a bearing on the Indo-Korean relationship. There are two elements to this relationship: bilateral and multilateral. The bilateral aspect comprises trade and investment, the future shape of which has already been outlined in substantial detail in the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) of 2009. The multilateral aspect will emerge in the role that the two countries will play in G-20 (The Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors). India and Korea, while having interests opposed to each other’s in certain areas, also have common interests in other areas. While the former can be found in industry level issues, the latter can be seen at the economy level. Reconciling these objectives will require considerable political sagacity and diplomatic finesse. This paper will describe in broad strokes the emerging Indo-Korean relationship within this overall context.

Until 1980, when the Thatcher and Reagan type of free market economic policies gained ascendency, governments played a major role in national economies – not just indirectly through policies but also directly through ownership. The Thatcher-Reagan philosophy was based on reducing the role of governments and giving markets a greater say in determining

economic outcomes. Their main focus was on the financial markets which they described as repressed and which needed to be set free from government controls. Over the 1980s when they held office this is what was done and, by the time the two demitted office at the end of the 1980s, financial liberalisation in the world’s biggest economies of the US, UK and Europe was almost complete. In the early 1990s, the East Asian countries followed suit. The central feature of this new modus operandi was the free mobility of capital between countries. The IT revolution helped the process greatly. Any amount of money could be transferred within seconds from one country to another.

Over the next few years, the global economy became the playground of financial investors who commanded resources that often exceeded the GDPs of ninety per cent of the countries in the world.

Private interest replaced public interest as the driver of the global economy. The process was accompanied by the invention of new financial products which were nothing more than complicated, contingent contracts. In that sense, they were bets or promises by one party to pay another party if a pre-agreed event happened. Not surprisingly, the system came to be known as ‘casino capitalism’. Overall, the effect of this was to increase the financial risk in the system, which players sought to hide or ignore. In September 2008, the entire system collapsed in the sense that Western banks found themselves no longer able to function. The global financial system froze up. Immediately a huge effort at global cooperation was launched to avert a 1929-like depression.

After a year of sustained effort, by the end of 2009, the global economy stabilised. Growth returned, as output once more began to expand. However, it is clear in the aftermath of the global financial crisis that a major adjustment to the global economic architecture is underway. Three things became clear to the world. One, the global balance of economic power had begun to shift in the direction of Asia, as its share of global GDP in purchasing power parity terms has risen steadily from 18% in 1980 to 34% in 2009. Also, Asian stock markets today account for 34% of global market capitalisation, ahead of both the US (33%) and Europe (27%), and Asian central banks hold two-thirds of all foreign exchange reserves. Second, the world would need more, not less, financial regulation. Third, these new rules
would not emerge if Asia did not agree. In recognition of this, the G-20 replaced the G-8. The G-20 became the main forum for international cooperation. India and Korea have been accorded important roles in the G-20.

Asian countries cannot take it for granted that Asia will automatically gain global ascendancy. Asian countries need to cooperate with each other on a hitherto unprecedented scale both to ensure regional stability and to ensure regional policy coordination. The various regional groupings and dialogue mechanisms that have been established will have to work better, in the sense that the regional architecture in Asia will have to be more flexible; comprising different mechanisms to accommodate the diversity of the region. Nor can Asia ignore the US which will remain a major player for several decades to come and which will, for many years, have a virtual veto. Not just this: the support of non-G-20 countries will also be essential.

It is in this context that we need to examine the role that India and Korea can play, both bilaterally and multilaterally. A fifth of the world’s population lives in India. It is the world’s second fastest growing economy. The demographics are in its favour. And, most crucially, it has recently become a major ally of the US in economic, strategic and political terms. It thus has a major role to play in Asia and in the world for the simple reason that it provides the new markets, investment destinations and raw materials’ sources.

Korea and India have had formal diplomatic relations since 1973. But informal relations have existed for several centuries and one of the early interactions that is being popularised by the Korean government is one that took place nearly 2000 years ago, in the 1st century AD when a princess from Ayutha (apparently Ayodhya) went to Korea and married King Kim Suro. Buddhism has also been a strong link between the two countries. In modern times, however, for the first twenty years after formal diplomatic relations were established in 1973, the level of interest in each other remained at a very low key. This was despite the fact that Korean firms had started to explore the Indian market from the early 1980s. But in 1991, India started a process of economic reform that had Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as one of its main components. In 1993, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited Korea as part of his ‘Look East’ policy and signed an agreement of cooperation. Korea swiftly
grasped the opportunity that the vast Indian market could provide, and the next few years saw a massive upsurge in Korean investment in India. It is now the fifth largest investor in India. Today, Korean firms have become household names in India and they account for significant market shares in every market in which they are present.

However, it is essential that the external environment be stable. For this it needs good relations with immediate neighbours and key regional groupings. Focusing on the latter, we find that India’s ‘Look East’ policy, inaugurated almost two decades ago, has begun to yield fruit. Total trade between India and Southeast Asia has quadrupled since 2003. Its engagement with Northeast Asia, namely, Japan and Korea, is no less spectacular. Trade with Korea has more than quadrupled. The most recent development is the signing of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement last August. The agreement will cut South Korean tariffs on 93% of goods from India. India will cut 75% of total tariffs. It will provide better access for the Indian service industry in South Korea: information technology, engineering and finance. It will also ease restrictions on foreign direct investments.

India and Korea are also seeking to establish a strategic partnership. The two countries are also exploring collaborating in a host of areas. The South Korean president has offered to help India build nuclear power plants and will begin negotiations on a civil nuclear agreement. They will also look at the possibility of cooperation in the manufacture of defence equipment – but this is a long way off.

There are number of areas where the cooperation could be strengthened, for instance, in the IT sector. India’s strength is its software industry and Korea has a strong hardware industry. In science and technology, while India has well educated personnel, Korea has the resources and facilities. In the construction industry India lacks both capital and technology, both of which are in abundance in Korea. Similarly, strong and ancient cultural and historical linkages through Buddhism could become an attractive reason for promoting tourism between the two countries. An important factor to bear in mind is also the fact that while the ratio of the productive age group is rising in India, Korea is faced
with an aging population.\textsuperscript{29} Again, there are also hitherto unexplored areas where cooperation is possible. For instance while India has a really long coastline the marine products consumed by the people are very limited, while these are extremely popular in Korea and other countries of the east. Korea’s processing and packaging industry is very well developed for such products, and India could take advantage of this.

Yet another unexplored area is the field of education. India has vast unmet needs for both engineers and doctors – in other words a huge demand-supply gap in this area is emerging. To fill this gap, the government is actively considering relaxing the rules for foreign investment in technical education. The Foreign Education Providers (Regulation) Bill was cleared by the Cabinet in 2007 and was to have been tabled in the parliament in the last session but was waylaid because of other more important issues. However, it is only a matter of time before the Bill will be cleared. This is where Korea should grasp the business opportunity before others. Korean universities in collaboration with Korean firms could set up engineering and medical colleges in India. India should also seriously consider forging collaboration with Korean universities, many of which figure very highly in the latest QS Rankings of World Universities.\textsuperscript{30}

However, the time has come for the India-Korea partnership to move beyond the bilateral relationship, even if only in a limited way. It is true that Korea has other concerns in partnering India beyond a certain point, and may well want to pursue a highly nuanced policy. But there are several areas where India and Korea can cooperate without prejudice to their immediate concerns. The two countries can jointly flag and position issues of importance to the two regions for future meetings.

For example: why Asians don’t start demanding, rather more forcefully than hitherto, a restructuring of the outdated and ineffective global institutions designed by the US and UK in 1945 to ‘run’ the world. The utter disaster of the 2008 global financial crisis affords Asia – India and Korea in particular – the opportunity to raise questions about these issues at the

\textsuperscript{29} Pravakar Sahoo has detailed these in his paper ‘India- Korea Economic Relations’ presented at the seminar ‘India and Korea; the Emerging Partnership’ held at JNU in January 2010.

G20, of which they are very important members. As has been observed, viewing the current state of affairs, “A Martian would conclude that on Earth, the borrowers run the international financial institutions and the polluters manage the environment”.

That said, it is also important to bear in mind the fact that the multilateral interests of India and Korea have certain naturally low, upper bounds. For example, in the current context of currency wars, American and Korean interests are more closely aligned. Both would like China to appreciate the yuan so that they can export more. But India is a major importer from China and would not like the yuan to appreciate as it would make imports from China costlier. Given this hard commercial reality, it is difficult for India and Korea to be on the same page on issues of global macroeconomic coordination. The same holds true for the US proposal, made at the meeting of the finance ministers in Seoul in October that countries should not run up huge trade surpluses. India would agree with the US here but Korea would not.

These examples, where an India-Korea partnership at multilateral level has natural and low limits, can be multiplied. But that should not deter the two countries from working together where possible to guide the developments in the 21st century in a direction that would lead to a more prosperous and strife-free Asia, where the competition for resources does not turn into a zero-sum game. The experience of Europe and Japan in the 19th and 20th centuries, when they found themselves in a similar situation of having to keep growth going, not to mention the privations they visited on other parts of the world, should not be forgotten. The only way to prevent destructive competition is constructive cooperation and India and Korea are well-placed to provide the leadership for achieving it.

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Introduction

The role of Korean Americans in the development of the American high technology industry is both complex and instructive. In the 1970s, as Korean Americans were coming to the US in greater numbers, the high technology industry in the US was gathering momentum to change not only the US but also the global economy. In Silicon Valley, the global centre of the high technology industry, Korean Americans would play important, yet ever evolving and profoundly different, roles in the development of the industry. These patterns were shaped by multiple factors, including their status and conditions as newly arrived immigrants, their possession and acquisition of high levels of education, their propensity for entrepreneurship, and their transnational ties to South Korea – a nation that underwent its own astounding economic transformation during this time.

While the economic integration of Korean Americans in the high technology industry continues to be diverse and varied, there are nevertheless clear temporal patterns. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the integration of Korean Americans was largely shaped by their status as immigrants, and their integration was largely limited to entry-level assembly work that required neither English proficiency nor formal training (Keller 1981; Hossfeld 1990a; Park 1993). They were complemented by a relatively small but strategically important group of engineers and scientists who came to the US initially as foreign students, and who used their occupation as leverage to change their legal status to permanent residents. During this time, these engineers faced the stark choice of remaining in the US and securing employment in a rapidly developing industry that would fully utilise their skills, or returning to South Korea where the high technology industry was still underdeveloped due to lack of capital, and to the status of the nation as a developing country.
Their decision to stay and to become part of the Korean American immigrant community reflected the classic choice of ‘immigrant necessity’, shaped by dramatically unequal economic opportunities and life chances (Ong, Cheng, and Evans 1992; Johnson and Regets 1998). This group of Korean foreign students would become Korean American engineers in the high technology industry, and a few would leave their jobs in established companies and laboratories to build their own companies. From 1975 onwards, there has been a steady flow of Korean American high technology entrepreneurs who have added both their own and their company names to the growing list of American high technology success stories. In these earliest stages of the high technology industry, Korean American entrepreneurs shared experiences similar to the more familiar stories of immigrant entrepreneurship in the traditional immigrant niche – immigrant hard work, personal and family savings, resources from ethnic institutions, and the necessity of entrepreneurship due to real and perceived barriers in the labour market (Light and Bonacich 1988; Yoon 1997). As legendary stories of companies such as Apple Computer and Hewlett Packard remind us, the barrier to entry for the high technology industry during the 1970s and the 1980s was relatively low, allowing a few individuals with drive and vision but little in the way of capital and managerial skills to establish viable and even successful companies (Rogers and Larsen 1984).

Changes in the integration of Korean Americans in the high technology industry began in the mid 1980s and continue to the present. In part, these changes are a reflection simply of the Korean immigration pattern to the US. From the mid 1980s, the massive immigration from South Korea to the US began to decline – initially modestly – but then more dramatically throughout the 1990s. In hindsight, it is clear that the massive Korean immigration of the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s represents a classic ‘wave’ of immigration. As the South Korean economy boomed in the 1980s and as the process of chain migration resulted in the entry of a large segment of those who had the requisite qualifications, large scale immigration abated (United States Department of Homeland Security 2006).

From the point of view of the high technology industry, the end of large scale immigration from South Korea ended the continuous entry of Korean American workers into assembly work. The smaller number of South Korean immigrants who were still immigrating to the US during the 1990s were much more likely to bring with them skill and education that would allow them entry
into the mainstream labour market. Others would bring start-up capital that would allow them to open small businesses in the traditional immigrant niche. For Korean American engineers in the high technology industry, this period saw both an expansion of opportunities as well as increased competition – both realities shaped by increasing economic globalisation and the profound changes in the US immigration policy (Park and Park 2005).

As the South Korean economy boomed, the South Korean government and companies made the strategic decision to target the high technology industry as one of the centrepieces of the new Korean economy. Korean American engineers and scientists who had valuable skills, experiences, and connections in the US high technology industry experienced a windfall of new opportunities, as Korean government agencies and corporations recruited them back to South Korea or to work in US subsidiaries of South Korean companies. In addition, as American high technology companies began investing in and creating joint ventures with South Korean companies, Korean American engineers and scientists became valuable for their language and cultural familiarity with Korea. Companies as diverse as Hewlett Packard and Texas Instruments to Yahoo and Microsoft opened up South Korean subsidiaries and launched joint ventures; Korean American engineers and scientists then became an important source of managerial and executive talent (Saxenian 1993; Johnson and Regets 1998).

However, with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1990 and the vigorous implementation of the H-1B visa program, Korean American engineers – like all American engineers – became subject to intense competition from foreign engineers. Even as the so called ‘dot com’ bubble burst in the late 1990s, leaving many American engineers facing unemployment for the first time in the US, numbers of H-1B workers have continued to grow and to come to high technology firms at an explosive rate. Although Asian Indians and Mainland Chinese dominate the ranks of H-1B workers, South Koreans also make up a sizeable percentage, ranking consistently among the top seven sending nations. For this reason, recent developments in the high technology industry have had a mixed impact on Korean American high technology workers – highlighting both the opportunities and the perils of a globalising economy (Park and Park 2005).

For Korean American entrepreneurs, the rapid maturing of the high technology industry in the US created exponentially higher barriers to entry. In the new economic realities of venture capital,
Wall Street financing, intellectual property and IPO (Initial Public Offering), the possibilities for individual engineers to start companies in their garages came to an end. Yet, Korean Americans and South Korean companies have a strong presence in the American high technology industry, with certain companies becoming industry leaders. For Korean American entrepreneurs, their continued participation has been made possible by the arrival of a new generation of entrepreneurs who are decidedly different from the previous generation: they have considerable corporate and business experience and access to capital and professional networks. For South Korean companies, the global success of companies such as Hynix Semiconductor, Samsung and LG has created a dominant presence within the US with billions of dollars of direct investments in Silicon Valley as well as in other high technology regions throughout the country.\textsuperscript{32}

**From entry to exodus: Korean American assembly workers**

In contrast to the headline grabbing success stories, the role of Koreans and Korean Americans in the high technology industry had much more humble beginnings. As Santa Clara County was building an industry centred on the recently invented microprocessor in 1976, tens of thousands of Korean immigrants were arriving in the US every year. Located thirty-five miles south of San Francisco and 350 miles from Los Angeles, Santa Clara County – soon to become the centre of Silicon Valley – was not a traditional destination for Korean immigrants. However, as the high technology industry began to grow, the demand for entry level assembly workers grew as well, and this demand would result in the secondary migration of fifteen thousand Korean Americans by 1990, making Silicon Valley the seventh largest centre for Korean Americans in the country (US Census Bureau 1990).

For the Korean immigrants, assembly work in Silicon Valley’s high technology industry provided an economic opportunity several steps above other options in the labour market. Buoyed by high profits and the lack of a local labour pool, high technology companies had to provide

relatively higher wages and better benefits (especially health insurance) for workers to relocate to the Valley. At the same time, the high technology industry was adamant about making sure that organised labour would not be a force in the new industry. As numerous studies have shown, the desire to stay clear of unions in the manufacturing segment of the industry encouraged the recruitment of a non-traditional blue collar labour force (Keller 1981; Hossfeld 1990a; Park 1999). Within the context of robust immigration, immigrant workers were explicitly sought out and actively recruited to fill the work force.

For Korean immigrants in traditional destination cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, entering the labour market with little or no English skills nor transferable work experience often meant working in the garment industry and the service sector where low wages, lack of benefits, and harsh working conditions prevailed. For most of the Korean American workers who secured employment in the high technology industry, this was the very first job in the US that would pay them wages to avoid poverty and would provide health insurance for themselves and their families. In addition, Santa Clara County boasted high achieving schools, a low crime rate, and relatively low housing costs; it projected an idealised suburban setting that seemed like a world apart from the harsh conditions in Korean American communities in Los Angeles or other parts of San Francisco Bay Area (Park 1999). Soo Jung Kim – a recent retiree from Hewlett Packard - tells a common story of an assembly worker who came to Silicon Valley in the early 1980s:

When I immigrated to the USUS in 1974, I began working in a Los Angeles garment factory. The hours were horribly long and all of the work was piece rate. After working fifty hour weeks, I barely made the minimum wage. At a small Korean owned factory where I worked, there were no benefits of any kind: we could not even dream of it. My family lived in a tiny apartment in crowded Koreatown, and there seemed no future for us. When one of my friends told us about assembly jobs in San Jose, it seemed too good to be true – to have medical insurance, paid vacations, and, if my husband and I worked together, enough wage to pay a mortgage on a house. In 1982, our family moved to San Jose, and we finally felt like
we had a shot at the American Dream.\textsuperscript{33}

Once Korean immigrants found their way into Silicon Valley, the news of this economic opportunity quickly spread throughout the Korean American population, and the number of Korean American assembly workers and the overall population in Silicon Valley rose rapidly. Once Korean Americans got a foothold in the industry, they relied heavily on the traditional tools of immigrant labour recruitment, including interpersonal and family ties and ethnic institutions, including churches and Korean language media, to bring additional Korean American workers. In Korean immigrants the high technology industry found a work force that was highly motivated and educated, and companies themselves provided added incentives to fuel ethnically based recruitment, including bonuses for successful referrals (Hossfeld 1990b; Park 1999). The massive entry of monolingual Korean immigrant workers into assembly work also created opportunities for English speaking Korean Americans to take supervisor positions, providing a modicum of opportunities for upward mobility for those who were bilingual. At the height of their integration into assembly work, Korean Americans constituted close to 18 percent of the total workforce of nearly 130,000 – an impressive concentration for a relatively small immigrant group in this important industry.\textsuperscript{34}

This high level of integration would prove to be short lived, however, reflecting a broad mix of changes. First, the massive immigration of Koreans began to slow by the late 1980s. As mentioned earlier, the decline in immigration deprived the high technology industry of a constant and reliable source of new workers. Second, while Korean immigrants were becoming increasingly scarce, from the mid1980s onwards, there was a massive migration of Latinos and Southeast Asians into Silicon Valley in search of the same economic opportunities. In this changing demographic landscape, high technology companies shifted the recruitment of assembly workers, choosing to lessen their focus on recruiting Korean and Filipino immigrants in favour of Latino and Vietnamese immigrants (Park 1999). Simultaneously, throughout the 1980s, the abundance of immigrant workers coming into Silicon Valley resulted in the erosion of both wages and benefits, making these jobs less and less attractive. With this erosion of economic benefits in assembly work, Korean American workers

\textsuperscript{33} Interview. Soo Jung Kim. October 2, 2003.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Global Electronics}. 1990 February.
themselves left assembly work for small business opportunities, retirement, promotion into more managerial positions (especially for 1.5 generation Korean Americans with English language skills), and more stable positions in other industries.

Finally, as the production end of the high technology industry became increasingly global, American-based assembly work as a whole faced the onslaught of outsourcing, as company after company exported high technology manufacturing jobs overseas. In Silicon Valley, from 1983 to 1994, the total number of assembly jobs declined by nearly 30 percent, further cutting into an already declining number of Korean Americans in this segment of the high technology labour force.35 Thus, Korean American and other assembly workers in the lowest segment of the US high technology industry were most perniciously impacted by globalisation, as they saw the decline in both the quality and the quantity of jobs available to them.

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In addition to those in assembly work, Korean and Korean American engineers and scientists made dramatic contributions in the development of the US high technology industry through two distinct paths. First, the United States has always been the most important country for Korean students to pursue higher education. By the 1970s, Korean foreign students would constitute one of the largest groups of foreign students in American universities, representing hundreds of thousands of students studying throughout the US (Choi 1999). From the earliest stages, Korean students concentrated in engineering and physical sciences due to a host of factors, including the South Korean government’s emphasis on these critical fields for the nation’s economic development, the US investment in engineering and science during the Cold War, and the educational decisions of Korean students themselves, who saw ample professional opportunities in these fields. In addition, English language skills seemed less important engineering and science. As the US experienced huge shortages of engineers and scientists, many students from Korea – as well as from other sending nations – who came to the US during the 1960s and 1970s had the option to remain in the

US by securing American jobs and adjusting their visa status through the employment based categories in the Immigration Act of 1965 (Ong and Chang 1992).

Another important source of engineering and scientific talent were 1.5 and second generation Korean Americans who were educated in the US and pursued these fields as children of Korean immigrants. Their parents stressed ‘practical’ education to succeed in the US. Weary of racial discrimination in the mainstream economy, Asian immigrant parents placed enormous pressure on their children to pursue careers in engineering and sciences that were perceived to judge candidates more objectively (Kao 1995; Lee 1996). More importantly, the long wave expansion in these areas absorbed recent graduates immediately and provided them with well paying, secure jobs – a crucial factor during the 1970s and the 1980s when the US experienced a number of deep recessions. Not coincidentally, the centres of Korean American population, both in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area, were also centres, respectively, of defence and high technology industries. Most of the community members who had mainstream jobs were most likely employed in these professions – providing important role models for success and accomplishment in otherwise insular communities.

The entry of Korean American students into these fields was impressive. Korean American students were hugely over-represented in top engineering and science programs at elite colleges and universities in California and the nation, often constituting 5 to 15% of the enrolment in electrical engineering programs at Berkeley, UCLA, Stanford, MIT and the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign during the 1980s. Korean Americans’ representation was substantially higher in more regional, but excellent and productive, programs at California State University campuses – San Jose, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Northridge, and Long Beach (American Association of Engineering Societies 1990). During the late 1970s to the early 1980s, a common feature story in the San Francisco edition of Korea Times would feature a Korean American son or daughter of a Silicon Valley assembly worker who won a scholarship, often sponsored by the parent’s company, to study engineering at Stanford, Berkeley, or MIT and thus reinforce the American Dream. Unlike their Korean foreign student counterparts, these students were fluent in English, familiar with American corporate culture, and able to leverage these factors to move up the corporate ladder. At the same time, many of the 1.5-generation Korean Americans were fluent in Korean and familiar
with the Korean culture, making them ideal candidates to bridge American and South Korean high technology companies as these companies sought investment and joint venture opportunities across the Pacific (Kanjanapan 1995). In this middle segment of the high technology industry, globalisation would become both a boon and a threat.

From the late 1980s, South Korean conglomerates began to identify the high technology industry as a key to the successful leap into the next stage of the nation’s economic development. In this effort, the South Korean government itself began a more active and tailored industrial policy that targeted the high technology industries, embodied most explicitly in the Fifth Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986) that called for shifting the nation’s economic base from heavy and chemical industries to electronics and semiconductors (Song 1990; E. Kim 1997). By the 1990s, South Koreans established a presence within Silicon Valley as Hyundai, Samsung and LG, and along with Korean high technology associations, established corporate offices. This would be followed with multi-billion dollar investments in production facilities that were scattered across the country, including other major technology centres such as Austin, Texas and Fairfax County, Virginia. Far more aggressive steps were taken within South Korea itself with efforts to mimic the success of Silicon Valley that emphasised agglomeration of high technology facilities and activities. Within Seoul, Gangnam-gu’s Teheran-no has been dubbed as Korea’s Silicon Valley and has been complemented by dozens of nationally funded research laboratories attached to major research universities in Seoul. Outside of Seoul, world-class technology institutes such as POSTECH (Pohang University of Science and Technology) and KAIST (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) anchor numerous research and design facilities (Pecht, Berenstein, Peckerar, and Searls 1997; N. H. Kim 1997).

All of this Korea-based expansion has created tremendous opportunities for Korean American engineers and scientists who have the requisite abilities and the inclination to ride the globalisation wave. For those who have Korean language skills and the willingness either to work in Korean owned firms or to move to Korea, these activities provide opportunities to secure better-paying and higher-responsibility positions in a much more rapid fashion than would be possible within the confines of American high technology firms. In the US, where Asian American engineers and scientists have bitterly complained about the glass ceiling that frustrates their ability to move from
technical to managerial and eventually to executive positions, Korean Americans – by the virtue of their ethnic linkages to the growing South Korean economy – have found another avenue of mobility, a pattern that would be repeated with Chinese Americans and Asian Indians. The career of Keith Kim is a case in point. Kim immigrated to the US in 1962, studied engineering at Cal Poly Pomona and UCLA, built his career at both NCR and Xerox, and finally ended his career as the Executive Vice President of Corporate Quality at Samsung Electronics.\textsuperscript{36} The recruitment of Korean American managerial and executive talent on the part of South Korean companies has now resulted in substantial numbers of professional ‘reverse migration’. Recent politics surrounding the South Korean government’s effort to ban dual citizenship, the explosion of international schools in South Korea, where a majority of students are ethnically Korean, and the phenomena of transpacific ‘astronauts’ are all partly fuelled by Koreans who hold US permanent residency or US citizenship who choose to pursue this new set of economic opportunities as researchers, managers and executives in South Korea’s high technology industry (Commander, Kangasniemi, and Winters 2003).

On the other side of the globalisation picture, the passage of the Immigration Act of 1990 and its expansion of the H-1B visa program for non-immigrant specialty workers has brought hundreds of thousands of foreign engineers and scientists into the high technology industry. The Immigration Act of 1990 has been complemented by a host of other laws and policies that have expanded the number and scope of temporary workers. Instituted at the height of the ‘dot com’ boom, this program – along with the allied H-3 and J-1 visa programs for trainees and L-1 visa program for intercompany transferees –has transformed the high technology work force for engineers (Park and Park 2005). In addition, the cap on family reunification and the expansion of employment based immigration brought tens of thousands of engineers and scientists directly as permanent residents and has created expanded opportunities for temporary workers to ‘adjust’ their status into permanent residency. In fact, this ‘adjusted status’ has become one of the most important avenues to permanent residency (Park and Park 2005). While there is intense debate surrounding the overall surplus or shortage of engineers, it is clear that for individual American engineers and scientists,

\textsuperscript{36} Author interview Keith Kim. December 5, 2004.
this has brought new competitive pressures for their jobs. As the ‘dot com’ bubble burst in the late 1990s, and with the pace and the scope of outsourcing rapidly accelerating and expanding, the premise that a degree in engineering and sciences would virtually guarantee a well-paying job for life, quickly dissipated. In 2003, the IEEE (Institute for Electrical and Electronics Engineers) – the primary professional association of electrical and computer engineers in the US – released reports that showed, for the first time in the association’s history, that their membership was experiencing unemployment rates that were comparable with those of the broader labour market.

While the labour market for American citizens and permanent resident engineers and scientists has softened, the number of foreign engineers and scientists brought to the US under the non-immigrant, temporary visa programs continues, in massive numbers. In 2004, over 300,000 workers either came to the US or renewed their visas to work for American companies under the H-1B visa program. For Korean American engineers and scientists - along with their American citizen and permanent resident counterparts – there is a palpable sense that they need to move up and out of the traditional engineering ranks and into either managerial positions within the industry or out of the industry altogether. A reflection of this is the large numbers of engineers and scientists who have pursued MBAs and law degrees to capitalise on more secure and lucrative areas of high technology management or intellectual property (IP). In the nation’s most prestigious IP firms, a sizable share of the associates are Asian Americans with engineering and science undergraduate degrees, and many of them are Korean Americans who often deal with IP issues between the US and South Korean firms. However, not everyone can make this radical transition into management and law, leaving the vast majority of engineers vulnerable to both outsourcing of their jobs to abroad and ‘insourcing’ of foreign workers into American companies.

From ethnic entrepreneurship to transnational flow of capital

From the very early stages of the high technology industry, Korean American entrepreneurs contributed to it. Perhaps the most well-known of these entrepreneurs is K Philip Hwang who

founded TeleVideo in 1975 in Silicon Valley. During the late 1970s and the early 1980s, TeleVideo was one of the most visible computer companies in the country with its ubiquitous computer terminals. The spectacular growth of TeleVideo made Hwang a major celebrity within the Korean American community and the high technology industry, and that community was eager to promote his immigrant success story. Along with An Wang, the Chinese immigrant who founded Wang Laboratories, Hwang became one of the most visible Asian Americans in the high technology industry and was appointed to a Presidential Advisory Board by President George HW Bush, making him one of the very few Korean Americans in business who enjoyed national prominence. While TeleVideo is one of the best known Korean American high technology companies, whose history goes back to the founding of the industry itself, dozens of other firms were established throughout the heyday of high technology entrepreneurship in the 1980s, when small scale entrepreneurship was still possible. Most of these firms were small subcontracting firms with twenty to fifty employees engaged in low-level assembly work such as ‘stuffing’ chips and components into circuit boards or assembling component parts into final products. A few were OEMs (Original Equipment Manufacturers) specialising in peripherals ranging from storage to input devices that capitalised on the flourishing after-market products in the personal computer industry. Data Storage System and Pacific Systems are typical examples of Korean American-owned high technology firms during this time. In 1985, Jae Song left Silicon Graphics after years of being passed over for promotion into management, and started Data Storage System with less than $200,000 in personal savings and loans from family and friends. His company used ‘off the shelf’ components, and assembled and produced external hard disks that were sold through computer magazines and catalogues, eventually selling his company to a Vietnamese American buyer in 1994. In 1987, Henry Kim left a large computer company that made ‘plain beige’ PC clones to start Pacific Systems; his initial business was to act solely as a subcontractor for his previous employer. After five years of steady growth, his company began losing business as more and more companies relied on foreign contractors, and he closed his business in 1994 and moved to Los Angeles to invest in residential properties (Park 1993, 1996).

During these early stages of the high technology industry, the experience of Korean American entrepreneurs was similar to the more familiar stories of immigrant entrepreneurship in the
traditional immigrant niche – immigrant hard work, personal and family savings, resources from ethnic institutions, and the necessity of entrepreneurship due to real and perceived barriers in the labour market. However, businesses in the high technology industry operate with a different set of barriers to entry, technological knowledge and capital requirements than the traditional immigrant niche. The vast majority of these entrepreneurs had engineering and science degrees – many of them with advanced degrees from major universities – and extensive work experience in established companies. Their entrepreneurship was solidly rooted in their immigrant experience, and they marshalled their resources and developed their markets fundamentally within the US context.

However, by the 1990s, a new group of Korean American high technology entrepreneurs would enter the industry. In contrast to their earlier counterparts, these entrepreneurs were far removed from their immigrant roots or resources and thoroughly enmeshed in the world of American mainstream corporate culture and investment capital. In this regard, Steve Kim, the founder of Xylan Corporation, a computer networking company, represents a spectacularly successful Korean American entrepreneur whose network switching company became one of the most successful IPOs (initial public offerings) of the late 1990s. Xylan was acquired by the French telecommunication company Alcatel in 1999 for $2 billion, making Steve Kim one of the wealthiest high technology entrepreneurs in the world. Along with Steve Kim, James J. Kim, the founder of Amkor Technology, and Chong Moon Lee, the founder of Diamond Multimedia, he represents a new breed of Korean American high technology entrepreneurs who combine impressive academic backgrounds with connections to Wall Street finance and corporate America. A graduate of Wharton Business School, James J. Kim was an assistant professor of business at Villanova University before founding Amkor to manufacture computer chips for major American and Japanese computer companies. Chong Moon Lee was an executive in the pharmaceutical industry before founding Diamond Multimedia and building the company into one of the most successful high-end computer graphics card manufacturers in the world. By 2000, both Steve Kim and Chong Moon Lee established their respective venture capital firms to leverage their enormous financial assets to invest in emerging companies, reflecting their credentials and connections that go far beyond their immigrant engineering roots (Han 2003).
While Korean American entrepreneurs have taken these quantum leaps, they have been joined in the US by even a bigger presence of Korean high technology companies that view their investments in the US as critical for accessing the American high technology market and for their continued technological innovation. From the 1990s, Korean high technology companies that are often global leaders in their industry segment have made aggressive investments in the US. Hynix Semiconductor, formerly a subsidiary of Hyundai Corporation, is now the largest manufacturer of computer memory chips in the world, and has nine offices in the US, including its US corporate headquarters in San Jose and a manufacturing facility in Eugene, Oregon. Samsung is also a major producer of memory chips and modules, and oversees its American operations from its headquarters in San Jose with its primary manufacturing facility in Austin, Texas. In addition to the presence of large Korean transnational corporations, Korean companies have located major R&D facilities in the US, and particularly in Silicon Valley. San Jose is home to the Samsung, LG Electronics and Hyundai research centres and LG Semiconductor has its major R&D facility in San Diego (Pecht, Bernstein, Peckerar, and Searls 1997).

With global revenues in the billions of dollars and investments in the hundreds of millions, the enormous size of these Korean companies dwarfs even the largest high technology companies identified with Korean American entrepreneurs. In the high technology industry in the US, the American operations of Korean transnational companies have overshadowed their ethnic counterparts and have become an important source of economic opportunity and career mobility for Korean and Korean American high technology professionals. On the one hand, Korean American engineers, as well as managers and executives, have become an important part of the Korean transnational companies’ work forces. A significant share of the corporate executives and officers are Korean Americans who have brought English fluency and familiarity with American corporate culture and management experience. On the other hand, Korean transnational corporations have brought large numbers of executives and professional workers from South Korea to the US as inter-company transferees. The arrival of these non-immigrant temporary workers has been streamlined through the L-1 visa program, and in the fiscal year 2004, over 4,700 Koreans entered the US as temporary workers, to work for Korean owned companies (United States Department of Homeland Security 2006). Given these broad changes, Korean American entrepreneurship in the high
technology industry based on the traditional immigrant model seems about as anachronistic as writing an academic paper using a typewriter.

**Conclusion**

The integration of Koreans and Korean Americans into the US high technology industry reflects the broader changes in Korean immigration, the global economy and the high technology industry itself. In a very condensed period of time, Koreans and Korean Americans entered the industry in very modest ways, reflecting both the need of recent immigrants to seek entry level employment on the industry’s assembly lines, as well as the need of Korean foreign students to find jobs in the US that would allow them to utilise their hard earned education and to secure the coveted permanent resident status. For a majority of Korean Americans, their integration into the high technology industry would end there as assembly workers and engineers, both contributing mightily to the development of the industry.

However, broader changes in the global economy and more immediate changes in the US immigration policy would result in large scale movement out of assembly work and increase the level of uncertainty and anxiety for Korean American engineers. For assembly workers, the pace of ‘off shoring’ of manufacturing jobs in the industry to low wage economies in China and elsewhere, combined with the end of large scale immigration from Korea, meant fewer and fewer Korean Americans were available for the sharply diminishing numbers of assembly jobs in the industry. This exodus of Korean Americans in manufacturing work reflects broader patterns of Korean American workers in other manufacturing work as well, including the garment industry, as both industries served to provide the first stepping stone into paid work for immigrant workers but were quickly abandoned through individual departure for better economic opportunities, competition from newer waves of immigrants, and the overall shrinkage of the work force through globalisation (Bailey and Lawrence 2004).

For Korean American engineers, they too face intense global pressures. On the one hand, like their counterparts in assembly work, engineers have seen the pace of ‘outsourcing’ intensify from the late 1990s, as high technology companies searched for less expensive engineers in places
such as India and China. However, from 1990 onwards, they experienced a much more direct and policy induced form of international competition, as foreign engineers and technicians were ‘insourced’ through the widespread adaptation of the H-1B visa program. Many of the Korean American engineers found themselves in the precarious and conflicted position of competing against foreign engineers who shared their race and ethnicity. In addition, since the politics surrounding the H-1B visa program is highly racialised, with white engineers as ‘the victim’ and Asian engineers as ‘the foreign threat’, the conflicted position of Korean Americans as well as other Asian American engineers is readily apparent. Most obvious examples of this involve professional Asian American associations in the high technology industry, where the rank and file members often demand restrictions on the number of H-1B visa workers to protect their economic interests, while the leadership conversely appeals for greater increases in the H-1B cap to provide greater opportunity for Asian engineers to work and live in the US (Saxenian 1993; Dossani 2002).

From a broader perspective, the very nature of engineering work that attracted immigrants in the first place – quantitative orientation and a lesser need for English proficiency – made this work much more vulnerable to outsourcing still. Once American high technology companies found success with outsourcing, they used their political prowess and the political climate in the US, which favoured corporate flexibility, to lobby successfully for bringing an increasing large number of skilled and educated foreign workers on a temporary basis. Overall, this is consonant with the ever deepening and far-reaching process of transformation of the US economy, where very few sectors can avoid globalisation. For Korean American engineers, they felt a tremendous pressure to either move up the corporate ladder into management or to redefine their professional work to insulate themselves from this new source of direct competition. In the light of all this, engineering as one of the most important areas of study and career options for Korean American college students has already lost much of its lustre as they choose other options that are less vulnerable to global competition.

Finally, Korean and Korean American entrepreneurship in the high technology industry has evolved from one that is firmly grounded in the immigrant and ethnic experience into something that is much more integrated into high finance and the global flow of transnational capital. If the prototype Korean American high technology firm in the 1980s was founded by a frustrated engineer
who struck out on his own to build a subcontracting company to assemble component parts, the model for a Korean American entrepreneur today would be someone like Jeong H Kim who founded the communication equipment company Yurie Systems in 1992 and led the company until it was bought out by Lucent Technologies in 1998 for $1 billion. If the term, ‘Korean’, in Silicon Valley evoked small immigrant-owned companies in suburban business parks in the 1980s, that same term now means Korean transnational companies in shimmering glass highrises in downtown San Jose that dominate strategic segments of the global high technology industry. In this way, the Korean American experience in the US high technology industry demonstrates the constant evolution of their economic integration that is shaped by the evolving factors of migration and immigration, national and global economic changes, and the diverse strategies of Korean Americans themselves to negotiate and navigate the dynamic economic and social world in which they live.

References


Section One (2): Pop culture, media and identity
J-Pop, K-Pop and transnational reconciliation

Epstein, Stephen

At the beginning of October 2010, Wellington’s main newspaper The Dominion Post ran a headline in its world section entitled ‘Pop Groups and Pandas -- Asian Power Game Descends into Farce’. The story treated the recent diplomatic brouhaha between China and Japan instigated by Japan’s detention of a Chinese fishing boat captain in September, but the author moved from the dispute spawned by that incident to highlight the role played within the overall crisis by the cancellation of a concert in Shanghai by the Japanese boy band SMAP. The implication of the headline and the editorial slant was such as to imply that connecting pop music with diplomacy is ludicrous. What I want to suggest in this talk is that issues involving popular culture productions and international media flows really do matter, and that they take on a particular salience in East Asia, for reasons that I will explore. Far from being frivolous, the issues at stake here have significant policy implications: popular culture and mass sentiment in East Asia are security issues that elites will need to take into consideration, and we should get used to the idea, as this collocation will be an important part of the diplomatic landscape in the years to come and requires attention if we want to understand how the world functions today.

Just in the last few years, interaction between South Korea and Japan’s pop cultures has increased considerably, and it has sometimes been blithely suggested that pop culture will play a role in building collective trust between the two. What I want to do is to take a closer look at this proposition and ask if this is indeed so: are we seeing bridges established through pop culture interactions? This theme itself is nicely encapsulated by the cover of Hyôn T’ae-jun and Yi U-il’s Tok’yo yōhaenggi (2004), a Korean travelogue about Tokyo created by two manhwa artists who visit the city as pop culture aficionados

and treat it with great affection and whimsy, as can be seen in their depiction of the Rainbow Bridge and a cute, rather than threatening, Godzilla stomping cheerfully across the background.

The particular questions that I wish to examine here, then, are the following: what role is pop culture generally (and pop music more specifically) playing in contemporary Japanese and South Korean (henceforth Korean) relations? Does increased interaction enhance a desire (or, conversely, a disdain) for the transnational Other? In other words, are K-pop and J-pop, for example, with their growing connections and cross-fertilisation, functioning to further connect or to divide Korea and Japan? And crucially, do the answers we arrive at for the above questions differ at all depending on the musical genres and media platforms involved?

Before proceeding to consider these issues and a few case studies in detail it is worth establishing some background context. It is important to recognise that the world is now operating in an international context in which we are witnessing a much more conscious determination on the part of governments to wield ‘soft power’, a concept most associated with Harvard political scientist Joseph Nye (1990; 2005), which refers to the ability of a nation to get other actors to do what one wants through the attractive qualities of its culture, values and institutions. Equally important here, one should note the global rise of the concept of ‘nation branding’ as well. This concept will certainly be familiar to those from New Zealand, as it very much a project here, as the government, in conjunction with business, attempts to ‘brand the nation’ in order to manage its national reputation and create an image for economic and political benefit.

Both Japan and Korea have, of course, themselves seen tremendous success for their cultural content industries in recent years, with Japan’s global rise beginning roughly twenty years ago and Korea surging in the last ten. Both nations have been among the world’s most eager proponents of brand nationalism in their aggressive marketing of the Gross National Cool (McGray 2002) and the Korean Wave, respectively. Pop cultural success has been both viewed and deployed by each as an instrument for expressions of soft power and the establishing, re-establishing and reconfiguring of hierarchical relationships.
Furthermore, Japan and Korea have exhibited a keen rivalry in their attempts to become pop culture kingpins, which has much to do with historical issues. As conference attendees will be well aware, Korea and Japan have a shared history that is fraught. Centuries of contact have seen the mutual transmission of influences, but also conflict, such as the late 16th century attempted invasion of Korea under Admiral Hideyoshi, and, still more significantly for the present, Japan’s occupation of Korea between 1910 and 1945, which continues to colour relations between the two countries.

It is worth, however, considering this fraught history specifically in relation to pop culture. Writ large (and I’m aware that I’m making some sweeping generalisations here), if one looks at Korean popular culture from Japan, one can find a general denigration of Korean pop culture as a watered-down, mimicked version of Japan’s own. Numerous charges of copying have been levelled in the past, and such complaints continue to endure in the present, but there has also been a significant re-evaluation of Korean popular culture in recent years with the increasingly successful export of Korean popular productions to Japan. Most notable among them is Winter Sonata, which is well known and has been well studied (see, e.g., Lee 2010; Tokita 2010; Mori 2008 for recent explorations) and which became an enormous success in Japan.

If one looks, conversely, from Korea at Japanese popular culture, one finds a conflicted mélange of admiration and resentment with no small admixture of fear as well, – which has expressed itself most notably in the ban of Japanese popular culture until the progressive removal of restrictions began in 1998 under the Kim Dae Jung presidency. Great strides have been made in recent years in the introduction of Japanese popular culture into Korea, and although some constraints remain, it can already be difficult from the perspective of 2010 to recall the extent of the ban just over a decade ago. The changes that are occurring in the mutual reception of pop culture between Korea and Japan are also clearly reflective of an evolving cultural power balance between Korea and Japan in recent years.

Popular cultural competition between Korea and Japan takes on added salience in this case, as the two function as crucial signifiers in each other's popular discourse, often via the use of tropes. These establish binary oppositions, very frequently involving items from material culture. As Epstein (2010) has recently argued, the rise of Korea’s cultural
industries has offered it a sense of confidence specifically vis-à-vis Japan and yet while the Korean Wave is allowing it to approach Japan on a much more equal footing, Korean popular media remains intensely reactive.

In sum we are left with a complex reality. Some ‘bottom-up’ popular cultural phenomena are working to build pylons for bridges of understanding. Consider, for example, not just the popularity of Bae Yong Jun, the star of Winter Sonata, in Japan, but that numerous ‘Yonsama’ fans have embarked on the study of Korean language, have visited Korea on tourist pilgrimages (Choe 2009), and are educating themselves about the history of Japanese imperial involvement in Korea. At the same time, however, other phenomena in the popular culture realm are simultaneously set to demolish the structures of these incipient bridges of reconciliation, one of the most notable being the manga Ken-kanryu ‘Hating the Korean Wave’ (Sakamoto and Allen 2007; Lascutin 2009).

Jung EunYoung concludes her dissertation, Transnational Cultural Traffic in Northeast Asia: The “Presence” of Japan in Korea’s Popular Music Culture by writing:

it is far too early to evaluate the most significant ramifications of Japan’s new presence in Korea. But it is inevitably changing Korean notions of Japan… It is not impossible, or even unreasonable, to imagine a time…when Japanese pop will finally have shed its pariah status…in Korea… (2007: 274)

Heeding Jung’s caveat that it remains too early to evaluate fully the ramifications of Japan’s new presence in South Korea (and vice versa), I want for the rest of my talk to give a brief overview of case studies. I have been following up on the research questions I ask above by looking at two main areas: the reception of mainstream J-pop girl groups in Korea and K-pop girl groups in Japan, and also the interaction between the Japanese and Korean alternative music scenes, in particular punk, skinheads and rockabilly. This topic is particularly timely as the last several weeks have seen an enormous amount of activity: even as Japan and China were witnessing a downturn in relations that also had its reflection in popular culture, a great deal of popular culture interchange was occurring between Japan and Korea: one of Korea’s most popular girl groups Sonyô Shidae
(SNSD, or Girls’ Generation) debuted in Japan in August, and in September a Japanese
girl group, SKE48, became the first ever Japanese group to sing in the Japanese language
live on Korean TV when they performed at the Seoul International Drama Awards. I
currently hypothesise, however, that perhaps ironically, it is in the notoriously combative
and confrontational genre of punk and skinhead rock that we find greater possibilities for
reconciliation rather than in J-pop and K-pop. For the rest of my talk let me explore why
I am making this argument.

First, the good news, as it were: there are undeniably large pockets of mutual fandom
in each country, and one can regard this as a positive sign. There have been, of course,
transnational performers such as BoA, perhaps the most obvious example – a Korean
pop singer who launched her career in Japan where she became a major star. One can
also find collaborations such as the Korean television reality show ‘Meet Tokyo Girl’, in
which aspiring Korean pop stars were given the opportunity to audition for a slot in a
project run by the Hello! Project, Japan’s biggest production company for girl group J-
pop.

Similarly, one can point to the recent striking success of SNSD and fellow female
idol band Kara in Japan as further examples of pop stars seemingly encouraging positive
reappraisals of a neighbour: as one incredulous fan asks – one of numerous fan
comments after the SNSD debut – “Is K-pop this amazing?” Well-known Japanese
comedian Gekidan Hitori became almost obsessive about the group Kara and talked
about them on TV shows several times, speaking with disarming sincerity as a star-
struck fan about how he even went to Korea just to check that its management company
was reputable and capable of taking care of “five precious girls”.

Korean netizens noted that they were moved by Gekidan’s devotion and pride in
Kara. Significantly, on a thread on nate.com devoted to discussion of the matter, the
comment with the most agreement in discussion of the incident read, “If this had
happened in Korea, he would have been called a traitor and would have already had to
retire. But let’s face it. This is great of him. Japan’s understanding audience is great too.

3 http://tvpot.daum.net/clip/ClipViewByVid.do?vid=6oMYPrt0Tsc$
We should learn⁴. Thus in the sphere of international pop connections, one can certainly find recognition that open-mindedness is a positive value and that jingoistic attachment to the nation should be jettisoned from evaluation of pop music. Perhaps the starkest examples of such open-mindedness are the numerous on-line video clips in which fans perform dance covers of idol bands that they enjoy. International community often grows up around such homage, and one readily finds additional approving comments from fellow fans in Japanese, Korean and English (see for example the Japanese fan collective “Sup’ösonyô, who have taken a Korean name and operate both a blog site in Japanese and a YouTube channel with mixed Korean and English).⁵

Nonetheless, there is ample cause for a more pessimistic appraisal of the possibilities offered for reconciliation by mainstream pop culture. It also emerges rapidly that mainstream pop culture offers a site for repeated, competitive, direct head-to-head comparisons, which is taken up in a variety of fan contexts as well. This can be seen, for example, in the frequency with which media reports and user-generated content rely on imagined battles at a national level, signalled by the use, regardless of the surrounding language, by the embedding of the symbol ‘VS’. From Latin versus, this abbreviation has moved on to become an international signal of competition.

Fans frequently, then, raise the spectre of competition from a nationalistic framework. One can indeed find flag-waving and seemingly tautological remarks to the effect of “I like K-pop because it’s Korean and I’m Korean”, but most back up a preference for homegrown idols with reasons that move beyond the circularity of nationalistic sentiment. This is not to say, however, that we should expect the disappearance of stereotyping. If one looks at Korean comments on Japanese girl groups and vice-versa, some general trends seem to be that Koreans hold very high standards for the singing and dancing ability of their own pop stars; commonly express views are that Japanese idols have strange and nasal voices, and that their dancing is too much like kungmin chejo (‘national gymnastics’) and even amateurish. In regard to the recent SKE48 performance on live TV, Koreans netizens had such comments as the following:

“Honestly, if you come to Korea with your skills, you will be chased back out”;

⁴ http://pann.nate.com/b200605563
⁵ See http://spsn.jugem.jp and http://www.youtube.com/user/makiteuk, respectively.
“It’s not only you that won’t make it in Korea, it’s any Japanese group. Don’t even dream of it”; “Not gonna lie, I was randomly flipping through the channels when I came across them and thought I was watching some school arts festival”.

However, the view is also expressed that the Japanese music market is much better than Korea’s, even if its idols are not as good. Conversely, from Japan one can find controversy over, and denigrating comments about, the amount of plastic surgery among Korean girl groups, and the fact that such bands present much more of a cookie cutter image.

Mainstream media, however, can be equally competitive in their approach, especially from the Korean side. As Sonyô shidae made its successful debut in Japan in August 2010, the Korean media often adopted a triumphalist position, crowing over the acclaim that the nation's bands were receiving in the land of its erstwhile coloniser: "Korean Idols ‘Occupy Japanese Archipelago,’ Lay Waste to Japan" (Han aidol Il'yôllo chômryông, ilbon chot'ohwashikida) reads the title of one particularly egregious article. Such assertive prose has been a notable feature of Korean writing on its popular culture productions' spread into Japan and elsewhere since the advent of the Korean Wave at the beginning of the millennium and one can often find aggressive, even militaristic language as here.

The amount of reflexivity occasioned by the appearance of Korean pop groups in Japan becomes striking as well. The Korean media have been particularly keen to offer reports of Japanese media reports of Japanese girls imitating Korean girl groups, as for example in an Ashia Kyôngje article about a fiveminute NHK segment discussing the current Japanese infatuation with Kara and Sonyô shidae in particular. Of particular interest is what the Korean account highlights in the report from Japan: “Until now, the Korean Wave in Japan has centred around Bae Yong Jun and Yi Byeong-Hyun, but now girl groups are bringing about a new Korean boom”. The Korean report then goes on to

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cite selectively a record store employee who states about Korean idol bands that “their looks, songs, singing ability dancing, style and so on, on the whole are of a high quality. They’re better than Japanese idols”.

What particularly catches my attention here is the all too palpable concern to note superiority. A key issue in mainstream pop, then, is this turn to the competitive: it would, I think, be equally possible for the article to claim that Japanese and Korean pop idols are ‘equal but different’, and that consumers are now taking part in a diverse palette of pop that offers fans a chance for variety from a selection of styles that all have validity and provide refreshing new alternatives. Instead, despite what one might regard as notable stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese pop groups, they are treated as playing in the same arena, and evaluations are made by using a single measuring stick that establishes hierarchical relationships.

Japanese negative commentary, on the other hand, occurs not so much in the mainstream media for obvious reasons resulting from historical power differentials, where a headline equivalent to the Korean one I mentioned above, would likely spark an international incident, or on specific pop fan sites – but in broader fora. Rumi Sakamoto (2010) has recently presented an analysis of internet nationalism on 2-channeru where Korea, acting again a signifier, stands in as a catch-all negative Other for Japan. A sample of the xenophobic, jingoistic commentary possible on 2-channeru can be seen below in this thread devoted to an appraisal of some K-pop songs, which inspired well over one hundred follow up comments, some of which are cited below:

17: This song is so similar! As expected, Koreans are copy cats.
18: Even Korea’s flag copied Japan’s.
20: I don’t even care about Korea or whatever.
56: Even though I’m Japanese, I’ll be honest. I think Koreans have better English pronunciation and dance skills than the Japanese. So, I think their dance groups are good. I’m not really shocked by the clips commenter 1 is introducing. There are many in Asia who can be like these; I think Thailand has a good sense of pop music.
84: I do not like Korea. Actually, I hate them. They are awful darkies…They only commit rape crimes in Japan…But still, Korea’s
level of singing ability is higher. If you think that Japan is better, you should go to an ENT clinic [i.e. get your ears checked]. If you’re Japanese, you should accept others’ talents… I’m only talking about singing ability though.)

98: For dance music, I prefer Koreans. Japanese girls groups are especially slack so I often listen to Koreans. But when it comes to Rock and Punk, I like Japan better. I heard some Korean bands on Myspace but they were a little weird.9

The discourse here from commenter #84 is particularly noteworthy, as the assertion may be compared to discourse about African-Americans in the US and global popular music industry, or other: acceptance of quality as entertainers goes hand in hand with a denigration of ‘essence’ in an Orientalist framework. Such discourse clearly offers little in the way of developing deeper understandings.

Very different sorts of complexities can be found if we move to Japanese-Korean connections in the alternative subcultural scene. As Epstein (2007) has discussed, Korean assertiveness is clear in the lyrics of skinhead band, *Hyolmaeng* (Blood Pledge), whose song *Tongbangui horangi* (Tigers of the East) unambiguously declares a passionate nationalism:

> The bitter invasions suffered for centuries  
> The freedom that has been suppressed for centuries  
> We won't endure it anymore  
> We won't just hide it anymore  
> Don't forget!  
> The claws of the starving tiger  
> Don't forget!  
> The teeth of the starving tiger  
> The history distorted for centuries  
> The dignity trampled for centuries  
> We won't endure it anymore  
> We won't just hide it anymore

9 http://2chnull.info/r/msaloon/1245053295?c
Do you see it?
The majestic splendour of the tiger
Do you hear it?
The resounding roar of the tiger
Do you feel it?
The true spirit of the tiger
Carve it in your memory
We are the tigers of the East.

Hyŏlmaeng here call on the common representation of the Korean peninsula's shape as a tiger (clearly preferring the version that depicts Korea as a leaping tiger with its claws dug into the Asian mainland), as they combine resentment over past injustice with pride in Korea's growing geopolitical might.

The reference to the distortion of history suggests the ongoing controversy over Japanese textbooks, and implies that at least one intended adversarial target of the song is Japan. And yet, the apparent hostility here soon runs up against a set of cosmopolitan contradictions. Yee Jonghyuk [Yi Chong-hyŏk] of Hyŏlmaeng and his band mates, as seen in their lyrics, are among the most nationalistic of local skinheads, but treat foreign skinheads courteously. Moreover, Yee's fluency in Japanese and close connections to Japanese skinhead brethren in the face of popular anti-Japanese sentiment (including likely his own towards Japanese authority) reflect a desire to form global alliances on the basis of skinhead identity – albeit an identity that itself draws at times on a xenophobic nationalism. Yee himself practices a philosophy akin to that of Samurai Spirit Skinhead (SSS), Japan's oldest skinhead group, who also have a reputation for strident nationalism. In other words in smaller genres, sub-cultural identity can trump national identity as primary affiliation and grassroots connections are readily formed.

Subcultures, virtually by definition, take pride in their marginality and opposition to the mainstream. Punk is perhaps the archetype (Hebdige 1979). For members of the punk scene, it is often important to at least maintain a fiction of oppositionality and authenticity, whether individuals have been co-opted within mainstream corporate culture or not. Epstein’s work (2000; 2006) on the punk scene in Korea, for example, has demonstrated the strong sense of identity that subcultural participation provides for those
who have been closely involved.

It is also useful here to bring in Appadurai’s notion of communities of sentiment:

Part of what the mass media makes possible, because of the conditions of collective reading, criticism, and pleasure is what I have elsewhere called a ‘community of sentiment’ (Appadurai 1990), a group that begins to imagine and feel things together...other forms of electronic capitalism can have similar, and even more powerful effects, for they do not work only at the level of the nation-state....These massed sodalities have the additional complexity that, in them, diverse local experiences of taste, pleasure, and politics can crisscross with one another, thus creating the possibility of convergences in translocal social action that would otherwise be hard to imagine.” (Appadurai 1996: 8).

And indeed, despite the history of antagonism between Korea and Japan, punks and skinheads from the two countries have developed alliances and friendships, traveling back and forth and scheduling joint festivals. Among all punk subgenres, the closest international cooperation may well exist, in fact, between Japanese and Korean skinheads. A June 2004 Korea/Japan Oi! festival held in Seoul featured seven Japanese skinhead bands, and in July, participating Korean groups paid a visit in return to Japan, where punk has a longer history than in Korea.

Perhaps the most striking example of the extent to which subcultural, rather than national, identities inform the punk scene, however, can be seen if one considers a performance by No Brain, one of Korea's most enduring punk groups, at the 2001 Fuji Rock Festival in Japan. In an action that embroiled them in controversy, the band burned the Japanese imperial flag on stage before a raucous, punked-up version of the Korean national anthem. Lead singer Lee Seong-Woo (Yi Sông-u) has gone on record to indicate that this should be seen as a punk anti-imperialist, rather than a nationalist Korean or specifically anti-Japanese, gesture.10 The incident was misinterpreted by many, including

Korean conservatives who applauded the gesture, but in an interview with journalist Paul Eckert (2001), Yi said that "We were not cursing Japan as a whole…We were attacking Japanese imperialism and the textbooks". Yi, I think, has to be taken at his word, for a number of reasons: one might discount the fact that he has a Japanese girlfriend and that he has developed fluency in Japanese, but given that he has now written a book (Yi 2009) detailing his enjoyment of Tokyo and its music scenes, it becomes difficult to deny his friendly feelings towards Japan at a larger level. What is most interesting and relevant here, however, is that Japanese internet fan debate was not about whether Koreans as a nationality were good or bad, as one might have expected from a similar debate on ni-channeru, but whether No Brain were good or bad punks in tearing up a Japanese flag. For their action to have been truly punk, some argued, they should have torn their own national flag.

As I move to the conclusion, I’d like to give expression to my own basically optimistic nature and to cite rising Korean rockabilly band the RockTigers, who have been particularly inspired by Japan’s Guitar Wolf and Japanese garage music. Invited in 2004 to perform at the Tokyo Big Rumble, a rockabilly music festival, they were warmly received, and have recently begun sponsoring monthly ‘Kimchibilly’ nights with guest bands from South Korea and Japan. A video of their lead singer Velvet Geena advertising a show on YouTube in very passable Japanese is perhaps indicative of how popular cultural developments are unfolding in 2010.11 Although there may seemingly be nothing remarkable here, at the same time, the advertisement is a signal of a profound shift that has occurred not only as a result of technological developments that allow her to reach out globally to an expanded fan base, but also of a profound political shift in her decision to reach out to fans in the Japanese language, an act that could have potentially been derided in the not very distant past as showing a lack of patriotic behaviour.

11 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grlWkIvQMk8&NR=1
This is not to say that national identity is completely sublimated by any means in the RockTigers’ increasing attempts to reach a transnational and global audience. As Velvet Geena responded in a recent interview:

Q: When you tour Japan, or when you play to foreign crowds, do you see yourselves as promoting Korea or Korean music?
A: Yes, of course. We mention we’re from Korea and we sing in Korean on stage. And we look Korean. It might be the first time for someone to see a Korean band or listen to Korean music and sometimes it affects foreigners’ views on how they feel about Korea.12

Her words suggest that there may be ways to simultaneously maintain identity but to do so in a positive way that enhances cooperation rather than competition, and will allow Korea and Japan to happily stand side by side in the future without a “VS” intruding between.

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Korean culture in the digital era

Kim, Hyeon

It is common knowledge that the development of Information Technology (IT) has changed people's lifestyles. Korea is no exception to this general phenomenon. In fact, Korea has been going through more radical changes brought about by the development of IT than most other countries. In Korea, IT has not only influenced industry and business, but has also brought formidable changes to the scenes of education and culture. In this paper, I will discuss the motivating force behind the wide proliferation of IT culture in Korean society, and seek answers to the question of how academics in the humanities should react to such changes.

1. Korea's information technology development policy

When speaking to scholars who have lived overseas for a long period of time, the changes in Korean society naturally becomes the topic of the conversation. Those scholars often ask, "What is the meaning of the term 'cultural content'?" It is quite natural for them to be puzzled by what the words mean, why this phrase has acquired such wide usage in Korean society, and even why it seems to be at the heart of the entire country's interest.

In Korea, the term cultural content generally refers to a cultural product created by including cultural content in IT media. Whereas the dictionary definition of information technology is 'the branch of technology concerned with the dissemination, processing, and storage of information, esp. by means of computers,' the term certainly has a broader meaning in the context of Korean society.
Events in Korea during the past ten years largely explain how IT came to symbolise the new technology realising hope and vision for the future in Korean society. In 1997, Korea suffered a grave foreign-exchange crisis. Within a few months, the nation's foreign exchange holdings plunged, companies that could not pay debts went bankrupt, which in turn led to the weakening of banks. The financial crisis left the question of how to create new jobs for the people who could no longer find job opportunities in the existing industrial structure. As one approach to solving the problem, the Korean government undertook a policy of developing venture businesses. The plan was to encourage adventurous, high-tech businesses among the younger industrial population, and to invest in the most successful ones to create new jobs and eventually to recover the national economy. Most of the new businesses that opened up under these circumstances were related to IT.

The Korean government supported these IT businesses in a multi-dimensional way. Besides providing funds to the promising companies, the government also launched broad scale digitisation projects on administrational, educational and cultural dimensions, and commissioned these new projects to IT-related institutions. In 1999, the government announced the 'Cyber Korea 21' project, aiming to enforce national competitiveness and enhance the people's living standards to the level of developed countries. The specific objectives included construction of a super-highway information network, realisation of electronic government, raising the percentage of profit from information-based industry in the overall GDP to the level of other OECD countries, with the intention of eventually making Korea into one of the world's top ten advanced IT development countries.

'Cyber Korea 21' was followed by 'e-Korea Vision 2006' in 2002, and 'u-Korea' (Ubiquitous Korea) in 2006. The series of projects provided a milestone for developing Korea into an IT-based nation. Whereas 'Cyber Korea 21' laid the IT groundwork with the aim of overcoming the foreign-exchange crisis, 'e-Korea Vision 2006' and 'u-Korea' were launched with the nation's confidence from the success of the earlier project, and represented Korea's hopes of becoming a world-leading IT power.
2. The birth and the meaning of the term 'cultural content'

The IT development policies mentioned so far were all led by the Ministry of Information and Communication. In implementing these policies, the main interests of the Ministry lay in the equipment of an IT platform, such as distribution of computers, expansion of the internet network, and the development of software that creates information and provides services. However, the true effect of an IT industry cannot be achieved by the infrastructure of the platform alone. With the platform as the base, active creation, distribution, and consumption of content must also exist.

Another ministry, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, was concerned that the government's investment was heavily concentrated on platform-oriented industry. The Ministry argued that the development of content, especially culturally-oriented content, would stimulate the development of the IT platform. "In the 'Contents Korea Vision 21 policy' the Ministry argued, "it was the radical increase in the demand for entertainment data such as large video files that accelerated the expansion of the broadband network". On the basis of such arguments, the Ministry insisted that more government funding flow into the development of content. Having earned a commission from the President to lead the cultural content development projects, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism established a new institution, the Korea Culture and Content Agency, in 2001. In 2002, the Ministry amended the Fundamental Act on Cultural Industry Promotion in order to acquire a statutory basis for its projects.

Upon observing the process through which the development of cultural content became the major governmental project, it is possible to confirm that the concept of 'cultural content' was created by political necessity. 'Content' here refers to the digital content distributed through IT platforms. And 'cultural' can be construed as a modifier signifying that the content in question is related to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Ten years ago, the policy makers and the professionals they consulted focused on 'digital media' as the new impetus for cultural industry. They noticed that when cultural content formed a part of a new IT development, the resulting product had a considerable

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13 Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2001): Contents Korea Vision 21
impact on the Korean economy. Even the most traditional kind of cultural business can gain greater influence by entering the new media.

3. The degree of digitisation of Korean society

The Korean government's effort for the past ten years of development of IT has triggered similar efforts in the private sector. The outcome is seen by Koreans themselves as successful. The government's policies went beyond merely digitising the administrative tasks of the public sector, but instead focused on building a social infrastructure to facilitate the development of the IT industry in the private sector.

The super-highway information network built by the government not only became a means to support industrial business, but also enriched education, culture and leisure activities for ordinary citizens. These internet-enabled activities included viewing high-resolution product catalogues at home, listening to high-quality music, reading newspapers and magazines and watching movies.

In Korea, use of the internet is led by young people and housewives. While not directly involved in industrial production, they are the main force of consumption in family economies. As these groups spent more time on the internet, the online network gained importance as the consumer market. For businesses, securing online customers became crucial for strengthening their competitiveness.

How digitised then is Korean society, in comparison with other nations? One source upon which a judgment can be based is the ICT Development Index (IDI) published by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) annually. In February 2010, ITU published a development index of 159 countries based on the statistics of 2008. Korea ranked third in the overall assessment.
IDI is determined by evaluating ICT access, use, skills in eleven subcategories. By analysing the contents of these eleven sub-categories, one may understand the characteristics of ICT development in Korean society. Below is an extract from IDI that is relevant to Korea.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>subcategory</th>
<th>value</th>
<th>grade &amp; index in each category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICT access</td>
<td>1. Fixed telephone lines per 100 inhabitants:</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Mobile cellular telephone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants:</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>14 7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. International internet bandwidth (bit/s) per internet user:</td>
<td>5,975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 International Telecommunication Union, Press Release 2010. 2. 23
15 International Telecommunication Union (2010): Measuring the Information Society - The ICT Development Index
4. Proportion of households with a computer: 80.9
5. Proportion of households with internet access at home: 94.3 (1st)

6. Internet users per 100 inhabitants: 76.5 (8th)
7. Fixed broadband internet subscribers per 100 inhabitants: 32.1 (7th)
8. Mobile broadband subscribers per 100 inhabitants: 70.7 (3rd)

9. Adult literacy rate: 99.0
10. Secondary gross enrolment ratio: 98.5
11. Tertiary gross enrolment ratio: 98.0 (2nd)

The 'access' here refers to the completeness of the environment in which people may utilise ICT. 'Use' refers to how much the people actually utilise ICT. Finally, ‘skill' refers to the percentage of people who possess the level of knowledge that is necessary to utilise ICT.

Korea, with the government's generous investment in ICT infrastructure, has ranked high in the access category each year. However, as many countries in Europe and Asia have also increased investment on this category, Korea's rank is descending by comparison. And yet, there is one subcategory in which Korea is keeping an immovable position as number one, which is the rate of households with access to high-speed internet. 94.3% of all Korean households are equipped with high-speed internet. It is not only a tool for youth education and entertainment, but also a tool for housewives. Now people shop, pay electricity bills, make bank transactions, and acquire other miscellaneous data through the internet. The increase in the functions of the internet in daily lives has led to the increase in the number of high-speed internet subscribers. IDI reveals that in Korea, ICT has penetrated deeply into people's daily lives, and that people's utilisation of the internet is at an outstanding level.
4. Information technology and cultural content

Among the various phenomena that can be seen as applications of IT, there is a particular phenomenon that draws the attention of scholars of Korean culture: IT has permitted a massive archive of Korean history, traditional culture and social change to be stored and distributed digitally. Since the late 1990s, the government had been leading many projects to digitise the knowledge resources related to Korean culture. One function of the online distribution of such resources is fulfilling the internet users’ curiosity, and at the same time raising the internet usage rate. But on a more significant level, these online resources provide people who engage in the information and cultural industries with a shortcut to archives to which they otherwise would not have access. Easy access to knowledge signifies an enrichment of materials for creation of more cultural content.

The case of ‘The Great Janggeum’ (大長今), a TV-series broadcast from September 2003 to March the following year, is a good example of the whole process. The series is a dramatisation of the life of a historical figure, Dae Janggeum, who was a woman medical practitioner in the royal court of Joseon. The series was a great hit, being broadcast in China, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Philippines, and even in Russia and Egypt. How then was the production of this TV series related to IT? The role of IT in ‘The Great Janggeum’ was not a technical one, such as the application of CG in the film industry – it had more to do with the content, by providing the means to find the subject matter. The historical records about the heroine, as well as other various historical anecdotes peppered throughout the series, were sourced from the digitised ‘Annals of the Joseon Dynasty.’ (朝鮮王朝實錄).

The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty is a compiled records of five hundred years of the Joseon Dynasty. It is an enormous resource of information about the politics, economy, society and culture of the Dynasty. However, the sheer volume of the material made it extremely difficult for non-professionals to access the rich historical source. If a writer or a director were to comb through the records seeking a particular subject, it might take ten years. Digital publishing of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty opened up access to
this material for cultural content producers, scenario writers, novelists and the general public simply interested in history.

The fact that scholarly contribution through the means of IT had triggered the success of many culturally based programmes, significantly influenced the Korean government's policy for the promotion of the cultural industry. The government decided to start more projects that would facilitate the incorporation of history and other humanities knowledge into creative cultural activities. One representative project is the 'Cultural Archetype Discovery and Cultural Identity Establishment Project'. The project is intended to stimulate the development of cultural content, drawing on traditional cultural resources and with a high market potential in Korea and abroad. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism invested forty million dollars for the first stage of the project (2002-2006), financially supporting one hundred and sixty digital content development projects in history, folklore, myth, art and architecture. In the second stage, which began in 2007, the government is supporting projects that produce TV series, films and computer games that use Korean traditional culture as the subject matter.

5. Enjoying culture in the digital world

After the success of the TV series 'The Great Janggeum', the Korean TV and film industry began widely focused efforts to discover interesting materials from historical sources and adapt them for cultural content productions. It is undeniable that the various databases created both by governmental organisations and private sources aided the process considerably. However, the merging of knowledge and entertainment enabled by IT is not confined to the production level, but has also significantly changed consumption patterns.

From January to October 2010, two historical TV series became popular in Korea: Chu-no (推奴) and Dong-i recorded viewer ratings of 35.9% and 22.3% respectively. The popularity of these two series was reflected in the internet search engines. Chu-no depicted the life of runaway slaves in the Joseon dynasty, whereas Dong-i is the story of a real historical figure who reached the status of queen consort from lowly origins. Not
only did the producers source the subject material from historical records, they
assiduously studied the records in order to make the plays look realistic. However, as the
historical facts were altered and exaggerated, the resulting plot was not necessarily
historically accurate. It was then that I started thinking about the possible confusion that
these semi-historical TV series could cause. I arranged for the history specialists at our
Institute to develop a website which covered the same historical period from an
academic perspective. When the viewer ratings of the series soared as had been
expected, our website shared in the fervour and attracted the interest of the general
public. 'Inside Chu-no, fact vs. fiction' recorded 210,000 hits, and the same type of work
done for Dong-i recorded 1,470,000 hits.

The fact vs. fiction service introduces and explains historical records such as the Archive Record of the Office for the Run-away Slave Inspection (推刷都監儀軌) and the History of the Court lady System (女官制度沿革), which are the type of sources familiar to no-one except a few professionals in Korean history. While the great success of the TV series provided the necessary pre-condition for so many people to read the content from these sources, there had to be another important factor as well: the high usage of the internet among the Korean population. In Korea, 99% of the total population aged between ten and thirty use the internet. Among them, a significant number search the web immediately they become curious about anything that attracts their interest on TV or elsewhere. Korea's most popular portal website, 'Naver', provided a link to the fact vs. fiction service whenever a user looked up the title of the TV series.

The cases mentioned already show that now when people become curious about
something in the entertainment context, they can easily resolve the issue by searching for
relevant information on the web. The continuity between the on air and online worlds,
the synergy effect created by the meeting of knowledge and entertainment media, are
truly remarkable new cultural phenomena.

6. A new task for Korean Studies

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'Cultural content' is a term created artificially when the government began investing in the IT industry, with the aim of fostering cultural industries alongside the development of IT. A decade ago, the distance between the IT and cultural industries called for such a conscious effort to bridge that gap. But now, not one part of Koreans' cultural life is unrelated to digital technology. All licensed cultural products in our daily lives are somehow related to digital technology in the process of production, distribution or consumption. It can be said that in this digital era, culture has turned into content on the digital platform.

This phenomenon results in more than just easier production and distribution, and greater consumption of cultural product. It also results in enrichment and the extended reproduction of cultural content.

The massive database of Korean historical knowledge facilitated the production of historical-cultural content such as the Great Janggeum, Chu-no and Dong-i. Then, the popularity of the TV series amplified the public's interest in scholarly knowledge related to the subject matter. Digital technology, far from being a mere tool for production, distribution and consumption, is becoming a bridge that transcends the boundaries of scholarship and the creative industries, knowledge and entertainment.

The combined consumption of knowledge and culture proliferated by the internet is being accelerated by the development of mobile computing technology and augmented reality technology. In the current year of 2010, smartphones utilising mobile computing technology have swept through the Korean Peninsula. Not only young people, but also middle-aged housewives carry this pocket-sized computer around, looking up directions and watching movies sitting at cafes. I am in the process of creating a service that provides detailed information on any historical artefact to smartphone users. All that the traveller has to do is take a shot of the artefact in front of him with his mobile phone.

Scholars in the humanities need to take interest in the new type of cultural consumption unfolding in this digital age. As the influence of traditional humanities disciplines such as history, literature and philosophy is shrinking with the emergence of more practical studies, humanities scholars in Korea lament the 'crisis in humanities studies.' Sometimes, technological innovation is seen as a reason that people are no

longer interested in studying humanities subjects. But the scholars should recognise that inside the digital world, there are even greater opportunities to re-emphasise the importance and usefulness of traditional humanities studies. The digital world is not only a market of popular cultural products, but a new medium through which refined humanities knowledge can reach the general public.

There are concerning aspects of the consumption of digital culture – for example, that of culture being evaluated by the number of 'clicks'. However, we should not forget that the digital world is where small but meaningful diversities may coexist, full of infinite hidden potential.
Young Koreans and taekwondo in Australia

Kang, Jae Won

I. Introduction

1.1 Statement of the problem

By the time of the 2006 Census of Population and Housing, the Korean population in Australia had risen to 60,873 (just over 0.3% of Australia’s population); more than double the size of the Korean community recorded only five years earlier in the 2001 Census. International education activity, in which Korea is Australia’s third largest source country, contributed $12.5 billion in export income to the Australian economy in 2007 (IDP Education Australia 2008). In 2007, the number of Korean students in Australia increased by over 10% from 2006 to 34,674 (Australian Trade Commission, Austrade 2008).

This rapidly growing diverse young Korean population in Australia has brought about new integration challenges and increased social awareness, as Australia and Korea are very different societies. Young Koreans’ positioning within Australian society is deeply influenced by the notion of cultural difference. Some young Koreans are doubly alienated and marginalised from both the mainstream Australian community and the Korean community (Yang & Pearson 2004). Recently arrived young Korean migrants may encounter culture shock and school problems such as loneliness, cultural and linguistic isolation, and inability to meet expectations leading to depression within this new and unfamiliar cultural setting (Armitage 1999). Although Australian government and school resources provide a range of settlement information, the services and programs provided may not be adequate in assisting minority communities’ effective socialisation into Australian society.
A cross-cultural study by Hosper, Klazinga and Stronks (2007) reported that greater cultural and social integration was associated with increased sport and physical activity during leisure time among young immigrants. Sport as a microcosm of society has been of interest in progressive social studies, including social psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology and physical education. This is due to various sport initiatives offering opportunities to cultivate cultural diversity and to generate the social inclusion of different ethnic groups in Australia. The Australian government recognises the benefits of sport (Australian Sports Commission 2003) in bringing not only improved health to the community but also social inclusion (Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues, CMYI 2007, 2005; Cortis 2009; Mosely, Cashman, O’Hara & Weatherburn 1997; Tower 2008; Stodolska & Alexandris 2004). However, the review of literature in reference to sport suggests that some marginalised and isolated young Koreans have difficulties participating in sport communicated in the English language. Participation rates in sport and physical activity are significantly lower among young people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds (Australian Bureau of Statistics, ABS 2004). Compared with those born in Australia, recently arrived young Koreans are more likely to experience marginalisation and exclusion from sport.

There is, however, a lack of appropriate data and information specifically about the Korean-Australian population in the area of ethnic sport. The relevance of research findings and discussions from investigations conducted exclusively in mainstream sport settings may not be appropriate for young Koreans. Amidst such change and diversity, ethno-specific research studies concentrating on the needs of newly arrived Koreans as well as Australian-born Koreans is required in the complexities of multicultural Australia.

1.2 Research aims and research questions

The aim of this study is to understand the nature of taekwondo participation by young Koreans in Australia. The two research questions are:
Question 1. To what extent do the demographic characteristics (age, gender, length of stay, family composition and residential status) influence levels of taekwondo participation?

Question 2. To what extent do cultural factors (acculturation, cultural identity and language proficiency) relate to levels of taekwondo participation?

1.3 Significance of the study

This study is significant because it examines whether integration has the potential to promote culturally specific participation. It also investigated the factors that have both facilitated and prevented young Koreans’ participation in taekwondo in the Australian context. A better understanding of taekwondo participation by young Koreans in Australia will contribute to positive outcomes for the wider Korean-Australian community.

It was expected that this study would provide an overview of current realities, possibilities and the practical challenges relating to young Koreans’ participation in taekwondo in Australia. Findings from this research will contribute to the knowledge base for the development of responsive taekwondo governing bodies, and to policy relevant to increasing the level of taekwondo participation by young Koreans.

II. Sport and cultural adjustment

2.1 Sport and Koreans in Australia: a contextual review of the literature

2.1.1 Culturally based sport

When the word ‘sport’ is placed alongside the word ‘culture’, the definitions become very complex. Culturally-based sport is considered to be a popular intrinsic part of the cultural group and to be a popular sport in the group’s country of origin. As most sports are traditional to a particular culture, members of groups tend to participate in similar culture and ethno-specific sporting activities and services (Mosely 1997; Sogawa 2006).

Through multiculturalism, a range of sports have been adopted and intertwined into the lifestyles of both immigrants and Australians, and Korean immigration has
contributed to this growth in the range of sports. Korean immigrants have come to settle into Australia with a broad range of societal backgrounds, characteristics and behaviours. It has been speculated that cultural factors (for example, traditional Korean martial art sport such as taekwondo) (Chung 2008; Shaw 2001; Yang 2004) and religious issues (Yang 2008; Yang & Pearson 2004) would be proven to be unifying factors in the settlement of Koreans. However, there has been little research into culturally-based sport participation among young Koreans in Australia.

2.1.2 Korean community sport

The Korean community influences the sporting behaviours and motivations of young Koreans in ways different from that of Australian youth, and several sport researchers have suggested the need for sports organisations and administrators to increase their understanding of the factors that may influence sport behaviours of ethnic minority sport consumers, and how they may differ from the majority culture (e.g., Armstrong 2001).

According to the Korean Society of Sydney’s (2009) Business Directory, several community sports programs are available in the Korean and English languages, including twenty-five Korean community soccer clubs, sixteen taekwondo clubs, six other Korean martial arts clubs, five swimming schools, four golf clubs, three tennis schools, three scuba diving programs and two horse riding courses.

Both the Korean Sports Association and the Korean Government invite overseas Koreans and international sports players to visit Korea and participate in the annual National Sports Festival. This offers an opportunity for Koreans and the descendants of Korean immigrants to learn about Korean culture and society.

2.1.3 Taekwondo in Australia

Taekwondo styles have explicit ties with Korean national origins and express a political as well as a sporting and cultural identity (Kukkiwon 2006). Present day taekwondo’s world governing body, the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF), has a global membership of 191 national associations (WTF 2010 Website).
During the period from the early 1960s to the late 1970s, the Korean Taekwondo Association (KTA) and Kukkiwon (World Taekwondo Headquarters) sought to spread the sport overseas, with Korean instructors being sent throughout the world. In Australia, Korean taekwondo instructors, as well as being international sport ambassadors, have introduced the spirit of Korean culture, language and customs.

Since its beginnings in the 1960s, the development of Australian taekwondo has succeeded in the promotion and showcasing of the sport, culminating in the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Here, Lauren Burns won the first gold medal to be awarded in the flyweight category, and Daniel Trenton won silver in the heavyweight class, inspiring audiences in Australia and around the world.

Expanded opportunities for many Korean enterprises in Australia today may be attributed to the bridging role played by taekwondo instructors between the Korean, Australian and the Korean-Australian communities. There is, however, no research which provides an overview of the history and development of Korean-Australian taekwondo even though Korean taekwondo instructors have promoted positive attitudes and behaviours towards people of different ethnic, cultural or national origins, while providing support and contributions inside Korean immigrant society.

### 2.2 Cultural adjustment and sport

#### 2.2.1 The Factors affecting the cultural adjustment process

Ward’s (1996, 1999) model of the cultural adjustment process distinguishes psychological and socio-cultural domains of adaptation, and incorporates a range of micro and macro level variables, including cultural identity (society of origin or settlement), on intercultural contact and change. These include factors such as language competence, personality, ethnic identity, acculturation strategies, values and reasons for migration on the one hand and length of cultural contact, friendship networks, cultural distance, inter-group relations and social support on the other. The other micro level characteristics of the immigrants’ society and host society variables include social, political, economic and cultural factors. Ward believes the micro level characteristics (individual level variables) of both of the person and the situation to be important.
Acculturative outcomes seem to be dependent upon the characteristics of the immigrant group; their perception of being accepted by the host group members and opportunities given by the receiving society, as well as the degree and length of contact between the two, and personal characteristics (Berry 2001; Souweidnane & Huesmann 1999). An extensive body of research has distinguished characteristics of immigrants such as age, education, gender, length of stay, socio-economic status, motivation for migrating, expectations in regards to new life and personality (Berry 1990; Berry 2001; Pelemis 2006).

2.2.2 Cultural factors and sport

Cultural factors describe the way individuals view relationships among young Koreans in multicultural settings (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder 2006; Phinney 2003; Phinney & Ong 2007). Three cultural factors (acculturation, language proficiency and cultural identity) have been the most common indicators in cross-cultural research. Ethnic minority backgrounds influence a variety of issues related to the behaviour when engaged in sport and physical activity (Coakley 1998; Henderson & Ainsworth 2001; Hutchinson 1987; Juniu 2000; Tirone & Shaw 1997; Yu & Berryman 1996). Significant differences have been examined in terms of the patterns and preferences of organised recreational sport participation among ethnic minority individuals and groups (Cortis, Sawrikar & Muir 2007; Stodolska 2000; Taylor & Toohey 1995, 2002; Tirone & Pedlar 2000). The current study has used a similar approach to examine the influence of cultural factors on taekwondo participation among young Koreans in Australia.

Acculturation can be conceptualised within ethnic minorities in cross-cultural research and sport contexts. While immigrants’ culture may be transplanted during settlement to the new country, acculturation, “the phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both group”, may occur (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits 1936, p. 149). Thus, ‘acculturation’ is an important moderating variable to be considered when assessing the impact of interventions that involve sport and young Koreans in Australia. It has been argued that ethnic minority
groups display an awareness of sport as “a means of acculturation to the society which they adopt as their new homeland” (Lynch, Taylor & Toohey 1996, p. 22). However, research on sport participation among minority ethnic groups not only remains limited (Coakley 1998; Henderson & Ainsworth 2001), but acculturation texts are also rarely constructed out of an interchange between sport studies and theory (Stodolska & Alexandris 2004).

The most widely accepted approach to acculturation has been the multidimensional approach proposed by John Berry (2003, 1990, 1980). Berry’s approach conceptualises acculturation as falling into the following four categories: (1) ‘assimilation’ – people who are willing to adopt positive relationships with the culture of the host country and show a diminishing interest in their culture of origin; (2) ‘separation’ – those who do not adapt to the host culture and maintain the ways of their culture of origin, often against difficulties; (3) ‘integration’ – people who desire to retain the culture of origin as well as maintain positive relationships with the host culture; and (4) ‘marginalisation’ – those who do not adapt to the host culture but neither do they maintain the behaviours and values of their culture of origin.

In terms of sport behaviour, the level of acculturation can be a strong indicator as it affects not only consumption but participation patterns among ethnic minority groups, with major differences being observed (Crespo, Smit, Andersen, Carter-Pokras & Ainsworth 2000; Gobster 2002; Grey 1992; Lee, Sobal & Frongillo 2000; Taylor & Toohey 1996). Allison (1982) suggested that Gordon’s (1964) assimilation theory constituted an appropriate framework for studying sport behaviour of specific ethnic and racial minority groups. This relationship between sport consumption behaviour and acculturation has been examined by studies of various ethnic groups (Allison 1988; Floyd & Gramann 1993; Floyd, Gramann & Saenz 1993; Floyd 1998; Hosper et al. 2007; Ryska 2001; Shuall & Granmann 1998; Stodolska & Yi 2003). In general, higher levels of acculturation have been associated with greater participation in sport (Crespo et al. 2001; Evenson, Sarmiento & Ayala 2004; Kandula & Lauderdale 2005). Hosper et al. (2007) examined the association between acculturation and physical activity during leisure time among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, and found that more acculturated migrants were more physically active during their leisure time.
Among the barriers to participation in sport among minority immigrants, the most serious may be a lack of language proficiency (Australian Sports Commission 2003). For example, Yeh and Inose (2002) emphasised the most common problem across the three groups of their study (Korean, Chinese and Japanese students) as communication difficulties with members of the mainstream group. Many researchers indicate that the level of sport and physical activity among young ethnic minority populations with greater language fluency was high within the host population (e.g., CMYI 2005; Cortis et al. 2007; Crespo et al. 2000; Lee et al. 2000).

‘Cultural identity’ represents an important aspect of the multicultural developmental concept (Khanlou 2005). It refers to the outcomes of self-reflection and individual orientation that arise when young Koreans live in the multicultural Australian society. Cultural identity refers to the thoughts and feelings about belonging to (i) one’s ethnocultural group (Korean identity as ethnic identity) and (ii) the mainstream society (Australian identity as national identity) (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Phinney 2003). This study applied a bi-dimensional model of ethnic and national identity among young Koreans and it was expected that there would be a relationship between cultural identity achievements and taekwondo participation.

III. Method
3.1 Sample

Sample data was collected from sample groups within the Sydney metropolitan area. The groups consisted of young male and female Koreans (aged 9 to 25) born in either Australia or Korea. They covered a range of status: new arrivals, long-term residents, first (second or beyond) generation, permanent residents, citizens of Australia, Korean overseas students and working holiday-makers who had been in Australia for at least 6 months. The research groups were chosen from various Korean religious groups and Korean community language school groups. Access to the sample groups was acquired by contacting religious and school group leaders by phone. This was followed by personal visits, discussion with leaders and email distribution of information and sample questionnaires.
3.2 Instrument

A questionnaire-based survey was carried out with 458 young Koreans. Information about respondents’ attributes was collected through selected demographic items. These variables covered socio-demographic information regarding age in years, gender, respondent’s country of birth, and number of years stay in Australia (if applicable). To examine relationships between young Koreans’ perceived language proficiency and sport patterns, they were asked to rate their proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing in both English and Korean on a 3-point scale ranging from ‘poor (1) to good (3)’.

Barry’s (2001) East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM) was utilised for this study because it was specifically designed with East Asians in mind and developed with satisfactory reliability and validity for the four dimensions of acculturation outlined by Berry’s (1980) model. It consisted of a 29-item self-report acculturation scale: assimilation (8 items), integration (5 items), separation (7 items) and marginalisation (9 items). For the purposes of this study, it assessed how well respondents related to both their culture of origin and to mainstream Australian culture. Barry (2001) reported the internal reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) levels for the four EAAM scales ranged from 0.74 to 0.85 for East Asian immigrant population from China, Japan and Korea. In this study, the internal reliability levels were calculated using Cronbach alpha coefficients for the Korean group, which led to coefficient of 0.71 for combined measure of EAAM and 0.83 (assimilation), 0.7 (separation), 0.71 (integration) and 0.82 (marginalisation). Typical items stated “I write better in English than Korean”, “My closest friends are Korean”, “I tell jokes both in English and Korean languages”, and “I sometimes feel that neither Australians nor Koreans like me”. Items were scored using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from “strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5)”. The total score was derived by summing reverse- and positive-scored items.

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus 2000) was used in this study to measure the strength of cultural identity with one’s own heritage and/or mainstream cultures. Each of the dimensions of cultural identity consisted of 10 items that weresummated and averaged to form the two composite cultural identity
variables. The two dimensions showed significantly negative correlations ($p < .001$).

VIA is a self-report instrument that measures subscales including adherence to traditions, social activities, degree of comfort, entertainment, behavior, practice, values, humor and friends. In this study, items were generated in pairs with regard to content area; one item in each pair referring to Korean culture and the other item referring to Australian culture. The measures of both subscales reflected the conceptual definition of bicultural identity with a higher score on both Korean and Australian cultures representing a more positive bicultural group. The internal consistency (alpha) coefficients were 0.86 for the Korean cultural subscale (mean inter-item $r = .57$) and 0.87 for the Australian cultural scale (mean inter-item $r = .58$).

Respondents were asked about their participation in taekwondo during the last 12 months. The frequency of participation was measured. Response options ranged from ‘never’ (1) to ‘two or more times a week’ (5). Overall participation rates serve as outcome measures in this study.

The questionnaires used in this study were originally designed in English, and then translated into Korean. They were developed using a processes of paraphrasing and translating. Extra attention was paid to the complexity of wording, negations, and logical operators (Malhotra, Hall, Shaw & Oppenheim 2004). Simple language was used to assist Korean participants whose first language was not English. The original English version of the survey instrument for Korean participants required slight alteration providing clearer questionnaire instructions and guidelines. The questionnaire was carefully translated from the original sources to the target language and back to the sources (Brislin 1986) maintaining the validity of the measuring survey instrument. The back translation technique (Harkness, Van de Vijver & Mohler 2003) was used (first in English, then it was translated into Korean and last, back-translated to English) to avoid and reduce non-equivalent measurement in the English and Korean versions.

3.3 Data collection and analysis

As many young Koreans return to Korea to visit family and friends during school holidays, the survey was intended to take place within the school term. Most Korean
schools and religious groups in the survey region were contacted and invited to participate. The relevant authorities were briefed on the nature of the survey in order to gain permission and support. The researcher was assisted by administrators to hand out the questionnaires to respondents. As the respondents completed the questionnaires they were handed back to the researcher and administrators, who verified that all questions had been answered. Questions that had not been answered were handed back to the participants who were then encouraged to complete.

However, some difficulties emerged in the first data collection; for example, participants having insufficient time and participants taking the questionnaire home to complete for the following week but either forgetting to do so or losing the questionnaire. Although this was not a part of the original survey administration strategy, some organization administrators agreed to collect any ‘stray’ (Taylor 2000) questionnaires that came in during the following weeks and forwarded these to the researcher. Reply-paid envelopes were left to facilitate this process and a further eighteen questionnaires were returned after the initial collection data.

From the second data collection, for security, the questionnaires were provided with the researcher’s name and postal address so they could be returned by mail in a reply-paid envelope if not completed at the survey sites. A total of 458 (265 male and 193 female) usable questionnaires were collected and subsequently coded and the data entered.

The collected quantitative data was coded and entered into a computer using Microsoft Excel and the statistical program of SAS (Version 9). Error checking and edit procedures were programmed into the data entry instrument. The three preliminary statistical procedures were (1) descriptive analysis summarized the variables of respondents; (2) reliability analysis to establish the internal consistency of measures; (3) correlation analysis to examine inter-relationships; and (4) Chi-square tests for independence were conducted with levels of taekwondo participation.

IV. Results

4.1 Demographic characteristics and taekwondo participation
It was assumed that levels of taekwondo participation by young Koreans in Australia would differ depending on the various selected demographics. The following statistics and data analysis sections relate to research question one regarding the extent of influence of the demographic characteristics of gender, age, length of stay, family composition and residential status. Each section presents preliminary data collected via questionnaire utilising Chi-square tests for independence.

**Gender and levels of taekwondo participation**

The results of chi-square tests revealed that there were statistically significant differences across the three levels (highly active, moderately active and inactive) of participation groups. Young Korean males in taekwondo \( \chi^2 (df = 2, N = 458) = 12.78, p > .01 \) had a higher proportion for the highly active group (16.2%) compared with their young Korean female counterparts (8.8%) and a lower proportion in the inactive group compared with their young Korean female counterparts. The results indicate that taekwondo proved to be more popular amongst young Korean males in Australia than their female counterparts.

**Age and levels of taekwondo participation**

In general, sport at school is compulsory only up to year 10 (age 16) in Australia. For years 11 and 12 (ages 17-18), it is optional. Based on this, this study divides the respondents into four age groups: 9-12 years (primary school), 13-16 years (secondary school), 17-18 years (Higher School Certificate) and 18-25 years (tertiary or post school). The results of chi-square tests revealed that there were statistically significant differences between three of the age groups in relation to taekwondo participation \( \chi^2 (df = 6, N = 458) = 47.23, p > .001 \) (see Table 1-1). The 9-12 years age group had higher levels of participation in taekwondo in Australia than the older age groups.

**Table 1-1** Age and taekwondo participation
Respondents in this study had stayed at least six months in Australia. The survey asked about the duration of stay by respondents who were not born in Australia. The average period of respondents’ stay was 8.4 years (SD = 6). Over a third (37.1%) of respondents had stayed 10 years or more, followed by 5-10 years (28.8%), 2 years or less (24%) then 3-4 years (10%). The results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference regarding taekwondo participation across the four ‘length of stay’ groups \[ \chi^2 (df = 6, N = 458) = 13.77, p > .05 \] (see Table 1-2). Young Koreans living in Australia in the 5-9 years group were more likely to participate in taekwondo.

**Table 1-2 Length of stay and taekwondo participation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 2 yrs</th>
<th>2-4 yrs</th>
<th>5-10 yrs</th>
<th>10 yrs over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highly Active</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>6 (5.5)</td>
<td>2 (4.3)</td>
<td>15 (11.4)</td>
<td>6 (3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moderately Active</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>19 (17.3)</td>
<td>13 (28.3)</td>
<td>35 (26.5)</td>
<td>35 (20.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inactive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>85 (77.2)</td>
<td>31 (67.4)</td>
<td>82 (62.1)</td>
<td>129 (75.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>110 (100)</td>
<td>46 (100)</td>
<td>132 (100)</td>
<td>170 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family composition and levels of taekwondo participation**

The survey asked a question to determine family composition type during the respondent’s stay in Australia. Most reported by respondents were those living in two parent families (59.8%). Next came 14% with single parent families, 26.2% no parent
present (10.5% shared with friends, 9.8% other than 5.9% with home-stay families). The results of chi-square tests revealed that there were statistically significant differences across the three family composition groups in relation to the three levels of taekwondo participation \[ \chi^2 (df = 4, N = 458) = 13.54, p > .01 \] (see Table 1-3).

Table 1-3 Family composition and taekwondo participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Two parents</th>
<th>Single parent</th>
<th>No parent present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High active</td>
<td>23 (8.4%)</td>
<td>2 (3.1%)</td>
<td>4 (3.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately active</td>
<td>65 (23.7%)</td>
<td>20 (31.3%)</td>
<td>17 (14.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive</td>
<td>186 (67.9%)</td>
<td>42 (65.6%)</td>
<td>99 (82.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>274 (100%)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>120 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residential status and levels of taekwondo participation

Respondents were also asked about their residential status in Australia. Half of all respondents were Australian citizens (50.7%), followed by Australian permanent residents (16.6%), overseas students (26%) then other (6.8%) (such as working holiday or short term travellers). The results of chi-square tests revealed that there were no statistically significant differences across the four residential status groups in relation to the three participation groups \[ \chi^2 (df = 6, N = 458) = 7.61, p = .11 \]. In terms of high active participation rates, however, the respondents who were citizens had a higher rate than other residential status groups.

4.2 Cultural factors and taekwondo participation

It was assumed that levels of taekwondo participation by young Koreans in Australia would relate to cultural factors. The following statistics and data analysis sections relate to research question two regarding the extent to which cultural factors of acculturation
strategy, cultural identity and language proficiency interrelate with levels of taekwondo participation.

**Acculturation strategy and levels of taekwondo participation**

As shown in Table 1-4, correlation analyses were performed to examine the relationships between acculturation factors and taekwondo participation, using Pearson correlation coefficients. Different aspects of young Koreans’ acculturation correlated with levels of taekwondo participation in Australia. The results indicated that for young Korean males, assimilation had a significantly positive correlation with taekwondo at the level of 0.05. Among young Korean females, integration had a significantly positive correlation with taekwondo at the level of 0.01. Young Korean males who were more assimilated were more likely to participate in taekwondo, while young Korean females who were more integrated were more likely to participate in taekwondo in Australia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assimilation</th>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Separation</th>
<th>Marginalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>.140*</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.203**</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>.109*</td>
<td>.098*</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant level at p < .05, ** p < .01,

**Cultural identity and levels of taekwondo participation**

There were statistically significant differences in taekwondo participation for young Korean females between the three types of cultural identity (Korean, Australian and bicultural) (see Table 1-5). The relationship between Korean identity and taekwondo participation was found to be a significantly positive correlation in taekwondo participation at the level of 0.01, and bicultural identity and taekwondo participation was found to be positive at the level of .05. Young Korean female respondents who indicated a strong sense of Korean identity and/or bicultural identity were more likely to
participate in taekwondo in Australia, while no statistically significant differences were identified among young Korean males.

### Table 1-5 Correlations between cultural identity and taekwondo participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Korean identity</th>
<th>Australian identity</th>
<th>Bicultural identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>.218**</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.146*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>.106*</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.108*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant level at p < .05, ** p < .01,

### Language proficiency and levels of taekwondo participation

English proficiency resulted in a higher mean score than Korean proficiency in terms of speaking, reading and writing. 63% of respondents reported their English language proficiency was good, followed by average (26%), and poor (16%). On the other hand, 24.7% respondents reported that their Korean language proficiency was excellent, followed by good (51%), average (26%) and poor (23%). The results of chi-square tests revealed that there were statistically significant differences across the three levels of Korean proficiency in relation to the three levels of taekwondo participation \( \chi^2 (df = 4, N = 458) = 12.8, p > .05 \) (see Table 1-6). Young Koreans with average and poor Korean proficiency were more inclined to actively participate in taekwondo in Australia. There were no statistically significant differences across the three levels of English proficiency in relation to the three levels of taekwondo \( \chi^2 (df = 4, N = 458) = 2.31, p = .68 \).

### Table 1-6 Korean proficiency and taekwondo participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly active</td>
<td>10 (4.3)</td>
<td>8 (6.7)</td>
<td>11 (10.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately active</td>
<td>44 (18.7)</td>
<td>37 (31.1)</td>
<td>21 (20.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive</td>
<td>181 (77)</td>
<td>74 (62.2)</td>
<td>72 (69.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Summary

In terms of the level of taekwondo participation, the highest was among younger-aged Korean males who had stayed in Australia for between five and ten years, living with both parents. Older-aged Korean females living with no parent present had the lowest participation in taekwondo in Australia. Culturally, young Korean males with higher levels of assimilation were more likely to participate in taekwondo, while young Korean females with higher levels of integration and a strong sense of Korean identity were more likely to participate in taekwondo. Young Koreans with average and poor Korean language proficiency showed higher levels of taekwondo participation in Australia.

V. Discussion

Over recent decades, a number of acculturation studies among several ethnic minority populations (for example Mexican-American, Latina, Asian and Turkish) have suggested that those migrants who were more assimilated were more physically active during their leisure time (Hosper et al. 2007; Lee et al. 2000; Crespo et al. 2001; Evenson et al. 2004). Previous cross-cultural research into acculturation by Berry (1997) suggested that assimilated ethnic minority immigrants desire contact with the dominant culture. Consistent with results of previous studies, this study found that a higher level of assimilation was associated with greater participation in taekwondo among young Korean males in Australia.

Although the highly active young Korean male sport participants tended to come from the more assimilated groups, the results of this study, however, do not fully support this assimilation theory in terms of the culturally-based sport participation of young Koreans in Australia. Participation in taekwondo, which originated from Korea, increased with greater assimilation among young Korean males and with integration among young Korean females. In this regard, bicultural values of taekwondo participation seem to play as important a role in socio-cultural inclusion among young Korean females in Australia.
Central to the experience of young Koreans is acculturation to the Australian mainstream culture and its effect upon the maintenance of aspects of heritage culture. The concept of acculturation strongly interacts with different culturally-based sport patterns. Consistent with prior acculturation studies, this study’s results provide some support for the predictive validity of acculturation theory that assimilation functions in sport contexts among young Koreans at the individual level of socio-demographic characteristics being one of the important variables to consider.

Gender segmentation is the most popular basis for distinguishing participant groups in sport and social studies. The idea that ‘males are more actively involved in sport than females’ is consistent in many studies (Sallis, Prochaska & Taylor 2000; Vilhjalmsson & Kristjansdottir, 2003; Woodfield, Duncan & Al-Nakeeb 2002). However, some recent cross-sectional national surveys in Australia suggest that males and females show similar participation rates for sports and physical recreation activities (ABS 2006, 2007). The results of this study revealed that gender did indeed have some effects on the sporting patterns of young Koreans in Australia. The levels of the highly active group for males were approximately double that of females.

Kotler (2000) indicated that consumer wants and abilities change with age. One key finding of the present study was that age had a significant effect on levels of taekwondo participation. The findings of this study supported the research of McPherson, Curtis and Loy (1989), which suggested that there is a consistent negative association between age and participation in sport and physical activity within all demographic groupings. The findings of this study suggest that age functions in acculturation, with one possible explanation that educational institutions provide an entry point for participation in sports, with specified time and parental support that may not continue into high school and tertiary institutions.

Several studies have found that participation rates in sport and physical activities for people born in non-English speaking countries are significantly lower than for people born in Australia or English-speaking countries (ABS 2005). A bias may exist in demographic information where country of birth may be an inappropriate tool, in that young Koreans may have arrived in Australia at a very early age. Length of stay was therefore deemed in this study to be a more reliable measure. Young Koreans’ rates of
participation in taekwondo were relatively higher among those who had stayed in Australia between five years and ten years. This result implies that Australian-born young Koreans and those who have stayed a relatively longer time are more effective at using taekwondo as a pathway to Korean networks. These findings relate to Duan and Vu (2000) who suggested that living away from one’s own ethnic community for an average of two and a half years while attending college was not expected to create huge differences in acculturation levels. In addition this study’s results suggest that after ten years, there is a decline in sport participation correlating with their increasing age.

In contrast, recently arrived young Koreans encounter more difficulties where sports offered in Australia are different from those offered in their country of origin, and they are unprepared to participate in cooperative sport activities, with their unfamiliar games and rules, within a multicultural group environment. Cricket, with its many rules, for example, can present a daunting prospect to young Koreans, especially new arrivals. It may lead to further alienation, which supports the notion that less acculturation pressure can lead to more acculturation (Duan & Vu 2000).

An initial interest in sport is most frequently fostered by parents (Weiss & Knoppers 1982), but limited family interaction and support may be a negative influence during the period immediately following immigration, when children could most benefit from the help and support of their parents. The ABS (2005) report indicated that in single parent families where the parent is employed, children are less likely to participate in sport and less likely again where the single parent is not working and without stable financial support. Many working parents are simply too tired to engage actively with their children. It is not unusual for first generation migrant Korean parents to work two jobs around the clock to support their family. This makes it hard to deal with available sport and cultural activity information (such as school newsletters) or to drive their children to training and events (eg, Berrigan et al. 2006).

The findings of this study supported the notion that as part of the acculturation process, a sense of identity among ethnic groups is related to the changes that occur over time in the key indicator of language proficiency (Birman & Trickett 2001; Phinney 1992; Sachdeve 1995; Sachdeve & Bourhis 1990; Ward 1996). Lack of English skills proved to be the most significant barrier to sports participation as a marker of social
integration among non-English speaking background (NESB) migrants. The young
Korean respondents who displayed average and/or poor Korean, showed higher levels of
taekwondo participation. The findings of this study agreed with Cortis et al. (2007), who
found that language barriers can impede participation in sport among both older and new
arrivals of ethnic minorities. Although Korean language is taught in ethnic schools,
without strong social structural supports it is difficult to maintain. Consequently,
immigrants’ effort to maintain this part of their cultural heritage and pass it on to their
children should be encouraged (Rumbaut, Massey & Bean 2006). Taekwondo may
provide the opportunity for average and/or poor Korean-speaking participants to learn
Korean as it utilises Korean terminology and values. Language can be seen as a string
allowing their children to fly like a kite over mainstream society and be pulled back to
the culture of their heritage when necessary. When this string is broken (when the
children become monolingual), they are often blown away and it is impossible to find
them again. Without strong social structural supports and effort by their parents, who are
struggling with their own language problems, the chance of maintaining bilingual young
Koreans in the Korean-Australian community faces an uphill battle.

In this study, taekwondo was found to provide a higher sense of cultural belonging to
young Korean females within the Korean community in Australia. Participation in
taekwondo can mitigate the effects of a broad range of problems and conflicts while
retaining close links with their culture of origin and providing access to and participation
in cultural practices. Through emphasising its own group-orientated values, codes of
etiquette, hierarchical rankings, language, cultural attitudes and rituals, taekwondo can
accommodate specific cultural requirements within a ‘non-racist climate’ (eg, Lynch et
al. 1996).

VI. Conclusion

There are important socio-demographic and cultural factors that influence and relate to
young Koreans’ taekwondo participation in Australia. A better understanding of young
Koreans’ taekwondo participation can contribute to positive outcomes for the wider
Korean-Australian community. The acculturation experiences of young Koreans in
Australia in relation to taekwondo are complex processes involving many factors both internal and external. To target the increasing numbers of young Koreans in Australia, taekwondo governing bodies and organisations could take into consideration ethno-specific sport programs to extend the current and potential opportunities for increasing participation levels.

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Cross-cultural factors affecting Korean students’ study at Australian universities

Shin, Seong Chul

1. Introduction

There have been a number of studies (e.g. Bochner & Wicks, 1972; Ballard & Clanchy, 1984, 1991; Harris & Rhall, 1993; LD & A, 1997; Hatoss, 2006, to name a few) conducted in relation to problems faced by international students during their studies, particularly in the area of tertiary education. These studies have focused on styles of learning, problems with English and affective factors such as homesickness. It is hoped that in this study, a link can be established between the enactment of education ideology and practices, and the culture in which the practice is set.

Considerable work has been done in this area and various studies from different countries (e.g. Bickley, 1989; AEI & IDP, 2002; Freedman, 2009) confront this issue from various perspectives, though there are few studies focused on Korean students. It is unlikely that a small project like this will unearth issues not covered in these studies. However, having initiated the process of inquiry, it is hoped that the nature of education and the values it holds for Korean students in varying contexts will shed further light on what is believed to be the nature of knowledge and also, beliefs about how it is best transmitted.

The original intention was to survey Korean international students using a questionnaire and to conduct semi-structured interviews in undergraduate degree programs at Sydney’s four major universities, as it was assumed that students from different universities would provide more comprehensive insights in relation to the implications of educational practices. However, as collecting responses from potential

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18 Such studies include Cho (1991) and Kwon & Park (2000).
participants attending four universities proved to be a difficult task, it was decided to rely on survey and interviews based on students from two universities.

Benjamin Franklin’s wise words: “Tell me and I forget; Teach me and I remember; Involve me and I learn.” are repeated in various articles on education today (see for example, Widdowson in *ELT Journal* 41-2, 1987). There seems to be little argument that these words encapsulate the Western belief as to how learning best takes place. It is from the issue of involvement that many researchers take exception to practices involving rote learning, unquestioning acceptance of information and lack of demonstrated active participation. So strong is this belief in active involvement that confident and righteous criticism of the Korean system of education was made (e.g. Kwon & Park, 2000: 16).19 The fact that the Koreans are becoming world leaders in technology, economy, trade and so on, does nothing to shake the belief that the ‘Western’ mode is the right mode. However, a model of classroom interaction is a reflection of the values of society. In espousing a view of preferred educational process, a statement is also made about a belief in how society should operate. Therefore to criticise an educational practice, the principal agent for acculturation, is to criticise the nature of a society. It is in recognition of the significance of this that has made this study worth doing.

Previous studies (e.g. Bochner & Wicks, 1972; Ballard & Clanchy, 1984, 1991; Harris & Rhall, 1993; LD & A, 1997; Kwon & Park 2000; Hatoss, 2006) have isolated several factors which adversely affect learning at tertiary level: difficulties with language, differences between cultures in the inter-relational sphere (an area which manifests itself in terms of problems with food, homesickness, making friends, loneliness, and so on) and problems associated with adaptation to different styles of learning. The latter phenomenon is described quite succinctly in Ballard & Clancy’s study (1984, p.1) as ‘study shock’. On a more personal basis, the individual student can be seen as fulfilling or being expected to fulfil four social roles: those of foreigner, university student, the transitional young adult and perhaps, more debatably, as an ‘ambassador’ for his/her country.

19 A similar criticism was made of the Japanese system of education in Duppenthaler, Viswat & Onaka (1989).
In undertaking this action research I have decided to examine the problem in two very broad perspectives. That is the idea of ‘study shock’ and affective factors in the inter-relational field. In the case of the former, I have looked at students’ attitudes towards particular aspects of studying strategies associated with the ‘Western’ style of education as practised in general terms here: taking notes in lectures, comprehension, tutorials, reading, writing essays, undertaking tests and examinations, using the library, writing a thesis. I have also examined students’ descriptions and views of their learning experiences in Australia as perceived, in terms of teaching style, content and form of lesson and student learning strategies. In examining where affective factors have hindered the learning process, ten factors which may appear to be of significance have been isolated: loneliness, problems with food, homesickness, climate, customs, mixing with Australian students, discrimination, financial maintenance and shyness.

2. Methods

2.1. Data collection

A decision was made to obtain data by using the dual method of questionnaire and interview. I wanted to negate the quite valid criticism made by Silverman (1998) and others that a research process that extracts information from individuals in isolation and aggregates this into a single set of figures does so at the expense of reducing the complexity and richness of human experience. However, I decided upon a compromise as I needed to collect data quickly and economically. The two main areas of interest to us were examined in the questionnaire using percentage scales (individual and combined). From these I hoped for an indication of overall trends.

From the subsequent follow-up interviews I was looking for evidence (both anecdotal and otherwise) reflecting problems in the same areas. I received a total of fifty completed questionnaires from two universities in Sydney (UNSW and UTS) which were followed up with subsequent interviews (6 students).21

20 I thank Yoona Kim for her professional assistance in data collection and analysis.
21 I sincerely thank Korean international students from the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS) and the University of New South Wales (UNSW) who completed the questionnaires for this study and those who willingly volunteered themselves for subsequent interviews. My special thanks are offered to the
Data collection and interpretation of questionnaires will always involve a certain degree of inaccuracy. While both of the major questions were of a ‘forced’ nature (ie the respondents were given a limited choice of answers); for both cases, this was tempered by an open-ended option in which the respondent could offer an alternative response. Great care was taken in relation to question wording in order to eliminate ambiguities. The questionnaire depended upon the willingness of students to make critical statements and to discuss personal and social topics. From the interviews I hoped to gain an insight into the shared values and attitudes of the students concerning the areas under investigation. As far as the validity of the results is concerned, problems of possible inaccuracies are limited to the usage of the questionnaire, which indicates overall trends and is backed up by interviews.

2.2. Subjects

All of the participants (50) were born in Korea and were Korean international students. The students come from two universities located in Sydney (25 each). Of the 50 participants, 25 are male and 25 are female. Their ages range from 20 or under (38%), 21-25 (54%) to 26 or over (8%). In all cases, Korean was their first language and English their second language. The period of time spent studying English varies from 3 years to over 10 years and most of them (70%) have studied English for 3-8 years. 70% of the students indicated they have been in Australia for 3-8 years. For 62% of the students 2010 was their second or third year of study at their university, the remainder being in their first (20%) or fourth (18%) year.

Table 1: Basic student information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question items</th>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country of birth</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presidents of respective Korean Students Associations at UTS and UNSW for their kind assistance in data collection. Without their cooperation and assistance, this survey study would not have been possible.
Respondents in the survey were enrolled in different undergraduate courses, with more than one third studying commerce and business, followed by engineering and arts (see Table 2).

Table 2: Courses being undertaken by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Courses</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Business</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 lists three major reasons identified by the students for wanting to study in Australia. Most of the students wanted to study in Australia because of their career (64%), family wishes (44%) and personal interest (30%). Some (8%) said it was because a scholarship was given to them to study in Australia, while one respondent responded ‘other’ but did not disclose more details.\(^{22}\)

Table 3 lists three major reasons identified by the students for wanting to study in Australia. Most of the students wanted to study in Australia because of their career (64%), family wishes (44%) and personal interest (30%). Some (8%) said it was because a scholarship was given to them to study in Australia, while one respondent responded ‘other’ but did not disclose more details.\(^{22}\)

Table 3: Reasons for wanting to study in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No*</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For career</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family wishes</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal interest</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestige (e.g. scholarship)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Allowed to give more than one reason

Bochner and Wicks (1972: 6) has argued that the source of motivation that brings international students to Australia is “complex, diverse, multifaceted, [and] not always

\(^{22}\) The study by LD & A (1997: 28) shows that students selected Australia because of geographical, personal and cost reasons: ‘close to home/convenient location’ (39%), ‘relatives/friends’ (22%) and ‘relatively cheaper fees and living expenses (18%).
rational”. However, the citation of career interests by survey participants suggests a more purposeful individual decision to study in Australia. This result is compared with findings of the study by Kwon and Park (2000:33), where the most important factor for Korean students to study in Australia was the relatively lower tuition fees and living costs (31.4%), followed by the issue of social safety (24.7%). The differences in results should be examined in relation to contextual events or circumstances at the time of two different investigations (such as the LA riots in 1992, the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-98 and high levels of youth unemployment in Korea in recent years).

3. Results

3.1. Difficulties in learning activities

A number of studies (e.g. Ballard & Clanchy, 1984, 1991; Kown & Park 2000; Hatoss, 2006) have established that foreign students coming to study in Australia can experience severe problems in the area of learning strategies and study skills when attending universities in Australia. This section will try to indicate areas of difficulty by relating the differences between the education systems of the students’ home country and Australia.

Students were asked to rank learning activities in order of difficulty by numbering them 1-10 where 1 is the most difficult and 10 the easiest.

Table 4: Students’ assessment of study skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardest Activities</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Easiest Activities</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking in tutorials</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Understanding lectures</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding lectures</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Taking lecture notes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing a long report</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Understanding tutorials</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking lecture notes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Reading books/articles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tests/exams</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Writing essays</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Seven of the students agree that speaking in tutorials is hardest and for 13 of the students using the library is seen as the easiest. The significant concerns of students in relation to understanding lectures and writing a long report are also clear. However, it is puzzling to note that understanding lectures is also easiest for some students (6). These opposing views are probably because some international students have been in Australia for a long period (around 10 years) as indicated in Table 1, having completed secondary or even some primary school education in Australia.

Similar results were obtained when a weighting of 1-3 in students’ ranking was combined. In Table 5 below, combined degrees of difficulty are seen.

Table 5: Self-assessment of skills difficulty by combined rankings (1-3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>No (R 1-3)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing a long report</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking in tutorials</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding lectures</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing essays</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tests/exams</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking lecture notes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading books/articles</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding tutorials</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using the library</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis shows that the proportion of students in this sample who reported difficulties with written work is the highest. The reason for this is perhaps the combined effects of problems with the English language, and the fact that many students have never written an academic essay, especially a long essay, in any language before coming to Australia. This may be closely related to the student’s ‘thought patterns’ (Kaplan
1966) or the lack of critical thinking (Ballard and Clancy 1984). Also, many students have expressed consistent difficulties with presenting their views and ideas in tutorials. This is mainly due to a lack of communicative competence in English.

Problems with English were seen as an impediment to their learning by some students in interviews:23

- Even though they were a little distant from my core program I chose theoretical courses purely out of interest, but I experienced a lot of failures as I received relatively lower results due to language problems despite the considerable amount of effort… As Australian courses have a strong emphasis on self-study or personal development, it is difficult for students who are weak in vocabulary to keep pace with course progress… Compared with local students, it is often overwhelming for me to take courses because of my language competence, so I tend to choose courses which can reduce the language gap (Architecture student).

Referring back to Table 5, the major problem reported was writing long reports (28%) or essays (18%). 46% of the respondents found this writing task to be the most difficult (or a very difficult aspect) aspect of their learning. It has been well documented (Kaplan, 1966; Ballard & Clancy, 1984; and others) that students from different ethnic backgrounds have differing attitudes to the arrangement of knowledge both in terms of their thinking processes and the way in which these ideas are expressed in writing. In many cases the ‘Western’ ideas of evaluation, critical analysis and speculation, in other words the questioning of the accepted body of knowledge and its associated values and beliefs, are not easily accessible to students from backgrounds where an acceptance and belief in the conservation of ‘traditional’ knowledge is the norm. Therefore, in the international student these particular study skills may be present only in a latent form, or even not present at all, a factor which will inevitably hinder them in writing essays and particularly, the long report.

Another 46% of students felt that speaking in tutorials/discussions (26%) and understanding lectures (20%) were the most difficult, or very difficult, of learning activities. In both cases this may partly be due to a lack of confidence caused by

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23 Some minor alternations have been made to students’ responses in this study as they contain some grammatical errors.
language deficiencies. In the case of exams/tests (18%), many Korean students are more used to exam memorisation strategies and are not therefore, accustomed to the more critical thinking-oriented approach of many exam essay-type questions.

In short, it can be seen that the major learning activities that Korean international students have encountered while studying at two universities in Sydney could be listed in order of difficulty as follows:

- Writing a long report / essays
- Speaking in tutorials / discussions
- Understanding lectures
- Taking notes in lectures
- Exams / tests

### 3.2. Difficulties with contexts and roles

To ascertain other physical contributing factors that affect the learning of Korean international students, they were asked to rank learning contexts and roles of teachers in order of problem by numbering them 1-10, where 1 is the most problematic and 10 the least problematic. Table 6 below presents very problematic (a combined weighting of 1-3 in students’ ranking) and a little problematic (a combined weighting of 10-14 in students’ ranking) in terms of learning contexts and roles.

Table 6: Students’ assessment of learning contexts and roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contexts and roles</th>
<th>Very problematic</th>
<th>Contexts and roles</th>
<th>Little problematic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport to Uni</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Size of classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities to ask during or after class</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Students from specific countries in class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer trying to understand students’</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>My own attitude as a student (diligence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Surprisingly but understandably, transport to university (26%) was the most problematic for international students (and probably most other students for that matter), followed by lack of opportunities (or lack of confidence) to ask questions during or after class (22%). The transport problem might be because international students are not able to use public transport with a concession card, whereas all other students are. For this reason, international students justifiably feel that this practice discriminates against them despite their significant investment in Australia. Also, some students were dissatisfied with the lecturers’ lack of effort in terms of trying to understand difficulties faced by international students (22%) and their unclear explanations about what they teach (18%).
meantime, students had little or no problems with the size of classes and the presence of students from particular countries in class. Interestingly, however, 14% of the students saw themselves as a hard-working student while 16% of them declared themselves as not working hard or diligently. Also, interestingly, all of the items relating to lecturers’ roles were most lowly ranked in the students’ satisfaction range (in the ‘non-problematic’ range).

The Korean international students’ views of an ideal teacher would be that he or she would:

1) Try to understand difficulties students may have;
2) Explain clearly what they are trying to say;
3) Use plain English whenever possible
4) Think from the student’s point of view.

When asked to comment about new learning experiences, the following points about ‘study shock’ were made:

- I think learning through tutorial classes and lab classes are pretty new to me when compared to classes at high school… it is actually an effective way of learning… Learning through discussions with other people is also pretty new to me.
- I find that Australian universities do not limit one’s ideas. I have encountered and used the method called ‘brainstorming’ for the first time at uni, and this has been a very powerful tool in everyday life and helpful in my study as well.
- Action research in groups where students themselves make up teams and conduct research in the group’s expertise area and enthusiastic exchanges of information among groups and students were very different and surprising.
- Time management was totally new to me. I mean, it’s the student’s job to spend an appropriate amount of time on each course. It was really difficult for me in the first semester of the first year….

When asked to comment on the ideal teacher, the following points were made:

- I think someone who is not authoritative but friendly.
- An ideal teacher is one who knows what they teach and views circumstances from the perspective of students.
A professor who can show academic direction, who does not refuse students’ requests for help and who is pro-actively kind.

I think…. an ideal teacher should be kind and open to every student. I have had some lecturers who were very strict and didn’t communicate with students a lot, but the result is that students quickly lose interest in the subject.

Respecting students and being accessible. Always be friendly to the students and be enthusiastic to teach/help.

On the other hand, when asked to comment on the ideal student, the following points were made:

I think an ideal student is one who works hard and completes the task successfully within the given time and can also enjoy the social aspects of university life.

I would say that an ideal student is one who admits his/her weaknesses and does his/her best to overcome these while also enjoying his/her personal and social life.

An ideal student should attend every lecture and tutorial. I think it is a duty and responsibility also for students themselves to build better communication channels between teachers and students.

Confident students who communicate effectively with a lecturer or tutor. I think this helps a lot for a lecturer or tutor to improve their teaching style in order to make students get the most out of it.

When asked to say why students liked a particular course best, they described personal interests in the field, course organisation but more importantly lecturers’ attitudes:

I liked the anatomy lab class and I enjoyed it most because the lab tutor was very prepared and knew what to teach us and how to teach us effectively. Also it was the first class that we get to see actual human body parts, which helped me to engage in the learning experience because I became enthusiastic.

The reason why I liked it [web development] most is that not only the subject itself was really fun but also the lecturer of the subject was really kind, passionate and willing to help students. It made me so comfortable and confident about the course.

Our engineering program runs LDC time. Teachers set special times and spend the times at LDC. Students visit their lecturers at those times and are free to ask questions. This is quite a contrast to Korea where it is hard to meet professors.
• The core studio course I am currently taking. I didn’t expect much at the beginning but I have been impressed with the classes as time goes by. Despite his old age, the professor was energetic, running around trying to talk with both local and international students to help students develop their views on architecture. I am deeply impressed with his consistency in doing this.

• The reason I liked the course, even though the course was quite boring, was because the tutor was very encouraging. As I am an international student, I get scared of speaking in front of everyone or to ask questions. But in that class, the tutor encouraged every student, it was at least easier to approach the tutor for a quiet student like me. In addition, I could tell that she did more preparation for the tutorial than students who would have prepared perfectly for the tutorial.

The social and interpersonal elements of the teacher-student relationship at an Australian university also affect students’ study patterns. The esteem in which teachers are generally held in Korea and other Asian countries conditions the type of student behaviour in the classroom and vice-versa. A result of this is that in the apparently ‘fluid’ environment of the Australian classroom, Korean students have some issues with lecturers and tutors who are strict, poorly prepared and/or difficult to approach. They prefer teachers who are approachable, eager to encourage and diligent.

Overall, students in the study were generally positive about their study but at the same time they pointed out areas for improvement, especially in the provision of assistance with their studies. Here are some of their comments:

• If there are some students who are considering undertaking further studies at my university, I would strongly recommend that they do it. The lecturers are good, the tutors and staff are very qualified, passionate and professional in their field. They teach many practical skills to prepare you for stepping into industry.

• I think the services they provide are great except, they are too little relative to the number of students seeking those services. For example, at the Learning Centre, they provide 1:1 assistance on basic topics such as essay writing and so on... However, to get this help each student has to book a few weeks ahead, not one or two but at least three weeks in advance.
I sometimes receive emails offering opportunities for practical experience but find that there are hardly any for international students that are related to my program. I was a little disappointed at this since university booklets clearly market this kind of opportunity. I think it is desirable, especially for international students, to offer compulsory ‘professional experience’ courses.

In summary, the data presented suggests that one recurrent problem for Korean international students are their ability to communicate in English. In writing and speaking especially, many were not confident in their ability. Some also expressed doubts about their understanding of spoken English.

The differences in expectations and methods of studying between Australia and Korea were both various and at times, unrecognised. With the language problem, these additional difficulties were harder to overcome. Both students and teachers have a responsibility to become more aware of the others’ needs and methods. Perhaps, the observations made above can provide some suggestions and guidance. Understanding the nature of an obstacle can help overcoming or avoiding it.

3.3. Affective factors as a barrier to learning

Studies (e.g. Ballard & Clanchy, 1984; Barker, 1990; Hill & Allan, 1998; Kwon & Park 2000) have also noted that the ensuing difficulty of living in another culture, far away from home, family and friends, leads international students to talk of their loneliness as being part of the ‘price’ that they pay for an overseas qualification. Associated factors include financial problems, climate and culturally ‘appropriate’ behaviour. While all of these aspects of studying and living in Australia are of clear significance, the findings of this study may throw a little more light on them. Table 7 below shows the most problematic (number ‘1’ in students’ ranking) affective factors as a barrier to the learning of students in Australia.

Table 7: Most problematic affective factors as a barrier to learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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The above problematic affective factors are similarly ranked when the weighting of 1-3 in students’ ranking is combined as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 8: Relative importance of affective factors as a barrier to learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affective factors</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mixing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shyness</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homesickness</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixing with fellow Australian students

From the above table of rankings, it is very clear that this factor is of the greatest importance. It is ranked first as a single most problematic factor and ranked first overall (i.e., in combined ranking). The popular idea that meeting locals becomes easier with time appears not to be the case. Speculation concerning the reason may involve questions of perception, the definition of mixing or even the perceived need to mix.

Schild (1962, cited in Bochner & Wicks, 1972: 10) has pointed out that there are three ways in which a culture is learned: “observation, participation and explicit..."
communication”. Barker (1990) and Ballard & Clanchy (1991) have further pointed out that preliminary observation will provide the learner with possibly inaccurate information on behavioural norms and effective means of achieving desired ends. It is necessary for Korean international students to establish role relationships with members of the host culture in order to participate and finally, communicate. The inability to ‘mix’ is thus acting as a considerable barrier to these ends.

**Shyness**

After ‘mixing’, shyness was indicated to be the next most important factor inhibiting learning. During the participation stage of the Korean international students’ acculturation process, much of their behaviour will be on a trial and error basis. Behaviour which would be very suitable in their home country may not be deemed acceptable in the host country. This, without a doubt, will be seen by the overseas student to be a negative response or even a rebuttal of behaviour which heretofore they had believed to be socially acceptable. This, in many cases leads to confusion, anxiety and perhaps a disinclination to participate further, hence the problem of shyness. Shyness might also be attributable to the lack of confidence in English language skills, as pointed out in previous section.

**Finance**

Finance has also been perceived by Korean international students as being important as most, if not all, students in the survey are having their fees and living expenses funded by their families. This result largely supports the study of Kwon and Park (2000) where financial problems were the second most difficult factor students had to endure. With the value of the Australian dollar continuing to rise and with ever increasingly higher tuition fees and living costs in Sydney, it is quite understandable that finance is a real problem for international students, unless they are on scholarships. Unfortunately scholarships and other types of financial assistance virtually do not exist for undergraduate international students at most Australian universities.
Loneliness, homesickness and customs

Korean students seem to find loneliness and homesickness a problem, as these two factors are ranked 4th and 5th, respectively. Loneliness and homesickness have often been cited by researchers (e.g., Ballard & Clanchy, 1984; Barker 1990; Kwon and Park, 2000) as barriers to learning. The data indicates that students feel that these are only of mild, or a lesser degree of importance. Perhaps a more accurate description of these factors should be alienation from the culture-learning process. Unfamiliarity with customs, negative responses to previously acceptable norms of behaviour as stated above, could have the effects of pushing the student towards a more negative frame of mind, which may inevitably involve thoughts of home and family.

From another angle, perhaps there is an inherent conflict within the concept of adjustment, whereby an overseas student is expected to come to terms with the host environment, and as Bochner and Wicks (1972) suggests that satisfactory adjustment is equivalent to personal happiness and satisfaction. It is this ‘coming to terms’ with the host environment which is where the problem may lie.

Discrimination

Discrimination is not seen as a very important impediment to learning at tertiary level (ranked 6th from the combined weighting), though some students reported such experiences. This may not be an entirely surprising piece of data. It would be unlikely for blatant discrimination to take place within a tertiary classroom. It is nevertheless an area worthy of further study. At a secondary high school a similar study involving migrants or children of migrant background could well produce a different result, although this is speculative. Students who have been in Australia for a relatively short time have more chance of being exposed to racist attitudes than those who have been here longer.
Food and climate

Food is seen as an insignificant factor among Korean students. Sydney, as a multi-ethnic, multicultural metropolis, offers a selection of fruit, vegetables, meat and diverse restaurants that can cope with the specific dietary needs of Korean international students. The only problem might be financial constraints. An advantage of having a large migrant population is that supplies are relatively inexpensive. Information on the whereabouts of sources of ethnic food comes from students who are already in the country. Some students find food a problem. This could be simply because for the first time away from their families the students may be expected to cook for themselves.

Climate has not been seen as a problem by Korean students, who are used to a climate that is significantly colder and more humid than Australia’s. It is seen as being the least important problem of all (ranked 8th). Despite the fact that much of the academic year takes place during the colder months, where adequate heating is not usually provided in private rentals, students from Korea assigned little importance to the climate.

Of the other factors, accommodation is perceived by some students as important as it is hard to get a rental unit within close proximity to campus before and during the semester and rent is usually expensive in suburbs close to university campuses and in urban areas.

In summary, I have been able to indicate that certain trends in terms of how some affective factors are more significant than others in inhibiting learning among Korean international students. International students clearly feel a need to participate in the acculturation process by identifying or mixing with the host society.

Failure to do so has been dismissed in terms of shyness. The traditional idea that students are lonely or homesick has not been shown to be greater than acculturation and the practical problem – finance. It is rather that this ‘mixing’ or rather, degree of ‘mixing’ with the host country is the real problem. A lack of familiarity with customs of the host country compounds this problem further.
From the findings of this study, it is possible to draw up a series of proposals which may lend themselves to improving existing problems. At the same time, a few suggestions for areas for further study would be useful.

4. Conclusion: proposals for action

Understanding the nature of an obstacle can help in overcoming or avoiding it. Other studies undertaken in this area in the past have suggested issuing study guides, preparing students for possible problems they may encounter as both a student and a foreigner when they come to Australia. Assistance for students in terms of EAP and language courses has been established in the light of the obvious problems that a lack of English language competence causes. Perhaps, in the case of these programs, the focus of the course could be modified somewhat in that a course element could be introduced to the EAP or language course – an overview of vocabulary and grammatical structures that the student would meet in his or her specific course could be provided, or an overview of the exact study skills needed for that course, rather than nebulous ‘general study skills’. It appears that any non-credit course must be perceived by the overseas student to be worthwhile, and adjusting to different learning strategies and studying methods takes time.

With financial constraints in mind, it may be considered useful if international students are allocated a personal tutor, if only to open up the channels of communication between international students and lecturers during the early months of the course when students do not ask or answer questions in class through perceived lack of linguistic ability or for cultural reasons.

Adaptation to the Australian or ‘Western’ style of interactive education within the classroom is hampered by large class sizes. While recognising the financial realities of tertiary education these days, it may be a false economy to load classes with full fee-paying students, who at the end of their course may return to their home countries with little to recommend about an education system that could not adapt itself to individual needs due to oversized classes.
Whilst the international student is busy somewhere in the continuum of his/her acculturation process, attempting to find a balance between his/her own cultural background and his/her perceived needs, adaptation of the teaching styles of some lecturers may help the student in this situation. There is always the problem that it is, of course, impossible to be all things to all men, but continual feedback (perhaps through the personal tutor or mentor system) may lead to creation of a teaching strategy that is of most benefit to the students concerned. This may prove to be a fruitful area for further research.

Some universities have already introduced a mentoring system where ‘senior’ students and staff members volunteer themselves to mentor inexperienced students, but unfortunately many overseas students do not utilise such assistance services for a variety of reasons. It is not that students are unaware of the existence of such services. International students often feel that services are not related to their studies, are not credited towards their formal course work, and thus, that they are a waste of their time. This has also been the case for language exchange programs which have been made available and facilitated through student welfare departments at some universities.

The main affective barrier to effective studying was found to be an inability to mix with Australians. Two direct side-effects of this were homesickness and loneliness. The latter two factors were seen entirely within the context of not being able to successfully integrate socially. It is this area that past studies have really neglected in terms of offering suggestions for solutions. It should be stressed to prospective students that the best ways to escape the ‘overseas students’ club’ may lie in pursuing interests that they already follow in their home country, be they sporting, cultural or of an artistic nature, and secondly, if possible within the limits of the academic workload and visa regulations to work outside of the academic sphere. A study of overseas students in paid part-time employment and their estimation of the degree of their social integration would prove to be useful.
References

AEI and IDP Education Australia (2002). *Comparative costs of higher education courses for international students in Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States*. Australian Education International.


Appendix 1: Korean International Students in Australia (August 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational sectors</th>
<th>Total enrolments (change)</th>
<th>New enrolments (change)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English language</td>
<td>7,976 (-16.8%)</td>
<td>5,444 (-14.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>7,303 (+5.6%)</td>
<td>2,860 (+2.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>10,947 (+7.1%)</td>
<td>5,619 (+7.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>3,636 (-15.9%)</td>
<td>1,305 (-19.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-award</td>
<td>708 (-16.5%)</td>
<td>519 (-10.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>30,570 (-4.2%)</td>
<td>15,747 (-5.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: DEEWR statistics)
Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

April-June 2010

Cross-cultural factors affecting Korean students’ study at Australian universities

International Korean students only

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire was designed as a tool for gathering information for a research project - Cross-Cultural Factors Affecting Korean Students’ Study at Australian Universities. The project aims to explore the educational experience of Korean student in Australian tertiary curricula and the extent to which it reflects the culture of the society in which it is set. It will take about 5 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

The information gathered will be treated in the strictest confidence and a report on the findings will be made available to participating students if they so desire.

As a follow-up to this written questionnaire I would like to interview some respondents, and I anticipate interviews will last approximately 20 minutes. Would you please indicate below whether you will also be able to make time for an interview and return it to the research assistant with the completed questionnaire?

Thank you for your time and I look forward to talking to you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr Seong-Chul Shin
University of New South Wales
E : s.shin@unsw.edu.au
P : 9385-3724

Dr Seong-Chul Shin
University of New South Wales
E : s.shin@unsw.edu.au
P : 9385-3724
Yes, I would like to participate in the interview as well.

Name of respondent: ____________________________

Day preference (Highlight):  Mon  Tue  Wed  Thu  Fri  Sun
Time preference (Highlight):  Morning  Afternoon
Contact Phone No: _____________________________

Section I: Background information

Please answer each item below by writing, circling, giving a tick (V) or highlighting.

1. Country of birth:   __________________________________________
2. Are you a Korean international student?     Yes   No
3. Your university (please write) ______________________________
4. Age   20 or under ______  
          21-25 ______
          26 or over ______
5. Gender   Male _____  Female _____
6. Your First Language:   _______________
   
   Your Second Language:   _______________
   Your Third Language (if applicable):   _______________
7. How long have you studied English?   _______ years
8. How long have you been in Australia?   _______ years
9. What program are you currently taking?   _______________ (e.g. Arts)
10. What year are you in at uni?   _______________
11. What are your reasons for wanting to study in Australia?
   (You may tick or highlight more than one, if applicable.)
   
   Career reasons   ___________
   Family wishes   ___________
   Prestige (e.g. scholarships)   ___________
   Personal interests   ___________
Other (please specify):

_____________________________

Section B: Learning Activities
Please rank the following learning activities in order of difficulty by numbering them 1-10, where 1 is the most difficult and 10 is the easiest.

1) Understanding lectures
2) Taking notes in lectures
3) Understanding tutorials
4) Speaking in tutorials
5) Reading coursebooks / articles
6) Writing essays
7) Tests / exams
8) Using the library
9) Writing a long report (e.g. project)
10) Other (please specify) ___________________________________

Section C: Contexts and Roles
Please rank the following contexts and roles in order of difficulty by numbering them 1-10, where 1 is the most problematic and 10 is non-problematic.

1) Size of classes
2) Educational facilities / equipment
3) Timetable
4) Moving between classrooms / campuses
5) Consultation time / staff availability
6) Transport to uni
7) Opportunities to ask questions during or after class
8) Students from a particular country or region in class

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8) Lecturers - explaining clearly what he/she wants to teach
9) Lecturers - using easy, simple words
10) Lecturers - thinking from a student’s point of view
11) Lecturers - trying to understand difficulties students may have
12) Lecturers – classroom control
13) I, as a student – studying hard and diligently
14) Other (please specify and rank them)

Section D: Affective factors
Please rank the following affective factors in order of difficulty by numbering them 1-10, where 1 is the most problematic and 10 is non-problematic.

1) Mixing with other Australians
2) Unfamiliarity with customs
3) Shyness
4) Loneliness
5) Homesickness
6) Finance
7) Discrimination
8) Climate
9) Food
10) Accommodation
11) Other (please specify and rank them)

Thank you for your time. Please return your completed questionnaire to the person who distributed it to you.
Appendix 3: Interview questions

Cross-cultural factors affecting Korean students’ study
at Australian universities

The interview

1. I want to discuss with you the difference between studying in Australia and studying in Korea. The aim of my project is to try to discover links between acceptable learning strategies, acceptable behaviour between learners and teachers, and selection of content and the cultural context of the situation. I have worked out some questions to help us guide the interview to try to get the information I require, but would be very happy for you to diverge from the topic if you think you have a clearer way of illustrating the link. I am also happy for you to ask any questions you choose of me.

2. Perhaps the easiest place to start would be with content. What courses do you study in your chosen major programs?

3. What is a typical classroom? I mean, how is it arranged? How many students are in each class? Where does the teacher, i.e. lecturers and tutors, stand? What equipment do you have in the room?

4. The lessons themselves: How long are they? What kind of activities do you do, say, in one lesson? Do students ask for your teachers’ help or say what they enjoy?

5. Which were the lessons you liked best and why?

6. What is your idea of an ideal teacher?

7. What’s your idea of an ideal student? Can you remember one?

8. Did you have tests or examinations or both? What kind of questions were you asked? How did you feel about being tested?

9. What learning experiences you have had at [your university] are new to you?
10. Have you any comments to make generally about studying at [your university]?

Are you aware of the provision of assistance with your studies?

Thank you so much for your time.
Towards spectacular nationality: media production of Korean nationality through the 2002 World Cup

Hong, Sun-ha

On the 2nd of July, 2002, over one hundred and fifty thousand Koreans took to the streets in celebration. The 2002 World Cup, jointly hosted by South Korea and Japan, had just concluded. The unprecedented success of the Korean football team in the tournament, as well as the remarkable level of enthusiasm demonstrated by the public, had helped create a general impression of a highly successful tournament. In response, the Korean government had declared a one-off public holiday, and its World Cup and football bodies hosted nationwide festivities to celebrate the successful hosting of the mega-event. In an unusual manoeuvre, the three major Korean broadcasters, both publicly and privately owned, collaborated to offer joint coverage of the parades and shows around the country. It was the final hurrah of a pervasive environment of national celebration that had dominated the public sphere for at least the past month.

The participants of this festival were densely packed into a crowded mob. An overwhelming number sported ‘Be the Reds’ t-shirts, a football supporter’s kit that had quickly become a visual signifier of Korean nationality. Many had arrived hours earlier to guarantee a good view of the proceedings, but it was implicitly recognised that the ‘ideal’ way to experience this festival was not so much to watch the various celebrations as simply to be present, to declare one’s passionate attachment to Korean nationality, and witness its collective manifestation through the crowd. Such an attitude had been cultivated through a newly emerged practice of ‘street support’, where millions of Koreans had formed crowds such as this one to watch and celebrate the seven football matches played by the Korean team during the World Cup. Emboldened by the media’s active endorsement of street support as a patriotic activity and an evolution of Korean nationality, many had come to understand their participation in such celebrations as a productive activity that would contribute to a positive transformation of themselves as
Koreans and the nation as a whole. The cheering mass of red on the 2nd of July was the visible manifestation of powerful discourses of national pride and transformation, discourses that had owed much of their pervasiveness and influence to the media.

Throughout the day, this crowd was treated to a series of shows and performances that both entertained them and contributed to this national feeling. The players of the Korean football team were displayed in a highly choreographed fashion, first lined up beside traditional Korean sculptures to greet their fans, then in an open car parade through Seoul. Yet this was only a small part of the festival; for many supporters, and especially those outside Seoul, the day consisted mostly of media entertainment. Crowds occupied themselves by attending various musical and dance performances, split between the most popular pop artists of the day and performing troupes for traditional Korean song and dance. This blend of a carnival-like spectacle and a solemn ceremony was also visible when the parade reached kwanghwamun, a gate with an iconic status as a symbol of Korean history and culture. There the players were subject to live interviews with television presenters in the style of lifestyle and celebrity programs; this was followed by a speech from Kim Dae-Jung, the president of Korea, who lauded the positive impact the World Cup would have on Korea’s ‘national development’. Every stage of the day-long festival was designed to combine the appeal of the festival as an entertaining spectacle with the discourses and symbols of national pride and transformation. The experience of the festival as a whole was in the form of an environment of spectacle, wherein the visual signifiers of Korean nationality and discourses of national celebration were presented and consumed through familiar commodities of celebrity exposure, concerts and, for those watching from home, media texts.

Yet this government-sponsored festival was not the apex of public enthusiasm and national celebration during this period; rather, it was an echo of a month-long festival during the World Cup, which had occurred nearly entirely without state intervention. The number of participants and the level of public enthusiasm on the 2nd of July, while substantial, paled in comparison to the millions of frenzied ‘street supporters’ who had dominated the headlines during the World Cup. In fact, during the tournament itself, government-sponsored events and festivals had been consistently ignored by the public
in favour of street supporting, ‘spontaneous’ gatherings encouraged by the media (Joo 2002, p. 182). It was through the allure of an impressive array of high profile pop stars and the Korean football team that the 2nd of July festival became attractive. Far from taking a leading role in using this mega-event to focus on and promote Korean nationality, as it had intended before the tournament (Ha 2002 p. 3, 47; Horne & Manzenreiter 2002 pp. 11-13), the government was relegated to a position where they had to do their best to align themselves with newly emerging practices of national celebration and discourses of nationality. The kungmindaech’ukche (‘big national festival’), as it was called, had shown that it was the media which took on this leading role. The operations of the Korean media during the 2002 World Cup was central to the outburst of positive and all-encompassing discourses of Korean nationality that has since come to define the event for Koreans. Looking back at this event, we can identify an important characteristic of nationality in contemporary society: its subjection, to a lesser or greater extent, to the laws and logics of the commodity spectacle.

The festival of the 2nd of July and the events surrounding the 2002 World Cup illustrated the emergence of a new set of conditions for the production of nationality in recent years. This is closely tied to the advent of globalisation, widely recognised as one of the leading transformative factors in contemporary society. The rapid increase in the mobility of peoples, media, technology, money and ideas across national and geographical boundaries, as identified by Arjun Appadurai (2006; p. 589) has now reached a point where much of the world lives with a persistent awareness of global flows. As a corollary, however, uncertainty now dominates attempts to understand the meaning of nationality, and its functions and forms of operation in the contemporary world (Sasaki 2006, p. 272). It is now generally accepted that globalisation will not mean the end of the nation-state, but the exact parameters of its ongoing development are far from clear. This paper considers the increasingly central role of the media in the production and operation of nationality in the context of contemporary Korea.

Understanding nationality
What exactly is meant by ‘nationality’? To think of a nation, and to identify things and people with a nation, does not just involve the geographical or administrative demarcation of a particular set of objects, but a constellation of ideas, symbols, norms and truths. Collectively held understandings of nationalities draw from a huge variety of sources, from the collective memory of historical events, such as the Korean recollection of Japanese rule, to aesthetic and ideological archetypes such as ‘football-loving Brazilians’ and ‘short and hot-tempered Italians’. In other words, a nationality is a collective imaginary of characteristics that is continually shaped and reshaped through discourse. This idea of nationality as a pervasive system of symbolic attribution is a rather different mode of conceptualisation from oft-used terms such as nationalism and national identity (Lee & Cho 2009, pp. 2-3). The former carries political connotations, particularly reactionary ones, while the latter is often used in a more specific manner regarding the identities of individuals and groups in relation to a nation. Nationality, rather, recognises specific ideas such as national history, identity and pride as part of a general system of signs: an architectural constellation of symbolic signifiers that may range from as banal as the aesthetics of a national cuisine, to as solemn as the national anthem. This concept allows an investigation into the productive processes of nationality as a whole.

Specifically, a system of signs can be considered an organised collection of frameworks of interpretation defined, articulated, employed and affirmed through discourse; it encompasses systems of categorisation, normativity and valuation. While the system has no consolidated form, its operation can be verified through moments in which its relations of power are enacted – in this case, the discourse of media texts. Structurally speaking, the system of signs constitutes an architecture rather than merely a collection, series or landscape. The structural arrangement of signs and their relationships are just as important as the signs themselves in determining meaning and how one derives meaning. Thus, this architecture has a taxonomic function: it discursively categorises things, charts them against ideal norms and delimits abnormality, and assigns matrices of value to their positions within the taxonomy (in relation to other things and the normative trajectory).
This means that nationality is produced not only as a source of a sense of belonging or administrative demarcations, but a set of categories, norms and value systems. Firstly, categories organise ideas, objects, people and emotions into particular types, which govern how one interprets and reacts to them. Nationality is used as a category in and of itself; it is a pervasive taxonomy that can demarcate a vast number of objects, from individual human characteristics such as laziness or honesty to colours, sounds and musical styles. By way of historical and anecdotal examples, such qualities can be attached to a national category, and qualities within the same national category can then be associated in the symbolic order, forming composite impressions of that nationality. This composite nature of nationality makes it a powerful and influential category that is able to draw upon a huge range of narratives and signs.

Nationality is also powerfully normative; in other words, it is a discursive enactment of power which establishes an ideal norm, and then positions all other things within that category in relation to that norm, mapping out a graduated field of the normal and abnormal (Butler 1997, pp. 23-4; Foucault 1979, pp. 179-182). Normativity operates in two levels with regards to nationality. There is first a normative trajectory that defines the ‘normal’ of that nationality – the theoretical spectre of the ‘ideal Korean’ – and gradations of normality and abnormality in relation to it (Butler 1997, p. 21). At a more basic level, there is then a normative expectation of one’s relationship to one’s nationality, which includes the vernacular idea of patriotism. In such a system, even the aberrations from the norm are also mapped in a way that allows for their existence and, by way of negative example, affirms the normal. The Korean who is not ‘Korean’ becomes an example of the importance of being a ‘proper’ Korean, and a foreigner who loves Korea or exhibits ‘Korean’ values is appropriated as an affirmation of Korean nationality. In such ways, contradictions or violations of normative Korean-ness are isolated and positioned in such a way that they enforce the validity of what they oppose or contradict (Foucault 2007, pp. 8-9).

Finally, systems of value enable and compel comparative judgments of quality, validity and social capital. Pierre Bourdieu asserts that all linguistic communication occurs within a market of such value; an economic exchange predicated on relationships of symbolic power (Bourdieu 2006, p. 480). That is to say, discursive performances are
the mechanisms for the attribution or accreditation of value for all parties involved – the performer, the addressed, and the discourse itself. The systems of categorisation and normativity are intimately connected to this process, and provide the standards and expectations by which discursive performances can be evaluated and given value. In the case of nationality, the normative trajectory of Korean-ness would be employed for the attribution of various values, such as social capital, individual preference, moral right, quality and excellence, depending upon the context. Finally, “any discourse or practice implies conventional types of discourse or practice” (Fairclough 2001, p. 23): while each discursive performance is judged against an existing matrix of value, it also works to renegotiate and re-affirm the said frameworks.

As a whole, these systems contribute to ideas and ideology that are normative, taxonomic and finally subjectivating, in the sense that they cultivate subjects who are founded on these ideas and will willingly employ and advocate them (Butler 1997, p.9; Debord 1990, p.29). Within this model, subjectivity can be understood as the *conditions of social existence* – a process by which individuals recognise and internalise generalised regimes of truth and knowledge, a ‘grid of intelligibility’ mapped out through the discursive enactment of Foucauldian power (Brady & Schirato 2011, pp. 5-6, 24).

Nationality as a system of signs is a mechanism of subjection because it is that taxonomic architecture which imbricates in individuals a naturalised understanding of not only what nationality is, but what its social significance is. In this sense, the system of signs serves as a reference point and source of identities (of people as well as of nations and other impersonal objects). Here, identity is understood as the material product of subjection that is an ensemble of performances disposed towards an ideal. An identity consists of habitus, markers of identification and social status that is both performative and internalised (Bourdieu 2000, pp. 143-4), manifest in the action, speech and thought of the subject (Butler 1997, p.16; Foucault 1979, pp. 184-6, 206). Thus, the discursive performance of nationalistic identities contributes to reifying and producing the system of signs.

The system of signs, and nationality as a system of signs, is very much a mechanical apparatus. It originates from and operates through neither the manipulations of a singular and centralised will (such as the state), or from ‘natural’ and inherent qualities of social
life, but through public discourses that produce categories, norms and values by which thought is governed. Therefore, understanding nationality as a system of signs means recognising that it is not primarily a sacred force or an innate demographic quality. This allows us to consider nationality not by beginning from the idea of a ‘pure’ nationality, and then examining the ways in which it is distorted or misrepresented, but accepting that it has always been ‘artificial’, and then critiquing the reality of that artificial nationality. The things about nationality that seem the most important and central – national identity, pride, patriotism, visual symbols – are in fact only the outward consequences of the ways in which national subjects have been predisposed and normalised through this mechanism.

Nationality as a media spectacle

Nationality, of course, has functioned as a taxonomic and normative force for centuries, and Benedict Anderson’s understanding of it as a constructed and imagined entity has long been canonised. What is new in contemporary nationality is its accelerated development as a collectively imagined and totalising simulacrum, precipitated by the onset of globalisation and the increasing dominance of the media as a source of our worldview. Specifically, I suggest that as “our daily lives become more and more interwoven with, and penetrated by, influences and experiences that have their origins far away” (Tomlinson, cited in Sasaki 2006, p. 279), the media has become the primary site for the production of nationality. Individuals, especially in the developed world, are now connected to a bewildering number of nationalities – in the form of peoples, ideas, consumer products, institutions and so forth – despite the fact that they may have no personal experience of them. In such a context, many people now operate through a combination of personal understandings of a few nationalities, and mediated impressions of a larger variety of nationalities. The media provide anecdotes, symbolic signifiers, statistics, ‘expert’ opinions and other elements that purport to offer a more ‘complete’ picture of the scenes and contexts in which ‘the national’ is played out. In short, we inevitably rely on the media to aid in understanding that which is too big for us to see for ourselves: taking Anderson’s idea of the imagined nation to its extreme, the landscape of
nationalities has become Baudrillard’s simulacrum, a collectively imagined and mediated sphere where media images seem more real and identifiable than reality itself (Anderson 1991, pp. 5-7; Baudrillard 2001, pp. 148-9, 169-170). Even as nationality retains a ‘sacred’ allure, the media claims an ever greater hold on the conditions of its production.

The media’s influence on the production of nationality can be understood in terms of Guy Debord’s works on the society of the spectacle and Jean Baudrillard’s analysis of the image and simulacra in post-industrial societies. The commodity spectacle can be defined as a pervasive and totalising logic that privileges exchange value and seeks to extend the processes of commodification onto every arena of social activity, in turn establishing consumption of the image as the primary form of social existence (Debord 1994, pp. 35-7, 1990, p. 9). The logic of the spectacle reorganises and appropriates its subject material for the purposes of formulating aestheticised and fetishistic commodities. More generally, such processes are part of totalising structures wherein commodification and consumption of all things becomes rationalised and naturalised. It is by now well documented that the media have played a key role in the development of the spectacle, and that the commodity logic of the latter governs the production of the former (Debord 1994, p. 12; Kellner 2003, pp. 1-2). Therefore, it must be recognised that as nationality has become more and more intertwined with the media, it has become more and more spectacular. We can now trace the outward manifestations of nationality in media discourse – be it articulations of stereotypes, or the framing of events through a national narrative – to a commodifying and spectacular logic. “Images chosen and constructed by someone else have everywhere become the individual’s principal connection to the world he formerly observed for himself” (Debord 1990, p. 27); it is the mediated image of nationality that now performs the social functions of nationality. At the same time, the productive conditions of such an image demands that it perform the functions of a spectacular commodity, bringing together the spectacle and nationality in a single manifestation.

This paper will examine and demonstrate the operations of such spectacular forms of nationality through a case study of the South Korean media discourse on the phenomenon of ‘street supporters’ during and after the 2002 World Cup. This analysis is
based on a qualitative analysis of the media discourse in 931 newspaper articles and 29 television programs between 9 May 2002 and 15 July 2002. The sample originates from *Chosun Ilbo* and *Donga Ilbo*, two of the country’s largest and most influential print publications, and broadcasters KBS and MBC, who took the leading role in World Cup coverage at the time. The data was coded into a quantitatively tagged index, then analysed in terms of textual elements and discourses of nationality. On the basis of my findings, I will show, in the Korean context, what role the media plays in the production of nationality as a system of signs, and how the media and consumption have become intimately related to contemporary conceptualisations of nationality.

**The street supporters**

The phenomenon of street supporters involved an unusually high number of passionate and enthusiastic Korean citizens who congregated at numerous public locations to watch and support the Korean team during the 2002 World Cup. While the beginnings of street support were largely spontaneous, the influence of the media in popularising it as a nationwide phenomenon, and investing in it a special significance for Korean nationality, cannot be underestimated.

The media quickly seized on the story of street supporters in its nascent days, and reported the practice as a natural outburst of innate patriotism – a grassroots festival of nationality as a sacred, quintessential quality. As street support grew in size with the help of media exposure, the coverage located its defining quality as a sense of inclusiveness: according to the coverage, it seemed as if literally everybody in Korea was participating. The natural difficulty in gathering accurate numbers of such an ‘unorganised’ and fluid gathering was seemingly forgotten, with the media reporting figures in the millions. Later, the Seoul Metropolitan Council (2003) reported that 53.1% of those whom they surveyed had participated in street support. The Korean media frequently reported on the sheer demographic variety of participants, suggesting that every social category was participating in the celebrations with equal enthusiasm and in the same way. The most exotic examples, from monks to cruise ship passengers to the disabled, were mobilised to show how even the fringes of Korean society were participating in the festival.
“The long-awaited knockout stages. The cries of joy are shaking the walls of Chogye temple. As the final whistle sounds, both the monks and the faithful rise as one to celebrate. The match is over, but emotions are slow to fade. The monks, too, have laid aside their normally solemn demeanour.

The monks, who had prayed and prayed for Buddha to lend his power to our World Cup bid. Shouting and cheering all throughout the match, truly, they too were ‘Red Devils’. ” (Newsdesk, 2002)

This description was accompanied by a visual juxtaposition of the grey-robed monks and the ‘regular’ supporters in red, and was symptomatic of the way in which media coverage highlighted difference in order to establish uniformity. The coverage demarcated the monks from normal Koreans, and then reported on their participation in street support, suggesting that Koreans had united through this phenomenon. In fact, the ‘Red Devils’ and other dedicated supporter groups had in fact cultivated this culture for several years previously, and played an instructive role in the growth of street support. However, this narrative of ‘everyone as a supporter’ overlooked these facts and essentially erased the real presence of these sport fans and connoisseurs.

The media thus framed into being, a totalising image of street support as a manifestation of spontaneous national solidarity, then reinforced it through the use of inclusive language that designated all Korean subjects as participants. Article headlines such as “when the nation became one” and “we created a legend” immediately disposed readers to identify with the street supporters, establishing them as normative Koreans. In addition, the street supporters were consistently described as ‘citizens’. While this terminology is not as unusual in Korean as it is in a Western context, it brings to the fore the subjectivation of street supporters as national subjects. Many articles were also replete with poetic and emotional language. Their discursive techniques complemented each other to create a series of media texts that positioned the audience in an identical space with street supporters, and in doing so, more or less compelled participation – as if asking, ‘you are a Korean like us... aren’t you?’ These chronicles of ‘all Koreans as street supporters’ were produced in great quantity and with a high level of uniformity from early June onwards, as the Korean media began to note and encourage the phenomenon. Street support remained a staple diet for the newspaper reader throughout the tournament,
and major stories were often replicated with slight variations even within a single paper. These stories in the print media, in general, followed a common pattern involving:

- a headline using inclusive and exhortative language, and discourses of solidarity and national pride
- a lead-in using poetic, grandiose language for emotive effect
- anecdotal stories of dedicated street supporters
- occasionally; numerical figures and statistics, such as the size of congregations, to highlight the scale of street support
- occasionally; mention of foreigners’ amazement and approval
- occasionally; reference to displays of public order and civic responsibility
- a conclusion invoking discourses of solidarity and national pride

This pattern imposed a chronology of its own, whereby the headline and lead-in ‘installed’ a taxonomic framework of nationality and patriotism, and then mobilised stories of individual street supporters and events to support this interpretation (Bell 2007, p. 163, 172). Therefore, the structure and discourse of these stories presented the street supporters not as extremes but as norms; their behaviour was not only to be admired, but to be imitated and internalised. This pattern was also maintained in television coverage, although in different forms to fit the medium. The aural and visual elements of the street supporters were promoted at every opportunity: show hosts and celebrities donned ‘Be the Reds’ shirts and worked the chant ‘tae-han-min-guk’ into their sentences, even as they offered token apologies to the audience for their ‘unprofessional’ level of enthusiasm (Aju tüşöhrhan ach’im (A very special breakfast), 2002). The shots of street supporters were, after the highlights of the Korean matches themselves, the most frequently broadcast image in World Cup coverage, and supporters’ songs were used as background tracks even in the news. In short, the media coverage cultivated an impression of street support as something quintessentially Korean. In fact, street support grew into an enormous phenomenon only with the help of government, corporate and media institutions. They had provided infrastructure and organised promotions in anticipation of the World Cup, and once the scale of street support began to overtake their wildest predictions, hastily responded in whatever way they could. The media took on an even more active role, producing explicit instructive
articles and programs which guided the audience on the ‘right’ way to spectate and support.

“Ten rules to keep in mind when watching the World Cup:

1. Let’s do light stretches before and after a match to release tension
2. Let’s drink water frequently to wet the vocal cords
...
6. Let’s take care of the children – they may exhibit signs of anxiety after a match
7. Let’s not become too obsessed with the match, but enjoy it” (Chosun Ilbo 18 June 2002, p. 30)

This typical health advisory in the daily newspaper was in fact an amalgam of advice and instruction in the fields of medicine, family and even individual psychology, in an effort to reassert regulations and rules with regard to a new and unpredictable activity. The repeated use of ‘Let’s’ was part of a general and common use of the pronoun ‘we’, through which a specific and inclusive form of exhortation was achieved. These paternalistic guidelines were accompanied by media coverage of scenes of support around the country. These would, by way of example, establish what methods of support were acceptable, fashionable and preferable. In one such program, the hosts reviewed coverage of supporters in various locations from a previous Korean match, and then mapped out the ‘right’ place of support for each demographic.

“There is the mecca of support, the city hall, and also the Han river park, but also, the younger supporters mostly congregate around Taehangno (‘University Road’) – and there are rumours that you can also fix up some on-the-spot blind dates! Working adults gather at Samsung Station, and there is the Seoul Equestrian Park and Chamshil baseball stadium for those who might need a sit-down to last the match.” (Aju tükpyöörhan ach’im (A very special breakfast), 2002).

Media operations like this were highly effective for two reasons. Firstly, the sheer level of prominence the media afforded this phenomenon meant that even in such a news-saturated period, street support was invested with an overwhelming level of importance. Secondly, street support, at the level of practice, remained a grassroots affair throughout
the 2002 World Cup; there was no centralised organising body or any easy way of tracking the various permutations of street support. This meant that for most Koreans, the media became the only possible source of a broad perspective on the phenomenon, enabling it to take up a leading role in interpreting the meaning and significance of street supporters.

In these ways, the media coverage of the street supporters not only helped to popularise the phenomenon, but to establish it as a cultural practice with its own sets of norms and conventions. This would have important consequences for the ways in which Korean nationality would be produced during the 2002 World Cup.

A new Korea?

The media coverage of the street supporters produced a consolidated and consistent discourse of Korean nationality that generated understandings of Korea’s place in the world, what it meant to be Korean and what was happening to Korea through the World Cup. This media discourse used the 2002 World Cup to herald Korea’s progress, and put forward an imaginary ‘New’ Korea – a series of positive, future-oriented affirmations that reassured Koreans of their subjective foundation and renewed the disciplinary power of that subjectivity.

This process was characterised by a number of different techniques. One was periodisation, or demarcation: the World Cup, as a ‘mega-event’, was used to draw a narrative trajectory of progress, from ‘Old’ to ‘New’ Korea (Horne & Manzenreiter 2002, p. 196; Roche 2000, p. 224). This meant that the ‘Old’ Korea, while not condemned, was attributed with various imperfections and flaws. On the other hand, media coverage, in its praise of a new Korea, implied a Korea that had been held back and was yet to reach its full potential. The ‘New’, post-World Cup Korea was meant to heal these blemishes and help Korea to fulfil its destiny. The post-World Cup features from Chosun Ilbo were just some of many media texts that celebrated this development, and helped establish it as truth in the public consciousness.

“The sight of hundreds of thousands of people gathering, and then cleaning up before returning home in an orderly fashion, was a source of amazement
for many foreigners...after the Italy match, Lee Sŏng-Wŏn (18, Sŏl High School) helped clean up after the street supporters with his friends. ‘We enjoyed the supporting – now is the time to clean up’, he said. Those who could remember the 1988 Olympics’ [government-initiated] campaigns like ‘let’s not hang our washing in the windows’ for homes between the Kimpo airport and Seoul could only be amazed at how times had changed... By participating voluntarily, maintaining public order and celebrating our victory, Koreans’ civic mentality developed into a sense of pride. These proud Koreans made a giant step forward into becoming global citizens in their own right’ (Chosun Ilbo 5 July 2002, p. 10)

“The World Cup street support has brought our neighbours together. The experience has brought together apartment dwellers, who had barely known who was living next door, to become like a family. While the players bonded together to defend on the pitch, our neighbours were also all about teamwork, dividing the tasks into teams like ‘screen team’, ‘food team’ and ‘supporter team’.” (Chosun Ilbo 25 June 2002, p. 27)

Rubbish-collecting volunteers, neighbourhood communities and other organs of orderliness and community were commonly used by the media to advocate a newfound sense of civic responsibility and brotherhood in Korea, and dispel fears that the rapid urbanisation and technological advances of the preceding decades was producing an increasingly selfish, isolated and blasé populace. The journalists employed poetic language throughout, to frame this idea not in terms of administration and government, but as a humanising transformation in the Korean people. This use of language even extended to the use of quotes. It is common practice in the Korean media to edit or paraphrase third direct quotes without notice, often standardising the language variations in speech levels and regional variants into a homogenised register. In the above case, the Chosun Ilbo placed poetic phrases in the street supporters’ mouths: the teenager’s statement would not be out of place in the very public order campaigns that the journalist proclaims now obsolete. Other articles were even more explicit in their periodisation:

“It was exactly 15 years ago. These same streets, on the 10th of June, 1987. It was the same day, and the same place, where the ‘June Democratic
Movement’ began, with cries of ‘abolish the [fascist] constitution’ and ‘we want our vote’. The frightening visage of policemen guarded these streets: the area near the Anglican cathedral was completely shut off. But in exactly the same place, we were now joining our voices to cry ‘tae-han-min-guk’ and ‘o-p’ilsing K’oria’. And I saw the birth of a new generation, full of confidence and pride.” (Chosun Ilbo 11 June 2002, p. 7)

As shown above, many of these articles constructed a collective memory of nationwide protests against the military dictatorship in the 1980’s in such a way that they provide a useful contrast between the old and new. This is particularly significant in the light of how memory of Japanese imperial rule had shaped Koreans’ discourse of Korean-ness in previous decades, to the point where negative characteristics of the Korean people, such as cronyism and nepotism, were perpetuated by the Japanese and internalised by the Koreans as the reason for their subjugated status (Han 2003, pp. 15-7). The difference was that the periodising discourses involved a more confident and optimistic construction of collective memory, where the technique of demarcation could be used to overcome enduring ideas about Korean flaws, and the street support could be presented as both catalyst for and evidence of Korea overcoming its traumatic history. This discourse, I suggest, was a reflection of emerging generations who had no direct experience of Japanese rule or military dictatorship and were exposed to the results of rapid economic growth and increasing global cultural influences – generations that the ‘New Korea’ purported to represent.

The World Cup was therefore used to establish a chronology of national transformation, and in turn naturalise an exclusion of undesirable elements and qualities from the index of normative Korean nationality. This technique was not new: Kim Young-Sam’s presidential campaign in the early 1990’s had promised to cure the ‘Korean disease’, which might include “all that was wrong with the Korean society and the Korean state” (Kim 2000, p. 242). The difference was that the World Cup as an entertainment spectacle had been able to produce a level of enthusiasm and participation that made the discourse more compelling than any political speeches could have been. There was a sense that Korea had simultaneously embraced new and exciting
characteristics to become a ‘better’ Korea than it had ever been, and revitalise traditional characteristics to realise the Korea that always should have been.

The discourses that brought into being this ‘New Korea’ were consolidated around the idea of the ‘W Generation’, or ‘World Cup Generation’. Also called the ‘R Generation’ for ‘Red’, this term emerged in the media in mid-June, and by end of the month was being used broadly. This technique of interpellation helped identify, from the events of the street support phenomenon, a specific entity that could be named and referenced – and one which had already built up a corpus of symbolic signifiers and ideologies. The interpellation of the W Generation embodied the ‘new Korea’ that had been demarcated from earlier periods: the characteristics of this emerging entity, such as voluntary participation, orderliness, confidence in individual expression and ‘pure’ national pride, were depicted as representing a new national identity ‘cleansed’ of the political agendas and revolutionary mindset of the previous decades’ democratic movements.

“A new human race was born in Korea, June 2002 – the World Cup (W) Generation. Ranging from late teens to twenties, they were armed with a kind of confidence that could not be found in older generations. Experts concluded that they brought the joys of play and voluntary participation to a people mired in a group mentality of self-sacrifice.” (Chosun Ilbo 9 July 2002, pp. 8-9)

“They [the W Generation] drew the t’aegŭkkı on their faces, wrapped it around their bodies, and poured into the streets. They confidently expressed what they like and what they don’t like... the defeatist mentality, the cynicism and resentment of the older generations were nowhere to be seen.” (Chosun Ilbo 27 June 2002, p. 2)

This optimistic, future-oriented discourse actively disassociated the younger generation from pre-existing tropes of individualism and political apathy to which they had often been subjected: in fact, the descriptions of the W Generation’s ‘joy of play’ and ‘voluntary participation’ inverted them into positive tropes (MBC sŏpeshŏl – pulgŭnnangma, hanbandorŏl ch’ukcheŏi jangûro (MBC special – The Red Devils, and Korea a land of festival), 2002). These processes had two key implications. The first,
more obviously, involved a production of an optimistic future for Korea and Koreans that targeted a desire to be globalised, but to feel that Korean nationality remained relevant. The second carried the subtle implication that pre-W Generation Korea was problematic. ‘Old’ Koreans in these descriptions are seen as oppressed, violent and resentful; this retroactive definition tapped into more banal discourses of self-deprecation and critique common to many nationalities. A similar discursive technique had in fact been used by the government at the time, whose ‘Bright Smile Movement’ campaign simultaneously told Koreans they were not perceived as very friendly, and then offered to educate them on the performance of friendliness (Choi 2004, p. 25). In light of this problematisation, the new Korea was defined as a transcendent Korea, and/or a Korea which had restored a quintessence imagined to have been present in the past. Within this grand narrative, the W Generation came to personify a new taxonomic order within the collective imaginary of Korean nationality.

It must be stressed that this kind of discursive production was not a ‘natural’ or inevitable consequences of the events at hand. The lines of demarcation between Old and New, or the exact definition of the W Generation, was often ambiguous and therefore flexible. Another example of the t’aegeukki fashion demonstrates how this remarkable flexibility of media discourse rendered it even more effective in its production of national narratives. T’aegeukki fashion emerged amongst the street supporters in 2002, and was quickly adopted by the media as the symbol of the phenomenon, and the W Generation as a whole. While the supporter group ‘Red Devils’ had long made use of the t’aegeukki, the Korean flag, and other visual signifiers of the Korean nation, they were primarily a way of identifying themselves as Korean supporters in the stadium. The street supporters now exceeded the original signification of the t’aegeukki, both as a national flag and as the Red Devils’ visual icon, and manipulated its visual elements to create various fashion items, ranging from capes and headwear to accessories. While such fashionable and spectacular appropriations of national imagery is commonplace in mega-events such as the World Cup, the street supporters did so with regard to a signifier whose use had been tightly regulated until the late 1980s and tied Korean nationality to the sovereignty of the state. The t’aegeukki fashion was also notable in the ways it spilled outside the boundaries of the football stadium and the field of football. The following extracts from
the Korean media coverage show how t’aegükkı fashion quickly evolved from a simple donning of a red shirt to a comprehensive performance through consumption.

“The World Cup begins! Today the party has started. Let’s change to our party clothes. The dress code for the party that will last from today to the 30th of June is as follows. The World Cup [Korean] national football team uniform, football shoes, thick socks that come up to your knees... other than this ‘official’ dress code, tracksuits with strips down the sides, shirts with a large number printed on the front or back, trainers and wrist-bands are also good choices.” (Chosun Ilbo 31 May 2002, p. 61)

“The t’aegükkı is the most popular fashion instrument. Women participate in street support wearing skirts, trousers or even belly shirts made out of the t’aegükkı. Zealous men paint their entire upper body in red, and pen the name and number of their favourite player on the back.” (Donga Ilbo 22 June 2002, p. A26)

“More than once, I have been surprised and awed by the free and imaginative ways in which the t’aegükkı has been used. Capes, bandanas and skirts wrapped around the waist are already ‘ordinary’. You’ll need at least tank-tops or miniskirts to get more than a quick glance from passers-by.” (Chosun Ilbo 22 June 2002, p. 55)

In the first extract, published just before the World Cup, the ‘World Cup fashion’ consisted of blending everyday clothes with football-related items: by the end of the tournament, t’aegükkı fashion involved a total transformation of the individual’s body with various appropriations of national imagery, which would simultaneously locate that individual within the category of Korean subjectivity and allow him/her to flaunt the body according to the logic of fashion and sexuality. The government, media and academia joined in the praise and celebration of this provocative new fashion, perhaps because they deemed it a surprising and welcome demonstration of national pride. The media interpretation of the t’aegükkı fashion involved a fetishism of ‘kabyŏum’ (lightness, shallowness). They celebrated the flag’s divestment of its gravitas as a form of emancipation and liberation, rather than one of moral decline (Joo 2002, pp. 116-7). The media frequently argued that the trend represented familiar yet new and modern
form of Korean identity, and that traditional patriotism could coexist with the individualism of contemporary society.

“The t’aegŭkki, formerly a symbol of authority and solemnity, was used by the youth this World Cup as a great way to express their patriotism... One of the great achievements of this World Cup is that the taboo regarding the t’aegŭkki was broken, and has become a very familiar figure. I’m sure that even after the World Cup, our youths will roam the streets proudly sporting the t’aeģŭkki on their t-shirts, as opposed to the American flag or the Union Jack...” (Chosun Ilbo 22 June 2002, p. 55)

Combined with academics and other institutionally authorised ‘experts’ mobilised to provide opinions, the media narrative effected an articulation between a sense of the sacred and the fashion of the street supporters. This is highly unusual when viewed in the context of Korea's dedication to traditional Confucian values: only a few years prior to the World Cup, the Korean media had banned celebrities with dyed hair on television and hotly debated the merits of banning belly shirts. Within this socio-cultural climate, t’aegŭkki fashion could easily have been interpreted as a disrespectful and sacrilegious practice, symptomatic of a younger and more decadent generation that has eschewed traditional Korean values in favour of hypersexual bodily performances. Instead, the media discourse surrounding the t’aegŭkki fashion in 2002 was nearly entirely positive: voices of concern or criticism were given no real credence or presence. The coverage of the t’aegŭkki fashion demonstrates how the media as a whole shared an underlying disposition towards optimistic narratives of nationality, and how this oriented them towards a flexible use of discourse that appropriated even potentially counterproductive elements towards an ideal narrative of Korean nationality.

Such a disposition also manifested itself in a general tendency towards the extreme and hyperbolic. Journalists laid aside conventions of impartiality, such as the controlled expression and tone of a news anchor or the use of ‘dry’ language, and indulged in dramatisation. The columns of Cha Bum-Keun, a Korean football legend, exemplified the ways in which the media communicated, and thus amplified, excitement and pride:

“How...
Did this really happen?
Dear God...

Bring it on!

Bring on Spain!!!!!

[...]

What you went through to give us this joy. You spent so long with your eyes only on the ball. What other footballer in the world could have done the same? The stars of Europe? They could never do it. Never... “(Chosun Ilbo 19 June 2002, p. 35)

Having begun with technical and professional analyses of football tactics merely weeks earlier, Cha’s columns soon shed their professional language, air of impartiality and even the formatting conventions of newspaper articles. Written during the World Cup, these outbursts of joy were all the more convincing for their hyperbole, as they gave voice to and amplified the excitement in the audience. These were followed by equally poetic evaluations after the tournament, as the media re-appropriated this emotion and gave it a nostalgic and historical form. The first few days after the World Cup final saw a series of almost identical documentaries about the Korean team’s journey, from both major national broadcasters. These documentaries’ solemn eulogies of the events had worked to create memories for the audience. One such documentary combined epic, orchestral music, slow dissolving montages of national visual motifs, a trembling female voice and even a poem to provoke an inspirational and respectful passion for South Korean nationality (6wŏru hamsŏng, taehanmin’guk (The shouts of June, tae-han-min-guk), 2002). Their hyperbolic language constantly pushed the narratives to become ‘larger than life’, compelling an understanding of the Korean team and the street supporters not as footballers and football fans, but something grander. Another television program even injected an aesthetic sense of heroism into shots of Korean footballers in training, using a combination of rain-misted cameras, close-ups, slow motion, piano music and poetic narration:

“Their road to the knockout rounds was long, but not in vain. They had a coach who recognised their ability, and teammates to share their sweat and laughter. The training on that day, on the rainy ground, would remain in
This emotive language referred back to a sacred element in Korean subjectivity – that is, love of ‘our’ nation. This is significant because the media discourses were thus being aligned not with a particular facet of Korean mentality or specific group of Korean subjects, but with Korean nationality as a whole. This foreclosed negative or disjunctive interpretations of this national transformation and made the deployment of oppositional discourses difficult. The media discourses of the W Generation and t'aegeukki fashion, therefore, masked and foreclosed the potential ambiguity of its interpretations through the deployment of emotional and nationalistic language that boldly reaffirmed the validity of Korean nationality for its subjects.

This affirmation also had a disciplinary aspect; the inverse of national pride and identification is coercive normalisation. As discussed in the previous section, the media ensured that the 2002 World Cup, and the discourses of nationality around it, could not be ignored. Not only were they given an inordinate level of attention and exposure, almost all of that exposure was positive and imperative. The media texts depicted a Korea where everyone was an excited street supporter, proud of Korea, and supportive of the World Cup as a whole. Journalists and media commentators often applauded the emergence of a happy solidarity demonstrated voluntarily by all Koreans. Articles combined the aforementioned techniques of periodisation and interpellation with this idea of solidarity:

"Solidarity was often forced on us. To have the same hair, to wear the same clothes, to see the world with the same eyes, to judge things by the same standard – that was supposed to make us one... we didn’t really know what ‘becoming one’ meant. We just thought, vaguely, that to become one was becoming the same as each other.

In June 2002, we were one in our difference... they [the street supporters] kitted out with unique red clothes, painted their bodies, carried mobile phones blaring supporter chants and rode roller blades. They scribbled messages on the sacred t'aegeukki, donned it like capes and bandanas... they
generated an amazing energy and made us truly one. Soon, their youthful image became the face of all Koreans.” (Chosun Ilbo 29 June 2002, p. 54)

There was, again, a juxtaposition of the forced solidarity of the military dictatorships, where the threat of violence-induced sameness, with the voluntary solidarity of the W Generation, who freely engages in patriotic acts. But this discourse of freedom was illusory: it masked an implicit and disciplinary power that rendered this new solidarity ‘forced’ in different ways. In fact, these celebratory texts contributed to a disciplinary influence by building media discourses that stressed solidarity and ‘sacred’ nationality – a subjectivating spectacle of oneness (Lee & Cho 2009, p. 6). The discourse of Korean triumph, a new Korea, the W Generation, a new solidarity – these all masked the commercial aspect of the phenomenon and its mechanisms as an entertainment spectacle. Although most Koreans had direct contact with the phenomenon, they were only able to see a small part of a chaotic whole: as such, the media played an important role in formulating this collective imaginary of a revolution of the sacred into a new generation of nationalism. Alternative interpretations having been foreclosed, the Korean subject was compelled to accept this idea of national transformation. To deride the street support, to be cynical of Korea’s success, was to place oneself outside the redrawn boundaries of Korean normality.

**Conclusion**

For many participants, their experience of street support during the 2002 World Cup was defined by two aspects – the experience of a carnivalesque festival, and a general impression of national celebration. Yet it was the media discourse which, at a societal level, pulled these experiences together into a boldly optimistic narrative of national evolution. This not only amplified the sense of national pride and identification during the period, but also helped mark the tournament as a historical turning point in many narratives of Korean nationality. The media coverage not only supplemented and expanded the personal experiences and knowledge of its audiences, but formed a totality that dictated what street support was and what it meant for Korea. The events of 2002
demonstrate that media discourse must now be considered the primary site of the
production of nationality as a collective imaginary.

In the Korean context, this media production of nationality through the 2002 World
Cup was symptomatic of and borne out of a variety of underlying influences: the strong
defensive mentality underlying Korean nationality; the highly pervasive and
commodified nature of the Korean mass media; the urban Korean population’s
predilection towards trends and fashion; a widespread understanding of globalisation as
an inevitable challenge for Korean nationality. All these conditions continue to be persist
in Korean society, and the trends identified in 2002 are likely to intensify in the near
future. In other words, we are heading towards spectacular nationalities, wherein the
logic of commodification is the central imperative in nationality production, media
consumption becomes the primary interface between national subjects and nationalities,
and popular cultural practices become the only socially relevant expressions of
nationality as a sacred and quintessential quality. Nationality retains its sacred quality in
globalised, late capitalist societies, but must now appeal to its subjects at the level of
commodity consumption.

This emergence of spectacular nationality has important implications for what kinds
of national narratives and understandings will be produced, and how this productive
process can be monitored and influenced, both in Korea and more generally. The case of
the Korean government during the 2002 World Cup is testament to this transitional
phase. While the tournament was considered a great success for the Korean government,
this was hardly of their own doing; the state’s parochial strategies of nationality
production had been flatly ignored both by the Korean public and the media. Its solemn
and formalised expressions of nationality could not compete with the phenomenon of
street support, which offered a way in which nationality could be consumed through
familiar and entertaining spectacles. It is the advent of spectacular, commodified
nationality, rather than globalisation, which challenges the continued viability of an
‘authentic’ national subjectivity. Consumption (of media, or rather the image) emerges
as the preeminent method for one’s constitution as a subject, the subject’s satisfaction of
his/her passionate attachment, and finally the attribution of identity. The economic
conditions of the media as an industry, the aesthetic demands of the commodity market,
the interplay between media and consumer-subject at the level of discourse – these are the major factors that will determine the exact form of spectacular nationality and its social consequences in the years to come.

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Korean Cuisine and Its Role in the Process of National Identity Making in Contemporary South Korea (with the focus on Hansik Globalisation Project)

Osetrova, Maria

1. Introduction

For anthropologists food is not just a topic worthy of inquiry in its own right, it can be studied as a universal medium that illuminates a wide range of other cultural practices and processes (Watson and Caldwell, p.1). Ethnic cuisine and national food habits are associated with a geographically and historically defined eating community, so though food related issues are usually taken for granted, the study of national food customs, practices and social meanings of taking meal can contribute greatly to the understanding of the national culture and mentality in general.

Of course this statement is true for any country and people, but for Korean case it has a particular importance as it is well-known that Koreans pay special attention to food and eating related issues in their culture and everyday life. This fact is widely recognised not only by foreign Korean Studies scholars, journalists and ordinary travelers24 but also by Koreans themselves.25 Food topics have comprehensive implications in language, customs and behavior standards, means of everyday communication and way of life of today Koreans26.

25 ⑦ Kim, Chan Ho (2007) “Bapmaseun salmasida” (The taste of rice is the taste of life) in Munhwawai palgyeon: KTxaesoe jjimjilbangkkaji (The discovery of culture: from KTX to jjimjilbang), Seoul: Munhakkwajiseongsa, pp.119-126; ⑧ Ju, Yeong Ha (2000) Eumsik jeonjaeng munhwa jeonjaeng (Food Wars – Culture Wars), Seoul: Sagyjeol, p.4.
Besides other aspects food in its symbolic function plays a dynamic role in the way people think of themselves and others. This means that a people’s cuisine, or a particular food, often marks the boundary between the collective self and the other (Ohnuki-Tierney, p.3). The notion “national cuisine” is closely connected to the idea of “nation” and “national state”. That is why it can be said that “national cuisine” possibly emerges with the necessity to consolidate geographic, political and cultural boundaries of a certain national community. As it is stated in the Encyclopedia of Food and Culture, classifying a cuisine helps to mark a geographically locale as a nation; it allows people to imagine national unity and to create convenient categories for understanding food practices (Katz and Weaver). In this situation national cuisine becomes a certain kind of metaphor for national identity.

One more view of the close relationship between food and identity is summarized in Claude Fischler’s article “Food, Self, and Identity” where he states that “Food is central to our sense of identity” (Fischler, p.275). Food crosses the border between the “outside” and the “inside”, and this “principle of incorporation” touches upon the very nature of a person.27 This is why eating and drinking matter greatly to all people, and this is why, as reported in some cases of groups of migrants, people retain some food habits when language or other cultural expressions tend to be forgotten. This “incorporation” is the basis of collective identity, Fischler continues. Because people absorb food, they seize the opportunity to demarcate their own and the other group. People eating similar food are trustworthy, good, familiar, and safe; but people eating unusual food give rise to feelings of distrust, suspicion and even disgust. This reasoning about the “principle of incorporation” gains its full importance when it is well understood that eating is part of a system of classification and representation, and that it operates in the “register of the

27 The confirmation of this idea can be found in Mikhail Bakhtin Rabelais and His World, where he writes that the process of eating like the process of labour is a collective social action whereby life vanquishes death. “In the act of eating... the confines between the body and the world are overstepped by the body; it triumphs over the world, over its enemy, celebrates its victory, grows at the world’s expense”(Bakhtin, Mikhail (1968) Rabelais and His World, trans. Helene Iswolsky, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp.282-283 (here cited from Glants, Musya, Toomre, Joyce ed. (1997) Food in Russian History and Culture, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p.xiii).
imagination”, which is why “cookery helps to give food and its eaters a place in the world”.

On the other hand, Sidney Mintz writes, that “a national cuisine is a contradiction in terms... for the most of part, a national cuisine is simply a holistic artifice based on the foods of the people who live inside some political system, such as France or Spain (Mintz, p.104).

There is a recent vivid trend in South Korean society to stress its national identity by promoting national culinary practices and traditions. Nowadays their cultural significance in Korean mass conscience can be compared with the main national achievements in traditional art, literature, architecture, science, technology and sport. Today Korean cuisine is interpreted not only as a simple reflection of national palates but more likely as symbolic representation of Korean culture, way of life, aesthetics and philosophy.

However during the colonial times some of traditional Korean food habits were considered barbaric and outdated by Japanese (Jung, p.12). There are even stories about Japanese police who claimed to be able to expose disguised Koreans by the smell of garlic emanated from them (Ju, p. 306). These and other similar facts produced the certain stigma around national food practices among Koreans in the first part of the 20th century and even after the Liberation. For example, in the 1970s, when many Koreans went to the USA for studying or work, sometimes they refrained from cooking and eating in the dormitories specially smelly Korean food (like toengjang jjigae (된장찌개) or kimchi (김치)) because of the strong aversion received from their Western neighbors (Jeong, p.12).

The attitude toward national food began to change together with the transformation of Korean political and economic status. Once being the object of cultural embarrassment, in the 1980s Korean food were gradually turning into the matter of national pride. It started at the times of the XXIV Summer Olympic Games, which took place in Seoul in 1988, when kimchi were included into the athletes’ official menu. Since that time hansik (韓食 - Korean food) started to gain culturally symbolic meanings which now grew to the level of Hansik Globalisation Project run by Korean government.
In this paper I am going to explore contemporary South Korean national food discourse as a marker of its national (and global) identity mainly putting focus on the governmental project of hansik globalisation. I am going to examine this project as a state attempt to affirm local and global Korean identity in terms of national food and foodways. In other words, I will try to find the cross point between two main concepts: national cuisine and national identity formation process, using the lens of the above-stated governmental initiative. I argue that Hansik globalisation project can be interpreted as a step taken by Korean government not only to promote and improve its international image (let alone achieving ambitious and far-reaching economic goals) but also to potentially change the global gastronomic trends and fashions and make Korean food an emblem of a sophisticated cosmopolitan consumer class’s taste, thus increasing the level of Korean cultural influence on the world.

2. Hansik Globalisation Project (HGP)

2.1. HGP Outline

First mentioning about Hansik globalisation campaign began to appear in March 2008 with the launch of the Korean Food Globalisation Forum. Later in October during the ceremony on the sidelines of the inaugural Korea Food Expo 2008 at the Agro Trade Centre in southern Seoul the minister of food, agriculture, forestry and fisheries Chang Tae Pyong officially announced Korean Food globalisation plan. Prime Minister Han Seung Soo also attended the ceremony, along with dozens of ambassadors to Seoul where he said, “This year will mark the start for globalisation of Korean food”.28 In May 2009 two bodies - the Korean Cuisine Promotion Committee and the Ministry for Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries’ Korean Food Promotion Team - were established by the government forces to plan, manage and oversee the project. The ambitious plans were prepared to bump up the number of overseas Korean restaurants to 40,000 by 2017, to have up to 100 top-tier hansik restaurants throughout the world by 2017 and to more than double agricultural and seafood exports from $4.4 billion in 2008

to $10 billion by 2012. As a result of all these measures hansik by 2017 is expected to become one of the world’s most famous five cuisines (together with French, Italian, Chinese and Japanese ones).

The main purposes of HGP are defined as the improvement of the image of the Republic of Korea which will be reached by developing Korean food products export, Korean restaurant business, and Korean tourism industries on the basis of spreading Korean food culture both locally and globally - in one word, to initiate the hansik boom around the world. These purposes are supposed to be achieved by the following measures:

(1) Active promoting of hansik both in Korea and overseas through mass media channels, as well as various public events like food exhibitions, festivals and conferences;
(2) Increasing the number of world-class Korean restaurants inside and outside Korea;
(3) Profound scientific research on the advantages and national specifics of Korean food;
(4) Organization of trainings for domestic and foreign professional hansik chefs including the introduction of a national qualification system for overseas Korean restaurants.
(5) Standardization of the names (including spelling) and recipes of Korean dishes to be promoted abroad.

2.2. HGP Ideology

The first sentences introducing Korean cuisine at the HGP official site (English version) are the sayings like “the food is a symbol representing culture” or “Hansik is the best way to understand Korean culture”. They show that the HGP organizers keep pressing the fact that Korean food and Korean culture are inseparable.

There are more examples of this fact. For instance, when the First Lady Kim Yun Ok within the bounds of HGP PR-actions gave an interview about hansik to American news network CNN, she said: “The most attractive part of hansik is that it is of the same origin

30 Translation of the materials from the official site of Hansik Globalisation Project (http://www.hansik.org/contents/m5s1.do)
as medicine. We have a full range of healthy foods". By this saying she meant the traditional Chinese and Korean conception of *uisiktongwon* 喻食同源 which expressed the ancient far-eastern belief that medicine and food are of the same origin, so food can be treated as a medicine to heal the body and soul. Lady Kim also mentioned: "I believe hansik, the essence of Korean traditions and history, will help foreigners better understand Korea and the Korean people and make their dietary culture richer".31 Professor of Food and Nutrition Department of Hoseo University (South Korea) Jeong Hye Gyeong in her book *Records on Korean Cuisine Millennium*, published during the very active phase of HGP planning, writes that through Korean national food can be expressed the warm and sincere feeling *cheong* 情 which is considered to be an integral part of Korean national character and mentality (Jeong, p.60).

Another frequent “cultural” and “national” notion in the hansik promotion campaign is the mentioning of *obangsae* 五方色: five colours represented five corners of the world and at the same time five basic elements of the Universe, according to ancient Chinese cosmogonist conception (green – East - wood, white – West - metal, red – South - fire, black – North - water, yellow – Centre - earth). The hansik promoters like to say that these ancient beliefs are well reflected in many Korean dishes (like *pibimpap*, *kujolpan* etc)32 and that is how hansik incorporates the philosophic, cosmological and aesthetic ideals of traditional Korea. These facts demonstrate that HGP in the most unambiguous manner seeks to introduce Korean cuisine as the representation of Korean culture and the “Koreaness” in general. Sometimes, in its most nationalistic ways, it even takes the form of epitomizing the national character with national food. For example, these days a popular Korean proverb

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“a small pepper is hotter”\textsuperscript{33} got new connotations which presents Korea as a small but powerful state with great potential (Han, p.228) Another proof for the above statement can be found in the works of Lee O.Young, famous Korean intellectual, professor of literature, former minister of culture and tourism, and essayist, who represents the very nationalistic cultural circles in South Korea. In his essay “Rice and Bread” the author presents rice as a symbol of Korean culture while bread figuratively stands for Western civilization. Comparing the nature and method of production of those two products (can be eaten for several days/can be eaten only right after cooking/, made outside/inside home) Lee makes a conclusion that rice symbolically denotes collectivistic culture with strong family ties and values, while bread signifies individualistic mentality (Lee, p.39-41).\textsuperscript{34}

Special position among Korean products occupies hanu (韓牛-Korean native cattle/ Korean beef) which these days is often presented in popular discourse not just as a simple (but at the same time much more expensive than its imported analogues) food product but rather as a kind of national property. For example, the text on the subway poster advertising hanu is showing two pictures - of a newly born Korean baby and of a young hanu, and saying that “we (Koreans) and hanu are both born on the same (Korean) soil and cannot be

\textsuperscript{33}작은 고추가 더 뜨겁다. The original meaning is that short people are stronger and more dexterous than tall ones (Source: Choe, Sang-Hun, Torchia Christopher (2002) How Koreans Talk: a Collection of Expressions. Seoul: Eunhaengnamu, p. 21.)

\textsuperscript{34}The text I am citing was written in 2003, which strictly speaking was finished before the official start of HGP and that is why cannot be applied as an example of HGP ideology, but as Lee Eo Ryeong is still a very active propagandist of hansik globalisation, I believe, it is possible to use his words though said before the official start of the project.
separated. *Hanu* is the cultural heritage of Korea that all citizens must protect!*" (see the picture). Another *hanu* advertisement was calling it a national treasure with five thousand year history. In this regard the famous US beef candlelight demonstrations of 2008 which were Korea’s largest anti-governmental protests in 20 years can be read in a new context.

All these examples show that national food discourse these days in Korea tends to intimately connect traditional food and dietary practices with national culture and way of life. And HGP definitely puts this idea in the centre of its ideology.

### 3. Economic Benefits or Cultural Prestige?

On the one hand it can be assumed that Korean government with the help of HGP seeks to achieve ambitious economic goals. There is data showing that global food market is valued 2.5 times larger than automobile industry and 5.6 times bigger than service cost in IT market.\(^{35}\) That is why the investment in this economy sector can bring considerable profits in the future. At the same time by expanding national foodstuffs export Korean government can also partly solve the vital problem of Korean farmers, who suffer a lot these days because of the severe competition with cheap Chinese production.

However it cannot be said that “cultural slogans” are just a cover for governmental commercial plans. State officials together with hansik specialists and PR agents keep insisting that Korean culture promotion component is no less important in HGP than economic one. Koreans promote their national cuisine not only to make the world know about hansik and not only to make the world try it. I think the ideal result which the HGP officials seek to achieve is making world eat hansik and think that this is modern, prestigious and up-to-date cultural attitude. In other words, HGP seeks to get for hansik global popularity as an emblem of a sophisticated, cosmopolitan consumer class taste.

As in the end of the 20\(^{th}\) century the brand equity of sushi as Japanese cultural property added to the cachet of both the country and the cuisine (Bestor, p.18), in the same way Koreans now are looking forward to turning their cuisine into international brand which can become the tool to increase later Korean cultural influence in the world.

But in order to do that Korean food should be presented not simply as an exotic new commodity but as a kind of high-class or elite one. That is why some items included in HGP promotion products list have to be elevated in cultural status. This already happened at least to two Korean food products – rice cakes tteokpokki (떡볶이) and rice brew makkeolli (막걸리).

- Tteokpokki

Tteokpokki is a Korean dish containing short rice cakes which are stir-fried with vegetables in a sauce. Though the dish was known in Korea before the 20th century, it got especially popular after the Korean War when it started to be sold in Sindang-dong district in Seoul. At that time the most popular recipe of tteokpokki was a spicy one, cooked in hot red pepper paste. Then it was a cheap street food which later spread out to whole Korea and became one of the favourite dishes of students or street passerbys. Nowadays tteokpokki was selected as one of the Korean dishes to be included in HGP. The reason for that was a relatively simple way of cooking and exporting the dish. The promotion materials keep saying that tteokpokki can successfully compete with Italian spaghetti at the world foodstuff and restaurant market.

In March 2009 in Yongin-city the Research Institute of Tteokpokki was opened by the government to promote the dish and to stimulate the development of new recipes of the dish or looking for the old ones which were lost in times (like court cuisine version of tteokpokki). In the course of their work the staff of the research institute made efforts to elevate the cultural status of tteokpokki to represent it not as cheap street food as it used to be in Korea in the second part of the 20th century, but as a dish which can be served even in top-class restaurant or high-level summits.

It is interesting to mention that though tteokpokki is presented for foreign consumers as a Korean “traditional” food, under the conditions of remaking

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(or “rebrending”) the dish for globalising campaign, many aspects of its original nature is changed to suit the tastes and expectations of world eaters. First of all the spiciness which used to be the main feature of the dish is strongly moderated. Second, the appearance of the dish also changed under globalisation conditions to make it more appealing and “haute cuisine looking”. And finally in order to make the way of their dish to the foreign public as easier as possible the promoters even slightly transformed the name of the dish. In English spelling the name of the dish is now “Topokki” which is supposed to be easier to pronounce for foreigners than the original name.37 So though announced as a Korean “traditional” dish, strictly speaking modern tteokpokki is quite far from its original nature.

- **Makkeolli**

Makkeolli is a Korean alcoholic rice beverage. It is made by fermenting a mixture of boiled rice and water, and is about 6.5–7% alcohol by volume. Originally this drink was considered a cheap farmer’s liquor. But after makkeolli was included in HGP, its status also started to get elevated representing the drink as a healthy choice of new generation. Today it’s reported that the sales volume of makkeolli left behind other Korean liquors and even foreign alcohol like wine, whisky and beer.  

One more important component of HSP is so called “Choson Dynasty Royal Court Cuisine” (조선왕조궁중음식) which is presented in contemporary Korean mass culture mainly by the results of the work of professor Hwang Hye Seong and her family who was the key person in the state designation of the Choson court cuisine as a Intangible Cultural Asset #38 in 1971. However, as professor Moon Ok Pyo points out in her case.

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study of the history of Hwang family and Choson court cuisine, there are some doubts concerning the authenticity of the court culinary tradition presented by Hwang’s research (Moon, p. 42). And though this is still a disputable problem and more research is needed, the Hwang’s family interpretation of Choson court cuisine is now treated in Korea as a brand and even a merchandisable commodity, if we look at the chains of court cuisine restaurants which are spreading around the big cities in Korea these days, or become a part of HGP.

If we consider HGP as a state attempt to increase its potential cultural influence in the world, it will inevitably lead us to the hallyu phenomenon (韓流 - Korean wave), which refers to the significantly increased popularity of South Korean pop-culture around the world in the late 1990s – beginning of 2000s. Among others one of the greatest hallyu successes was a TV drama “Dae Jang Geum” (MBC, 2003) which told the story of the first female royal doctor Jang Geum, who worked in the royal court in 16th century Korea. It will not be an exaggeration to say that hansik or, more precisely, Choseon royal court cuisine, is one of the important characters of the drama, if not the main one. The great popularity which gained this TV series in the world generated high interest toward Korean food in Asian countries. So this hansik success story also became one of the impulses toward HGP as well as other reasons.

On the other hand, it is interesting to notice that Korean food products have been actually exported abroad even before the official start of HGP and even hallyu. For example, Korean food company Orion Confectionery Co, Ltd. began exporting its production abroad since 1990s. In Moscow, for instance, the office of the company was opened in November, 1996. Some other Korean instant food products (like ramyeon-

40 http://www.orionworld.com/Snak/company/history_year01_15.asp
noodles) were also well-known overseas even before\(^{41}\). However this initial step of introducing Korean food to the world is not considered by HGP officials. Seems, that the reason for such a consideration is the fact that those export activities was purely commercial projects, which had no connection to Korean “cultural” background.

4. Conclusions

The first conclusion that comes to my mind after the preliminary analysis of HGP is the fact that it again proves the idea of the special importance of Food topics (and especially National Food) for Koreans’ collective consciousness or at least for the one of the contemporary generations’ who were born in the 20\(^{th}\) century. It appears that it is indeed true that Korean actual foodways and also the attitudes Korean attach to food and eating related issues can be interpreted as a certain “cultural code” to understand Korean values and norms of life.

Usually such an effusive preoccupation with food theme in Korean everyday cultural context is explained by the long history of famine on Korean peninsula. This explanation is, of course, true. Traditionally being an agrarian country Korea was quite poor in food recourses, so malnutrition always was a serious problem for Koreans, especially from low social strata. Such situation continued till the 70-80s of the 20\(^{th}\) century. However since that time a few generations have grown and it was Koreans who had not experienced hunger at all. Still even for them the food topics have a special cultural significance and keep developing in new forms under contemporary conditions. This let us make an assumption that there are some more reasons for such a preoccupation with food topics but for hunger tradition.

Korean government chose national food topic believing that through ethnic foodways it can explain its culture both to foreigners and to native Koreans. One of the constant remarks the HGP official make during promotion campaigns is that Koreans themselves should learn more about hansik and understand its meaning more profoundly. It is important to remember that HGP is aimed not only at overseas consumers but also at domestic public as well. This means that Food (including National Food) discourse in

\(^{41}\) http://www.doshirak.com/about/koya_ru/
contemporary Korean society is a kind of system permanently reproducing symbolic meanings of food. In simple words, the state officials chose Food to demonstrate “cultural matters”, as they are Koreans themselves, and now the general public will again learn about their culture through Food again.

As for a possible reason for the formation of the strong discourse concerning national food superiority (or we can call it gastronomic nationalism) which is definitely exists today in Korean mass culture, it can be explained first of all by the postcolonial complex. As it was mentioned in the introduction section, in the beginning of the 20th century Japanese authorities in Korea spread the ideas that Korean traditional food practices are outdated and uncivilized. Under such circumstances the pressing necessity to save and strengthen its national identity among Koreans caused the emergence of the overemphasized feelings of national pride regarding national food traditions. Today common Koreans consider their culinary tradition no only remarkable in taste, but also, in the first place, extraordinary good for health, in the second, possessing ancient and deep history, and third, absolutely original and unique in its historic development. Obviously, all these characteristics seem to appear quite subjective and in many issues disputable. However in contemporary mass conscience national food tradition is represented in this very way. Such a way of seeing native culinary also can be characterized as gastronomic nationalism.

One more thing to be observed is the fact that in spite of world food market globalisation tendencies, Koreans themselves are not in a hurry to follow international culinary fashions. It must be admitted that they have started enjoying foreign ethnic food not that long ago, and still even Seoul cannot offer the same big varieties in ethnic food restaurants as it is in the other world capitals. In Korea it is believed very often that Koreans should mainly eat Korean food, and other countries dishes can be enjoyed as a sporadic food entertainment (happening mainly in the form of eating out). And though the tendency of visiting ethnic cuisine restaurants in Korea is growing (Bak, p.115), it can be said that Koreans dietary life is still very “nationalistic”. Even when Korean tourists travel abroad, many of them tend to take with them some native eating products (kimchi, kojujang etc) to ease the pain of “culinary homesickness”.
Taking into consideration the conception of “gastronomic nationalism” the hansik globalisation program run by Korean government can be seen in a new way. Now it becomes clearer why the role of globalisation locomotive is given to the state instead of letting hansik fight for international recognition in a natural independent way. By leading and controlling the course of hansik globalisation the state can not only improve the country’s international image and increase the cultural influence of Korea in the world but also express Korean domestic and global identity through national food domain. That is why it can be concluded that national cuisine becomes an effective instrument in Korean national identity making process.

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Designing information contents of Korean traditional foods for three screen services

Oh, Hyun In¹, Yi, Jae-Hyuk², Yang, Hye Jeong¹, Jang, Dai-Ja¹*

I. Introduction

Traditional Korean foods not only taste great but Koreans place emphasis on the concept of Yaksikdongwon or Sikjeugyak; that is, 'all food is medicine.' The prefix yak, meaning medicine, is attached to some Korean traditional foods such as yakgwa (honey cookies), yaksik (sweet rice with nuts and Korean dates) and yakju (strained medicinal wine). Various seasonings used for cooking are called yangnyeom in Korean, and it is written as yak-nyeom (藥念) in Sino-Korean which means adding appropriate seasonings to foods to benefit the person who eats it. Seasonings create unique flavor, temperature, texture and aroma for each dish. Traditional Korean cuisine also strives to balance the stimulation of the sensory receptors by using a combination of five colours and five tastes to add aesthetic appeal to the already great taste. Culinary connoisseurs trying traditional Korean cuisine for the first time will be introduced to a whole new world of cooking, one based on rich history, combined with great taste, artistic flare and numerous health benefits. The excellence of Korean cuisine is beginning to gain recognition worldwide and has attracted the attention of people from all around the world. Tteokpokki (a broiled dish of sliced rice cake, meat, eggs, carrots, mushrooms, and a variety of seasonings) is one of the Korean traditional foods that have been historically popular with artistic value, not to mention the nutritional value. Tteokpokki is very well balanced nutritionally, due to the use of various ingredients such as meats, water dropwort, carrots and mushrooms [1]. From the historical perspective, tteokpokki has a long tradition as Byeongja, the old name for tteokpokki, is recorded in 1896 in the
cooking book named Gyugonyoram [2]. In addition, according to the record in the 27th year of the reign of King Yeongjo written by the Royal Secretariat, King Yeongjo who could not chew very well, particularly enjoyed eating tteokpokki. The record shows that tteokpokki was beneficial for his weak constitution. Moreover, the various scientific benefits of the main ingredients and sub-ingredients used to cook tteokpokki at the time continue to be discovered [3, 4]. Furthermore, most Koreans can easily cook tteokpokki which can vary depending on the different ingredients, shapes, seasoning soy sauce and cooking methods used. Since the late 1950s, tteokpokki seasoned with gochujang (red hot pepper paste) has become the most popular and typical snack for the public. Since 2009, the industrialization and globalisation of tteokpokki are in progress through diversification and increasing the sophistication of tteokpokki dishes.

Mobile phones with wifi-connections can access information without being limited by place and time. Unlike PCs, their accessibility and portability has helped to usher in a new era of providing information to the masses [6]. There is immense potential for a single mobile application to provide information on the excellence of Korean cuisine and to generalize it within the international culinary world, not to mention the average Joe’s homes around the world. However, no mobile web content services providing information on traditional Korean cuisine and its history have been developed yet.

This research selected tteokpokki to showcase as part of the new web content service for its popularity in the domestic and international market as a staple or a snack. The service will provide a wide variety of information on tteokpokki such as history, culture, nutrition, recipe and dietary treatments. This research aims to design relevant contents and to construct appropriate service systems so that mobile phone users have access to various sources of information found on the web and television broadcasts at anytime and anywhere.

II. Research Method

This research designs to offer videos or databases, which used to be only available on the Web, to mobile phone users, the next generation of communication. The main reason for choosing tteokpokki as the service content is that it is a typical snack for Koreans and is
also one of the Korean traditional foods favoured by foreign consumers. Moreover, tteokpokki is highly nutritious and tasty due to the use of various ingredients such as beef, water dropwort, carrots and mushrooms. A list of services on tteokpokki is as follows. 1) Allow to choose own ingredients of tteokpokki to be matched to the constitution and the characteristics of an individual. 2) Offer videos that contain information on tteokpokki. 3) Construct CMS (Contents Management System) to systematically manage and to offer specific and detailed information of tteokpokki such as history, culture, nutrition and recipes. Table 1 is the service contents of tteokpokki and a step-by-step construction method.

Table 1. The Stages of Research Method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Stage</th>
<th>Research Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>Understand the characteristics of history and dietary culture of tteokpokki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Study on information of ingredients used for tteokpokki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Suggest the method for selecting ingredients used for tteokpokki for using personal customized information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 4</td>
<td>Offer videos for cooking tteokpokki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 5</td>
<td>Data modeling in wired environments for mobile information provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 6</td>
<td>A model of mobile contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 7</td>
<td>Implement mobile contents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The Characteristics of tteokpokki

Ttækpokkki is a traditional Korean rice cake dish that is stir-fried with rice cake, seasoned vegetables and meat. It is a dish rooted deeply in Korean history and sentiment for years [7].

The Korean government, which promotes the Korean Food Globalisation project, chose tteokpokki to represent Korean cuisine for its rich history developed over centuries
and its cultural background in both modern and ancient times. Also, research has shown that the reason for the rise of tteokpokki in the global market is the easy to follow recipes and the interchangeability of the ingredients, which allow it to be incorporated into many fusion cuisines [8].

2. Health Science of tteokpokki

Maintaining health and nutrition are the object of great interest for everyone around the world. Tteokpokki ties both of these into an easy to cook meal. Clinical research has shown that tteokpokki is the best dish for stress relief for three reasons: (1) the peptides found rice prevents the blood pressure from increasing; (2) protein hydrolysates found in white rice, the main ingredient of rice cake used for cooking tteokpokki, inhibits the activity of the enzymes that contribute to the increase in blood pressure; and (3) capsicin, a component of red peppers, which creates spicy flavor for gochujang tteokpokki (seasoned with red hot pepper paste), plays a role in stress relief by stimulating brain cells to secrete endorphins [9]. The above information can be seen in KBS broadcasting program called ‘HansikTamheomdae’ shown in Fig 1.

![Fig. 1. Example of broadcasting of tteokpokki at the KBS program called “Hansik Tamheomdae - Korea Foods Explorer”](image-url)
3. Outline of Tteokpokki Contents

There are various types of tteokpokki depending on the ingredients and cooking method. The subject of this research is to outline the contents of the two most common traditional tteokpokki (Table 2); Soy Sauce tteokpokki and Gochujang tteokpokki. With the various ingredients and types of seasonings, Soy Sauce tteokpokki, seasoned with soy sauce, is visually attractive with the five primary colours and it tastes sweet and aromatic. By sourcing a variety of ingredients to include each of the five colours used in Korean cuisines, the Soy Sauce tteokpokki is visually attractive and has a sweet and savory taste. Gochujang tteokpokki is seasoned with red hot pepper paste instead of soy sauce, which gives it a bright red colour and the spicy taste (Fig. 2).

Table 2. Ingredients used in traditional Toppoki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Ingredient</th>
<th>Gochujang Tteokpokki</th>
<th>Soy Sauce Tteokpokki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bar Rice Cake</td>
<td>Bar Rice Cake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>Beef Sirloin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gochujang (Red Hot Pepper Paste)</td>
<td>Oyster Mushroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>Onion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Soy Sauce</td>
<td>Soy sauce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Spring Onion</td>
<td>Spring Onion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Garlic</td>
<td>Garlic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sesame Oil</td>
<td>Sesame Oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Red Hot Pepper Powder</td>
<td>Soybean Oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sesame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 2. Tteokpokki graded according to the spiciness and amount of red hot pepper paste / red hot pepper powder used

<Level of Spiciness>
Level 1. This is nothing! Nowhere near spicy!
Level 2. Oh, I can feel the spices kicking in now.
Level 3. Now this is what I call spicy. Mmm. tasty.
Level 4. I feel like I’m breathing fire. I’m breaking out into a sweat too.
Level 5. Not for the faint-hearted, but rest-assured, those who are brave enough will find that it is actually quite delicious! It’s so addictive!

Fig. 2. Tteokpokki graded according to the spiciness and amount of red hot pepper paste / red hot pepper powder used

The nutritional information table for Soy Sauce tteokpokki shows a recipe guide for making a single adult sized portion, with the ingredients adjusted according to individual dietary needs (Table 3) [10]. An example of the recipe modified according to body type indicated, or according to preferred ingredients is shown in fig. 3.

Table 3. Modified recipes according to individual’s dietary needs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ingredients</th>
<th>Content (g)</th>
<th>Calories</th>
<th>Recipe modification according to the degree of obesity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar rice cake</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>167.3</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef sirloin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyster Mushroom</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy Sauce</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring onion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame oil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy bean oil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>v&lt;br&gt;v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 3. Examples of personalized seasoning for Soy Sauce tteokpokki content design using a PC.

III. Mobile Content Design and Examples

1. Design Environment
The environment for designing the mobile contents conducted by this research is as follows (Table 4).

Table 4. Environment for designing the mobile contents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Linux Apache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating System</td>
<td>Linux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Database</td>
<td>MySQL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scripting Language</td>
<td>PHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB Connection</td>
<td>ODBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phone Development Tool</td>
<td>Xcode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phone Development Method</td>
<td>Native App Method</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To service mobile contents for mobile users, the server was built using Linux Apache and the database was built using MySQL. As Native App was the approach used to develop mobile phone, Xcode was used as the tool. To build OD contents service, instead of using a service that supports streaming, we adopted a file-stream-transmission method with the unit of a clip instead. The mp4 (H.264) file compression method is used to provide with VOD video service. Most mobile phones have this file compression method available.

Fig. 4 presents a flow chart of the mobile phone services that provide information on food through television broadcasts. Mobile phone can be used to recognize QR codes or the subtitles shown in television programs broadcasted by public television broadcasting companies, IPTV and Cable TV. Once a particular food or product is recognized by the mobile phone, information on the relevant item such as texts, photos and videos was provided through mobile phone in conjunction with CMS.

Fig. 4. Flow chart of providing food information service to mobile phone through broadcast communication

2. Mobile Contents Provider Examples
Next fig. shows, the screen to enter basic information and personal health details on the web via a PC can be simultaneously accessed through a mobile device (Fig. 5, 6).

Members enter their health details on the website such as height, weight, and waist circumference. Based on these details, the standard body weight [11], BMI and abdomen obesity are determined. Also based on this information, the individual body type is determined and through the body type analysis, we modify the tteokpokki ingredients and provide information on tteokpokki to suit the individual. This research aims to provide personalized contents and video of tteokpokki to suit dietary needs of the individuals who use a mobile phone (Fig. 7, 8).
Fig. 7. QR recognition of the broadcast on the search screen of mobile phone

Fig. 8. The viewer screen for mobile phone showing a video.

IV. Conclusion

The subject of this study was to provide mobile contents for Mobile phone users everywhere, through a PC using wireless Internet.

Tteokpokki has been around for so long that it has become part of the Korean history and social psyche. Also, the easy to follow recipes, the nutritional value, the interchangeable ingredients and the adaptability of the recipe for creating fusion dishes, all contributed towards selecting tteokpokki for the development.

The contents and individualized information on tteokpokki, such as the information on the food, the recipes and relevant videos, have been made available to actual mobile
phone users who entered their personal health details.

With the phones fast becoming the new communication medium, there is significant meaning to be placed in providing video content that was previously only available online, to mobile phone users. Also, the development of services to provide personalized recipes and videos in preparation for future developments in the information-oriented society, can be seen as being in step with the Information Age and also marks a step in the right direction.

Acknowledgements

We thank the Korea Food Research Institute, which provided us with a research grant for this project. The Korea Communications Commission and the Korea Information Society Agency also helped us with research grant under its project for the building of Information Technology Research Foundation (10-Foundation-13 Deployment of Broadcasting and Telecommunication Converged Public Services Environment)

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The Image of the Other in North and South Korean Cinemas

Part 2: Namkwa puk (1945-1997)

Joinau, Benjamin

Introduction: situation of this research

This study is the second part of a larger project whose first paper has been presented during the “North/South Interfaces in the Korean Peninsula” international symposium held in Paris December 17-19 2008. That conference was the result of an interdisciplinary group research project about the Interface concept applied to the North and South Koreas. My first contribution dealt with the question of the “image of the Other in North and South Korean cinemas” during the Sunshine policy era and after (1997-present). Based on a research fund granted to our team for 4 years by the French National Research Centre, that preliminary study was limited to a 10-year time span for practical reasons, but it was my intention from the beginning to draw a larger picture by including in a later study the period before that (post-Liberation era to 1997). I was convinced that interesting results could only come out from a long term period analysis.

In the present paper, I intend to resume this project, although the length of the studied period plus the immense corpus won’t allow me in such a short essay to develop more than preparatory notes.

1. Methodological Preliminaries

The question to be dealt with here is going to be the same for the 1945-1997 periods than the more recent one, but the results and conclusions drawn from the precedent study won’t be evoked at first in order to allow a fresh look at the movies and symbols.
There will be a big difference though in the methodology used. The first essay was in the perspective of the “studies of the imaginary” as defined in cultural anthropology by Gilbert Durand and his “school”. The period studied was limited to 10 years, with a restricted number of movies to assess (around 30). We could then apply a statistical approach to the whole corpus, in order to bring to light the different recurrent structures and symbols. Moreover, the various narratives or mythems discovered could be compared to the box office results of the movies in an attempt to address the question of the reception. I tried by that method to draw a line between representations (present in any human production) and imaginary, hence between the anthropological and social approach, and a cultural method focusing on the works as works of art, like in the tradition of literary and cinematographic criticism. In other words, it was important to take the works not only as representations of an individual imaginary (the “artist”, the “author”) but as well as vehicles of structures expressing and shaping a collective imaginary. Therefore, the consideration of the diffusion and penetration of the movies was crucial. It was important not to put all the images on the same level, because they are not equally spread in society: there are mainstream imaginaries, and also counter-culture, alternative, emerging, fading, minored imaginaries. These different imaginaries had to be mapped, and especially the way they interact, the various forces and tensions between them, because the general imaginary of a society (the “topique de l’imaginaire” as Durand called it) at a given time is, before anything else, that dynamic map rather than a fixed image or corpus of images. We saw the negotiations between the competing structures and the test and trials of the different images on the same theme (the image of the Other in times of national division but also of rapprochement).

That methodology could be applied on that period as we said because of its limitation. The period we are studying here, although showing a continuity and unity allowing us to consider it as a whole, won’t allow us to apply the same methodology. First, the number of works concerned: on the South Korean side only, I have noted more than 230 movies dealing with the subject! Second, it is quite difficult to source the movies of the North Korean side for that period. Third, it is almost impossible to get the box office results for that time. We know for example that in South Korea, anti-communist movies were largely frown upon by the public, sometimes not produced and
not even released, but since they were patronized by the government and the regulations, the production has been quite large. Therefore, what was the real penetration of the images and symbols displayed by the movies in the public’s imagination? Aren’t they mostly representative of the official narratives on North Korea? As long as DPRK is concerned, the problem is quite different. We don’t have of course box-office results for the movies, but we know well that these cultural products are not subjects to the market rules of supply and demand: they all strictly display the official guidelines, and almost no individual fantasies. So we have no other choice than to accept these movies as expressing “the official imaginary”, assuming that it may also have shaped the public’s imaginary in a similar way.

The application of a statistical approach on such a large corpus would be fascinating and bring valid results. But it would be a lifetime work! I had to take the problem the other way around, at least for the sake of this presentation. I tried to focus on the most representative works, based on the success they encountered then and also on the recognition they received at their release and after. I attempted to include pieces from each decades, at least two each, pieces from all the genres that I had met on that theme, and if possible, movies made by the most famous and/or representative directors. Working on films which entered the Korean pantheon of cinema brings another methodological difficulty: they deal as much with the present work on memory as with the imaginary of the time they were produced! But they allow us to assume their representativeness ex post facto.

This is why I am not going to conduct an assessment of the structures and of their competition: I cannot draw a dynamic picture with that material. I will rather focus on describing images and symbols through exemplary works (works being both representative and examples), and on the trends developed, slowly nourishing the collective imaginations of the two countries, thus preparing the recent period and its complex imaginary. But the imaginary of those times won’t be per se described here: once again, I will work here on representative representations, not imaginaries.

2. A Glance at the Corpus
We shall start with a description of the corpus that I am investigating, and with the various methodological difficulties it offers. This first depiction will also allow a first chronological sorting of the many works produced during that time: although quite artificial if taken as a strict process, phasing is important in that it brings back the historical context into the film production. It will allow us to understand better the socio-political agenda driving the “numbers”.

a. North Korea as a Fragment

Working on North Korea is for most researchers comparable to the mind puzzle of archaeology or philology with their set of guesses and hypothesis, as if they were working on a timely remote civilisation… We have now many ways to get and watch North Korean movies. But as a researcher based in South Korea, the situation is somehow complicated. We have access to the collections of some universities, of the Information Centre on North Korean in Seoul, but all of them are incomplete and focus mostly on recent movies, when materials (because of technological reasons) and sourcing (because of political reasons) became available. Other research centres and libraries have resources outside of Korea, like in North America, but I was not able to use them yet. North Korean television regularly airs its movies, but this source, although available through Internet, is officially and strictly forbidden for South Korea residents. One of my major sources of material came from two missions to Northern China where the North Korean communities have local markets selling tapes, VCD and DVD; and also from two field trips to North Korea which allowed me to watch and purchase movies, and also acquire books on the subject published in DPRK. This makes a very “spotted” corpus, made of chances and hazards. I tried to complete the watching of movies by the descriptions I have found in written sources mentioned in the bibliography, although this is of course only a stopgap measure… All these practical limitations have to be remembered when attempting to draw conclusions: in this field of studies, one can only seek likelihood, not certainty.

It is interesting though to note that one of these written references, *Korean Film Art*, among others, categorizes the movies which could concern us (movies portraying South...
Korea, its citizens and interactions with them) into three large “genres”: “Fatherland Liberation War”, “Intelligence and Counterintelligence”, “National Reunification”. Even though this classification cannot work for us as we will see later, it gives us an idea of movies which can fall in our study. It also shows the predominance of our theme in the North cinema production. But since that production was deeply influenced by political agendas and policies, the distribution of the movies during our period is irregular. I am going to attempt to make a general phasing of DPRK cinema according to themes or “genres”. Beforehand, here is a short presentation of the genres as defined by the North Korean references themselves:

- **Resistance against Japanese imperialism (aka “revolutionary traditions”):** an occasion to present the resistant activities of Kim Il-sung and his family.
- **Socialist reality:** movies presenting a concrete social problem and its resolution.
- **Korean War (“Fatherland Liberation War”):** once again, it is an indirect way to stress the central role of Kim Il-sung dynasty and to reinforce nationalist, anti-American (anti-South Korean) sentiments.
- **Espionage (“Intelligence and Counterintelligence”):** a very classic genre used to present the threat of American, Japanese and South-Korean Intelligences activities against North Korea.
- **Historic Movies and Tales:** movies about famous historic figures or eras (Koryŏ, Koguryŏ), traditional tales like Rim Kkŏkjŏng and Ch’un-hyang, etc. It shows a pre-colonial Korea with strong ideological features (anti-aristocratic criticism, nationalist statements through old periods of history, etc.)
- **“National Reunification”:** movies classified under this category actually belong to one of the above mentioned category (mainly espionage).
- **“Adapted from Immortal Classics”**: same here, except that these classics are North Korean communist classics, such as Sea of Blood or The Flower Girl, which were originally books or operas (Sea of Blood is said to have been written by Kim Il-sung himself).

Movies which were used to build and confirm the reigning dynasty (Resistance, Korean War and Espionage) and also to strengthen nationalist feelings (Historic movies, etc.)
occupied mainly the period from the beginning to the 1970’s. After that, socialist edification was obviously more at the centre of preoccupations, with emerging economic, industrial, food and social problems. The “socialist reality” trend was and still is from then on the main genre of movies produced in North Korea. Espionage and War movies didn’t completely disappear, but were not at the centre of the political agenda deciding the production of movies, as we know that cinema industry is completely controlled, both in terms of ideological content and of material infrastructures, by the Party and the government. It is well-known that Kim Jong-il especially dedicated himself to that art when he was in charge of the edification of the mythologies around his family. As I have noted in the article about the recent Sunshine Policy period, North Korean cinema even stopped portraying South Korean characters, or even evoking South Korea, when the political situation asked for a mood of reconciliation.

The fact that most movies interesting for this present study are from the oldest period (before the 1970’s) makes it even more difficult to investigate. Here are some of the titles I could gather and which seem relevant to our theme:

*Women of Namgang*¹ Village (남강마을 녀성들), *The Choe Hak Sins* (최학신의 일가), *Locomotive Engineer’s Son* (기관사의 아들), *Wolmi Island* (월미도), *A Single Heart* (하나의 생각), *We Cannot Turn Back* (aka *We Mustn’t Return*, 돌아 설 수 없다), *Morning Star* (새별), *Don’t Wait for Us* (우리를 기다리지 말라), *A Revolutionary* (혁명가), *In the Den of Bats* (박쥐 소굴에서), *The Report of No. 36* (36 호의 보고), *Defenders of Height 1211* (1211 고지 방위자들), *Operation Document* (작전문건), *Black Rose* (검은 장미), *An Unforgettable Man* (잊을 수 없는 사람), *Many Years Went By* (세월이 흘러간뒤), *The Path to Awakening* (선장의 길에서), *Bird* (새, 1972), *The Fate of Gumhui and Unhui* (금희와 은희의 운명, 1974 or 75), *The Invisible Frontier* (보이지 않은 경계, 1965), *Order 027* (명령 027 호), *The True Color is Out* (숨길 수 없는 정체, 1970)… Other movies seem to belong to the same theme, but only English titles with short descriptions of the script have been found, and they have not been watched and checked.

¹ Titles in this section have been written according to the North Korean transcription system.
b. South Korean corpus: bounty and overdose

The South Korean corpus is easier to access and to assess, thanks to archival and database institutions. It was possible to identify 228 movies from 1949 to 1997… These movies deal directly with the theme of relations with North Korea, which means that most of them were categorized under the pankong (반공) or anti-communist label. It is obvious that the corpus, if it includes also the movies which have North Korea in general as a subtext, could be in reality even wider. This is a stunning quantity, and at once a chance and an impediment. There are clear political reasons why so many movies were produced during that period, and I will develop later. Because of the regulations of the time, movie directors and producers were sometimes “forced” to create such films, even though they didn’t really meet the expectations of the public and met, for most of them, as they became a codified “genre”, mediocre results at the box-office. As I mentioned before, many of the works, produced to fit the system of quotas, were not even released in theaters… It shows how careful we have to be when approaching statistics and numbers: profusion doesn’t mean large diffusion; a huge quantity of movies on a theme may reveal a political agenda, not necessarily deep rooted structures of imaginary. That is all the paradox of propaganda and mass communication studies.

It remains interesting to have a look at the statistics for our period in ROK (see chart 1). The first years are marked by a relatively high number of movies about North Korea (or northern part of the country and the communist regime which was taking place there), and we are not surprised by the high proportions of these movies up to 1954 – between 29,5 and 40% of the whole movies dealt with that subject. We could have expected the same after the trauma of the war: actually, between 1955 and 1961 (until the coup d’état by Park Chung-hee in May 1961), the number of movies produced on that subject is at its lowest, as if South Korea wanted to forget its division and sufferings, and looked for something else in movies…

But politics seem to bring the subject back on the stage: whereas the 1949-1960 era represented only 8,7% of the corpus, the next decade (1961-1970) will represent the record, with as much as 41,5% of the total number of movies related to our theme! No
less than 95 movies were made on that subject during 10 years, an all time record. It is of course to be linked with the Cold war context and the Park administration’s cultural and political policies (Motion Picture Law promulgated in 1962). We also have to put these numbers into perspective: this is also the decade of the “golden age” of Korean cinema, dubbed as the Korean Renaissance, at least in terms of movies produced. The highest figure is reached in 1970 with 236 movies produced for that year! So in that situation, the number of movies made about North Korea (as “few” as 10) represents only 4.2% of the total cinematographic production. It means that these increased figures in the sixties (i.e. the highest number ever of films about the North Korean question in a single year: 1968, with 20 movies!) are relative to the increased number of movies produced and are not really above annual average percentage. The next decade, until the assassination of president Park, shows a similar trend (32.5% of our corpus was produced during that decade), although the general number of movies released in the theaters during that time decreased slowly. The annual percentage is still in the same range, between a surprisingly low 1% in 1971 and 11.7% in 1975. It is a time when people “had to” watch this kind of movies because of imposed movie quotas regulations – or at least studios had to produce them. But we know that the taste of the public went to other kind of movies, especially melodramas (second shin’pa melodramas wave of the end of the 1960’s, beginning of 1970’s). It is though a fact that 74% of our large corpus of movies was launched during the Park’s administration, roughly the 1960’s and 1970’s.

After 1980, contrary to what we may have expected, the number of movies related to North Korea drastically dropped. Only 19 movies were released in the 1980s about that theme, and we go back to the percentage of the 1950’s concerning our corpus: only 8.7% of our films were produced during that time. It is going to be the same during the 1990’s (1991-1997). Actually, a shorter period shows relatively more movies on the subject, and this will be explained by the Korean New Wave cinema starting after 1988. But the big difference with the 1950’s, is that, from 1980 to 1997, the yearly total production stands around 100 movies. It means that films related to DPRK are only 1 to 2% of the annual production; they obviously became a real minority.

In terms of statistics, it becomes clear that our theme has been very important on a yearly basis during the 1950’s, when it was a major concern for movie makers. The Park
era was central in terms of number of movies produced, but a careful reading brings us to put into perspective that number: it was also the time of the highest number of movies made in ROK (143 a year in average during the 1960-1979 period, for 90 during the 2000’s). And the relatively high number of the 1990’s could also be misleading if we don’t look at the content: many of the movies made during a time of rapprochement during the last part of the Roh Tae-woo administration and the Kim Young-sam presidency are actually paving the way for a different look on North Korea, as we are going to see, and are not pure anti-communist pamphlet. So this increasing number of movies on the subject cannot be equated with movies of the past decades: they represent new trends in production (authors, directors, producers), not in propaganda agendas. So these figures cannot be compared in abstracto with other periods. If we want to sum up, there are four peaks in the production history of movies about our theme: 1949, 1954, 1968 and 1975, date after which the number will decrease until the sudden surge of the Sunshine Policy era (post 1997).

We have understood that behind these statistics, the content of the movies was to be carefully analyzed if we want to give a proper signification to the numbers. The historical situation has also to be summoned if we want to understand the cycles. And let us not forget that, if the total number of 228 movies about our theme for the period seems huge, it makes only an average of less than 5 movies per year… It is therefore a steady thematic, but far from a major one…

c. ROK’s corpus Timeline and Historical Context

To understand properly the production environment, and especially the political factors which shaped the movies of the period, a chronological outlook seems necessary. Because of the strong hold of the government on movie contents through official censorship and discrimination during the successive administrations in the Cold war context, movie makers were far from free as far as content is concerned. This is why movies of that period cannot be seen merely as expressing a creator’s point of view: the creators had to play with censorship, and not only were they obliged to portray North
Koreans a certain way, but also were they, to a certain extent, obliged to produce anti-communist movies.

The process is well exposed by the famous director Yu Hyun-mok himself who made one of the most artistically acclaimed South Korean movie, *Aimless Bullet* in 1961, and also several so-called “anti-communist” movies. He was led in the 1970’s to shoot such movies, not especially out of personal belief, but because of the production system of the time. Under Park Chung-hee strong leadership, cinema industry was thoroughly controlled. From 1962 on, there was a double censorship system, before and after screening. As Yu Hyun-mok explains, “A scene with any view of the presidential residence, portraying communists sympathetically and humanely, and North Korean soldiers shooting the South Korean soldiers to death - all those scenes were censored.” Any movie which would have been labelled as “excellent film” (movies made after literature works, about the New Village Movement and other government policies – aka as “national policy” and “enlightenment” movies – and also anti-communists films) would allow their producer to import as a reward a foreign movie (which were subject to strict quotas). Since it was for the production companies a chance of huge incomes, directors were urged to film such stories. For someone like Yu, it was the way to make less commercial and more personal movies afterwards. This is why until the end of the 1980’s the portraying of North Koreans was made mainly through war or espionage movies filled with strong anti-communists feelings (the censorship board was halted in 1995 only, but from the 5th revision of the Motion Picture Law in 1984, censorship was seriously alleviated). We will see that directors like Yu found also a way to go subtly around the censorship: the movies are sometimes only superficially or formally “anti-communist”... So every movie has to be understood in relation to other works of the director, to his personal political positions, and the precise time when it was produced. Here is an attempt of timeline:

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2 For a good introduction of the question, see KIM Kyoung-wook 2008, especially p. 49-51 and 66, note 12.
3 Until 1984, there was even a quasi-monopoly situation with only 14 to 20 production companies allowed to function.
4 KIM Kyoung-wook 2008: 77.
5 Other methods to gain the right to import foreign movies were: complying with the minimum annual number of motion pictures to produce; receiving a Grand Bell Award as an “excellent movie”.

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- 1949-1962: pre- and post-War Period. The “subject” is being defined, with the strong events of the War as an initial trauma, added to the Rhee Syngman administration’s policy, the Cold war environment, etc. Movies about North Korea and North Korean are, from that time on, equivalent to anti-communist movies (punkong) since it was obvious that every element related to DPRK was to be described as communist, therefore anti-patriotic, and had to be opposed. Though, movies produced at that time are sometimes surprisingly more subtle and ambiguous that one could expect. They saw quite well the difficulties of building a purely Manichean narrative. We find classics like Hand of Destiny (1954) and Piagol (1955). The former defines the genre of the spy movie, launching a series of movies about the “sexionalisation” of the Peninsula: a love story between a man and a woman, one being from the South, the other from the North. Piagol is the first of a series of movies about the “partisans” or communist guerrillas fighting before or after the war in the mountains of the Chŏlla Province. It can be categorised as a typical war movie. Few movies for that period (22) but representing a high proportion of the production of the times (between 29 and 40%).

- 1962-1979: Since 1960, there is a surge in the annual number of movies produced in ROK. Accordingly, movies about North Korea increased as well, especially under the impulsion of the Park Chung-Hee’s regime. The production of anti-communist movies reached a peak during that period, representing an average of 5,5% of the total production. Though, we can see that people were more interested in other kinds of movies (especially social dramas, comedies, melodramas), which from the 1960’s represented the vas majority of the ROK production. Representative movies of that time are Namkwa puk, Sanbul, The Seven Female POWs, Returning Marines, etc. There is a slow solidification of the structures and symbols, like the “nammampuknyo” complex.

- 1980-1989: Movies like Rainy Season (1979) belong to this period by their approach of the question. Rainy Season or The Last Witness (1980) are movies which are being remembered for their high cinematographic qualities. The anti-communist theme is just a pretext to tell a story, a story about humanity or social realities, not an anti-North Korean systematic propaganda. During that time, remakes are made, like a
new version of Namkwa puk. Generally speaking, the subject is less dealt with, since the production falls to 19 movies for the period, representing less than 2% of the total production. It is linked to the easing of the censorship system, and the slow deregulation of the cinema industry (5th and 6th revision of Motion Picture Law in 1984-86). And also, on the socio-historic level, citizens appealed for more freedom, criticizing the official instrumentalisation of the national division, and the imposing National Security laws, etc.

- 1990-1997: Korean New Wave. After the June 1987 movements for democratization and the 1988 Olympics, there was a slight liberalisation during the Roh Tae-woo administration. Fighting for a realistic depiction of the society, with all its contradictions and problems, the Korean New Wave cinema tried to bring a fresh view on the subject. The democratisation of the society and the end of the Cold war era asked for a new approach too of the North Korean question. Simple anti-communist stances were not needed anymore, and the complexity of South Korean society and also of North-South relations was to be addressed. Some movies opened the road for the Sunshine Policy era to come soon, like T’aebaeksanmaek (1994) or the much acclaimed and daring Nampukun (1990). We find during this 7-8 years period as many movies as during the precedent one, which was 10 years long. But we have to be careful, because the change in the way the subject was being treated is crucial: we have as many movies about the same theme (North Korea, North Korea partisans, etc.) but they cannot be defined easily as “anti-communist” movies anymore: we have to take into account the shift in the approach of the content… These movies offer a transition to the post-1997 period.

3. Genres & Themes
   a. War Movies

It is the most expected genre, and de facto the most represented one, both in North and South Korea. We can put in this category the movies depicting the communist, pro-North-Korea guerrilla fighting in the Chôlla Province from the Liberation until after the Armistice in 1953. They are among the most important films, remembered and
particularly interesting for us. They stage whether South Korean communists fighting for the revolution in the South before the war, soon helped after the outbreak of the conflict by North Korean troops, and forced to seek refuge in the Chiri mountains; whether the last part of the “partisans” (ppalch’isan) war, when both partisans and North Korean soldiers who were unable to withdraw to the North, are forced to hide in the mountains in Chŏlla-do and who, abandoned by DPRK, face a dramatic destiny: surrender or die.

- North Korean movies on the subject, falling into the category known as “Fatherland Liberation War”, are for example: *Women of Namgang Village* (women fighting along with the People’s Army to defend their village), *The Choe Hak Sins* (A minister who worships America welcome the Allied troops when they come to a North Korean village where he lives. But the American soldiers kill his elder daughter, son and wife), *The Locomotive Engineer’s Son* (A locomotive driver’s son who has been captured by American troops helps the resistance to liberate his father and fight the enemy), *Wolmi Island* (Wolmi-do defenders’ sacrifice during the landing of Mac Arthur in September 1950), *A Single Heart* (The struggle of Party members and workers of Ragwon factory to maintain the production during wartime), *We Cannot Turn Back* (aka *We Mustn’t Return*, scouts of the People’s Army blow up mines set by the enemy in a harbor to secure their troops’ landing), *Morning Star* (The story of a couple who chooses sacrifice in the battle to defeat the enemy rather than their own love), *Don’t Wait for Us* (The sacrifice of kamikaze airmen during the Inch’ŏn landing in September 1950), *A Revolutionary* (The inspiring biography of soldier Choe Hyon, from his early years as an anti-Japanese fighter to his post-war retirement, and his depiction as a commander during the defense of Height 1211 during the war), *The Defenders of Height 1211* (defenders of that hill during the war), *Operation Document* (A People’s Army troop penetrates enemy’s line to snatch away the documents regarding an operation planed by a US mechanized division), *The Fate of Gumhui and Unhui* (the film is not set during the war, but the twin sisters are separated during that time and there are many flash-backs)…

- One of the representative War Movies in South Korean cinema of that period may be Lee Man-hee’s *Returning Marines* (aka *Marines are Gone*, 돌아오지
Nationalistic, anti-communist, pro-war, sentimentalist, it shows all the qualities expected from a movie of that kind at that time. Even if the clear enemies are the “Reds” (Ppalkaengi), North Koreans are almost unseen and the army that the courageous marines are fighting is made of Chinese soldiers… It shows interesting cinematography borrowed to American Western movies, with a really poor fictional content heavily loaded with “national policy” ideology. It is one of the many movies made about the subject and which were not always released, since they were made for complying with the Motion Picture Law regulations. A movie much more interesting for us is Namkwa puk (North and South, 남과북, 1965, remade in 1984). It is also set during the war, and it is the story of a North Korean major who surrenders to the South to find his wife who disappeared. In the meanwhile, it appears that she married the commander of the South Korean’s troop. Both men go to the battlefield in hope to be killed, since they cannot live with her again. It is a tragic love story in which North and South are brought together (and separated) by a woman figure. This is one of the forerunners of the “namnampuknyŏ” series that we will develop later. It is important as well, as it takes the war background as a pretext for the North-South encounter and especially for the love story. It is representative of the twist operated by the directors on the genre: they tended to make war movies focusing whether on pure action or on love and sentimentalism, to meet other genres much more popular, because war movies as such were frowned upon. But the genre has been much represented throughout our period by movies belonging to the sous-genre that we have evoked above: the “partisans” or guerrilla fighters’ movies. Piagol in 1955, depicting the hopeless fight for survival of the guerrilla in the Chiri Mountains, was censored for “portraying North Korean soldiers as human” and had to undergo many cuts and to add a ROK flag to its end in order to make it patriotically correct. It was before the Motion Picture Law was promulgated, and things got worse after 1962 for directors dealing with the subject. A movie like The Last Witness (최후의 증인), which was released briefly in 1980, after an unusual long and careful production process, saw its career in theatres halted because it was denounced also as portraying the communist partisans as human
and the South Koreans as corrupted, although the movie cannot be seen at all as pro-communist. Indeed, the female character is raped by the whole guerrilla soldiers who took refuge in the school, and these soldiers are clearly portrayed as wild beasts... But the movie described through its moody atmosphere and unique aesthetics the contradictions of Korean society brought by the partition and the clash of ideologies, and the way it had been used by the regimes to restrain people’s freedom. It may be why the movie was banned and went into oblivion for many years before being released again as a Korean classic by the Korean Film Archive, and even a remake of it was made under the title 흑수선 in 2001.

Almost at the same time (1979) was released the outstanding Rainy Season (장마) by Yu Hyun-mok. It is a classic for its brilliant cinematographic qualities. Adapted from a literary short story, it could be seen because of that and also because of its clear anti-communist content, as a perfect candidate for the Motion Picture Law policy and Grand Bell Awards system. But the content is much more subtle, since it approaches the question of the division through the story of a family whose two sons have chosen different camps. Living under the same roof, the two clans soon are confronted and fight against each other. Even if eventually the “red” son dies, reconciliation is achieved through the indigenous beliefs and the simile shamanist ritual performed at the end. National identity starts to be seen as a way to subsume division under a larger umbrella. This movie is for that aspect a forerunner of the movies to be released during the Korean New Wave era, ten years later. Nampukun (aka North Korean Partisans in South Korea, 남부군, 1990) is one of the most interesting movies of the period. As mentioned in Korean Cinema, “while most social issue films were caught up with sensational scenes of everyday reality, it was films dealing with the problems of the division and the prospects for reunification of Korea that truly located the path to the roots of structural contradiction. In 1988, before the Korean New Wave films started to intervene in realism in the Korean cinema, it was films about Korean reunification that displayed thematic intensity and signs of a new aesthetics” 6.

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6 KIM Mee hyun 2007: 283.
The trend has been opened by Lim Kwon-taek’s movies like *Mismatched Nose* (1980) and *Kilsottum* (1985). But it is *Nampukun* which really opens a new perspective. Helped by the deregulation brought by the 5th (1984) and 6th (1986) revisions of the Motion Picture Law easing the anti-communist censorship system and the post-1987 popular surge for more democracy, the movie makes a tremendous move toward the reconciliation movies of the post-1997 era. It shows the hardships of communist partisans in the South Korean mountains, struggling against winter, hunger, diseases, and over all, their being abandoned by their own army after the signature of the armistice. It shows beautifully the human dimension of that struggle, and the cruelty of the historical conditions which made the division possible. Focusing on North Korean fighters only, it is a daring movie which opened way to other movies, like Lim Kwon-taek’s *T’aebaeksanmaek* (*태백산맥*, 1994 – there had been a former cinematographic version of that famous novel in 1975). That movie brings more elements to the spectator to reflect about the historical conditions behind the partisans’ movement in the Chôlla Province (Japanese occupation being held as the cause). It portrays terrible South Korean “patriots” fighting the communists with corruption and violence. But the second party of the movie gives the other side of the coin, showing stiff and heartless North Korean Party officials and army officers during the war. The “pure” South Korean partisans which adopted communism as a hope for a better life face the harsh reality of the DPRK regime and heavy bureaucracy. Finally, the movie closes on a dark note, after showing all the different forces behind the two regimes and ideologies leading to a dead-end. Maybe some hope is found, like in *Rainy Season*, with the shaman figure, bringing peace to the human beings: is it another attempt to find in traditional Korean roots a way to overcome the political division? As a last note for that chapter, I’d like to notice that most of these movies, although movies about the war display also important love stories in them, and the romance, unexpected at first in a guerrilla environment, play a singular role in the plot. This will be a key element to remember later.
b. Espionage movies

- In North Korea, this genre seems to have been quite popular until the 1970’s under the category of « Intelligence and Counterintelligence ». Some of these movies are also set during the war. Here are some examples: *In the Den of Bats* (A North Korean agent infiltrates a west coast island where is posted US army intelligence corps), *Operation Document* (already described as a War Movie above), *Black Rose* (A female double agent working for DPRK arrests a female spy, Old Bat, under cover in a port), *An Unforgettable Man* (A North Korean agent infiltrates South Korea), *Order n°027* (North Korean special forces go to South Korea to bring back one of their female agents), *Many Years Went By* (The sacrifice of a female agent helping the destruction of an enemy gas shells depot), etc. Movies like *The True Color is Out* and *The Invisible Frontier*, which are spy movies, belong also to the next category (see below). After the 1980’s and the easing of the tension between the two countries, the genre seems to have been less favoured than before and almost disappeared. It is really a Cold war type of movie.

- In South Korea, the genre is also very well represented, but strangely enough, it didn’t disappear, even after the end of the Cold war era. The Sunshine policy era even opened with the movie blockbuster *Swiri* (쉬리) about the love story between two secret agents, and also with the movie *The Spy* (간첩 리철진). It was to be followed by other movies like *The Spy Girl*(그녀를 모르면 간첩), *Comrade* (이중간첩), *Silmido* (실미도), *The Road Taken* (선택), *Repatriation* (송환), *Typhoon* (태풍), *Secret Reunion* (의형제), etc. It seems that for South Korean directors, the secret agent is a good pretext for a (secret) meeting between North and South Korean people. It is even a perfect excuse to set an impossible, dramatic love story between enemies (*Swiri, Comrade, Spy Girl*). The numerous movies belonging to that genre for our period find a good example in *Hand of Destiny* (aka *Hand of Fate*, 1954): a North Korean agent works in Seoul as a prostitute and falls in love with a young student who is forced to work as a
worker. Behind the spy story, very shallow, the real interest is for the impossible love story, and the female character caught between her feelings and her ideology.

c. The Police Investigation Thriller Movie

This kind of movies is sometimes very close to the former genre. The difference is that they deal with an investigation within the limits of one’s country: the enemy is inside… The investigation can be led by official police officers, but also by Party representative or by private inspectors.

- In North Korean cinema, I have spotted some movies dealing with this theme, like: *The Invisible Frontier* (A security agent has to locate and arrest a spy ring installed in DPRK operating behind a mysterious agent called “Old Raccoon”), *The True Color is Out* (A lab researcher meets an old friend she has not seen for years, but she appears to be a spy who underwent aesthetical surgery to look like her friend and to steal an important formula in her lab).

- The genre is also found in South Korean cinema. The most representative work is *The Last Witness*, where a complicated murder case is investigated by a police officer who has been fired and operate as a private investigator. The story is going to bring him to dig up the past of the characters, and go back to the time of the war. An ex-partisan who surrendered and who has spent his life in jail after being accused of a murder of which he is innocent, a female partisan who was the daughter of a rich land owner, greedy “patriots” taking advantage of the situation to make a fortune, etc.: the hero uncovers a dirty and dramatic past, leading to his own suicide at the end… The conclusion of that movie quite unique in its genre (between the thriller and the road movie) is to be compared to a very recent movie staging a fired police officer forced to lead an investigation with a North Korean spy (*Secret Reunion*, 2010), which displays a final happy end.
d. Others

There are several movies not so easy to categorize which deal with our theme. For example, the North Korean movie *The Path to Awakening*, which is about the uprising of students against the Rhee Syngman’s regime in 1960 in Seoul, stages South Korean people struggling in South Korea against their own “puppet” regime. It is a rare example of such a fiction.

It is interesting to note that a vast majority of the movies found in our corpus belong to a very limited number of genres: almost all of them are related to war and espionage, or the Cold war situation of confrontation between the two Koreas. It is important for our subject that the encounter with the Other (other half of the country) must have been realized necessarily under that belligerent scheme, both in the North and the South. It is quite different from the post-1997 corpus, whose many movies are comedies which have almost completely eliminated the warlike context.

There is still one last “category”, which cannot be defined per se as a genre. Some movies may just evoke the existence of the Other as a sub-text: the existence of the other regime is understood as part of a general historical context, but not directly addressed or just briefly. Maybe the most representative movie in South Korea falling in this category is *Ch’ilsu and Mansu* (칠수와 만수, 1988). It is the story of two artists who struggle for their living by painting movie posters. The movie is a harsh social criticism of the 1980’s social hardships. One of the anti-hero fails to get his passport to go the USA because his father was imprisoned for his pro-communist ideas. His destiny is blocked by the unfair heritage brought by the division of the country and the anti-communist policies which affected all the members of a family when one of them was a suspect. There is one single scene evoking this entire context, when the characters goes to the police station and is refused again his passport. Everything is told briefly without much explanation because the public is supposed to know the background and understand. The Other (the communists, the North Korean or North Korea sympathizer) in itself is not described, not even evoked directly, but it is because of that “other” that the hero’s life is blocked. In fact, the Other here is symbolized by his own father, a figure of the “Enemy within”.

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As I have just said, in Ch’ilsu and Mansu, the father is never directly seen, just evoked verbally. It is symbolic of that type of otherness which is inside of oneself and hiding: it is most of the time invisible. Here the father is a political symbol of the North, of communists, of the division of the country. He is here to remind us that there are always been dissidents in the South, and that for decades students have fought for democracy against military powers, demonstrating against US military presence, and even displaying moves toward North Korea for reunification. There have been also communists and North Korean spies who have spent years in South Korean jails because they refused to renounce their beliefs, as the documentary-like movies The Road Taken and Repatriation will show later in the next period. This is a first kind of otherness, but this “dissident” other is not shown directly.

That scheme of invisibility – which is ambiguous: is “invisible” something which cannot be seen or which is simply not seen, unnoticed – is also to be found in the spy movies of course. The North Korean movies The Invisible Frontier and The True Colour is Out, and their original titles, 보이지 않은 정선 & 숨길 수 없는 정체, express clearly that first structure: the other tries to hide oneself, to hide his/her true identity, even under the mask of the same (see the movie The True Colour is Out and the aesthetic surgery process to look like the friend of the heroin). The result is an enemy that we cannot see or differentiate from ourselves, an enemy hiding within our own lines like a Trojan horse.

All this is possible only because these others are basically the same than us: it is because they are from the same ethnic, linguistic, cultural background that these spies can cross the borders and infiltrate the enemy without being recognised. This first and basic structure defines the ambiguity of the whole theme: the otherness of the other is encountered through his/her sameness to us. That sameness, simultaneously, brings him/her towards us as an Other (a spy, a communist, a US puppet agent, an enemy) and also makes him/her invisible to our eyes. That invisibility or sameness of the other has to be worked on, and that is the objective of the movie plot to transform the same into a
radical Other to be arrested and expelled. The fact is that the Other cannot hide forever: his/her otherness always comes out, as a stain.

Here we can feel the fear contained in that ambiguous structure: the mind prefers clear oppositions, and figures which tend to aggregate or mix opposites are usually figures of disorder and terror to be controlled. The imaginary is basically puzzled and challenged by that situation where a nation is divided into two antagonist halves, especially when there was a relatively high homogeneity. How can the same become the other, and vice-versa? It is the first and essential question at play in our movies. It is sometimes answered by a simple trick: the same was not the same, he/she was actually another one (the spy is not one of us; he/she belongs to the enemy). His/her sameness was temporary, artificial, and the efforts of the narrative are made to solidify that ambiguous identity into a definite otherness. But in doing so, it implies that the reconciliation is jeopardised. Recognising the other as an “other” means that one has to abandon the myth of the Oneness or unity, hence, the Reunification as an eschatological horizon. This is a very problematic question, and there are many alternative answers which have been brought to try to find a more open solution.

b. The Other Others

One solution has been brought by North Korean movies, and almost only by them. If we look carefully at the films, we see very few South Korean people depicted in them. A movie like The Path to Awakening described above has to be seen as an exception, in a way. Most of the time, the South Koreans that we can see in DPRK movies are just extras appearing in the background (passers-by in the streets of The Fate of Kumhui and Unhui, The Locomotive Engineer’s Son, Order n°027, etc.; soldiers in Women of the Namgang Village, etc.). They don’t have a real personality; they are not developed as characters: they are almost like puppets, and that is what they are politically as well, as we are going to see.

How are depicted the rare South Koreans really developed as characters in these movies? Let’s have a look at a character like the South Korean soldier working for the US army in The Locomotive Engineer’s Son: he wears the American style army uniform.
The symbol of it is the necktie that shows his obedience to the Western lifestyle, a necktie that seems to be quite uncomfortable since he tries to loosen it up from time to time: that Western culture is strangling him. Generally speaking, he has a loose outfit, and that is a recurrent structure when American and affiliated South Korean characters appear on the screen: they wear clothes that don’t fit them, they are too large and not neat. It is quite different with the North Korean characters: soldiers wear a nicely cut uniform (not necessarily clean: they are fighters, the dust is a proof of their courage); partisans wear the Mao-style vest buttoned up to the round collar, and no neck tie; civilians, and especially women, wear the traditional costume.

It is interesting to have a look at the outfit of American soldiers or characters associated to them. They have the same loose uniform showing strange items like the striped turtle-neck sweater under the open jacket in The Locomotive Engineer’s Son. This applies to all of them, like the officers in The Women of the Namgang Village, The True Color is Out, Order n°027, etc. These soldiers have also always strange hairdoes: curly or wavy hair, of a different colour (blonde, or brown, sometimes white), on which stands a cap informally tilted on one side. The hairs are very often long, which is shocking for soldiers, and a clear contrast with North Korean characters always clean cut. And we arrive here in a very interesting part of these North Korean movies: they most of the time didn’t use Westerners to play the US soldiers, but Korean actors. Some of the movies have used the services of the few Americans and other Europeans which came to live in North Korea. But in most of the movies, the roles of foreigners were given to Korean people whose features had been grossly modified to resemble Westerners. The result is a puzzling caricature. There are many cases when it is difficult to decipher whether the character is a South Korean or an American soldier.

Among the other “signs” of Americanization, we find the long nose, but also accessories like the dark sunglasses hiding the eyes, whereas the good characters are shown in long close-ups stressing the open smile and the straightforwardness of the look. The North Korean cinematographic grammar gives often to the face a central stance, conveying all the virtues of a character, at least for “good” characters. Covering the eyes with glasses is a way to show that the character is hiding something. His true personality cannot be seen: we go back to the invisibility scheme… So the accessory is not here only
as a cultural stereotype sign, but as a symbol of an essential default. American imperialists are essentially people who hide.

They also all of them burst into sardonic laughter, whereas the North Korean good characters always smile in a white and wide open fixed grin, never using the laugh to mock people (they do laugh at a simple and innocent joke, but it is a way to share joy with their comrades, not to humiliate others). That American sardonic laughter is a way to show that even if these Western imperialists are fundamentally people who try to hide their true intentions in order to harm others, they cannot help but show their true face. Soon, the true color is out, as the title says … We could also have mentioned other elements like the general body attitude (shoes on the table, etc.), language (“OK”, “No”, etc.)…

But why, when they could possibly have used foreign actors, did the directors use North Korean actors to portray the ugly Americans? It brings a real ambiguity about certain characters because it is not clear whether they are strange looking South Koreans or caricatured Americans. In the movie *The Locomotive Engineer’s Son*, the ambiguity is levied by the dialogues, and it appears that the two weird looking Korean actors are supposed to be US army officers. But it is not always the case. It could be seen as a metaphor of the ambiguity of South Korean people themselves. They are Koreans, but they have been depraved by Americans who made them according to their image. Now they are Koreans who look like Americans, but are not: they are *same and other* at the same time. They are laterally Americanized…

To understand that statement, we have to notice another important element: South Korea, ROK, and their citizens, are almost never evoked verbally as such. When they are, they are described as “Namchosŏn”, which is a way to simply describe the ROK as a southern part of the DPRK. The political otherness of the ROK is denied. But in ALL our movies, the people held responsible of the troubles (war, attacks, espionage, corruption, etc.) are the Americans, referred as Migun (US Army), Miguk (USA), Mijaе (American Imperialists), etc. There is no single example where the ROK or its citizens would have been at the origin of the troubles. In such a perspective, the South Korean characters appearing in the North Korean movies can be nothing but “puppets”, to use a term coined by the North Korean phraseology – what they literally are in these movies.
It is moreover confirmed by the “other others” staged in their movies by North Koreans: the Japanese. When it is not the fault of the Americans, troubles have to be blamed on the Japanese. We can see it in the movie *True Colour is Out*, where a flash-back sequence show the two female friends during their youth under the colonial regime, being almost enslaved in a Japanese factory, struggling to survive the beatings and other humiliations. As usual, the Japanese people and their Korean “puppets” are described by the following elements: a moustache, panama hats, etc. We find the same description in *The Fate Of Kumhui and Unhui*, where South Korean imperialists (people abusing the young and pure heroin) have all the same style of hair and cloth, although it is not supposed to be during the Japanese colonial times: as if willing to show that the corrupted, evil South Koreans are in fact caricatures of Japanese imperialists. Their sameness to pure (North) Korean people has been disguised into an impure otherness.

This is a unique solution used by many North Korean movies to simply refuse the otherness to the South Koreans, or to adequate it to another radical otherness: the otherness of aliens, of foreigners, and especially of the most corrupted imperialists, the Japanese and the American people. It is an interesting way to “solve” the essential ambiguity of the partition.

As a whole, the South Korean movies of the same time don’t address the question with the same solutions. They tend to radicalise the otherness of the North Korean people: evil, barbaric, beast-like “reds”. They simply are different from South Koreans, they even are not anymore human beings, as we will see more in details later. But some of the most subtle movies (*The Last Witness, Nampukun, Taebaesanmaek*, even *Piagol* and *Rainy Season*) also offer a depiction of the above-mentioned ambiguity as it is (otherness as a part of the same).

In these movies portraying “partisans” of the guerrillas fighting in the South mountains, many of the characters are not North Koreans, i.e. communists coming from the North. They are local people from the South who have joined the communist guerrilla for different reasons: ideology, chance, extreme poverty, etc. It clearly shows the sameness of the Other. Potentially, in any South Koreans could have been a dormant North Korean. Of course some of the North Korean soldiers depicted in these movies are heartless savages. But besides, there are characters portrayed with all their human
complexity. This is why most of these movies whether were released during the recent part of the period when the censorship was alleviated, whether were they severely censored. So we have here a much more interesting approach, even during the time of strong control of the movie production by the regime. It appears that South Korean cinema was much more multifaceted than usually perceived concerning the question of the North and was from the beginning, regularly, addressing frontally the problem: why and how does the Same become the Other?

c. The Typologies of the Wild

As we just have seen, the question about the otherness of the Other often revolves around the images and symbols of the wilderness and savagery.

i. The Two Valorisations of the Beast

It is a common stereotype found in South Korean movies. *T’aebaeksanmaek, Piagol, Rainy Season* in particular show the North Korean soldiers as wild animals, savage beasts capable of the worse crimes without any remorse. The captain in *Piagol* is a heartless soldier who can kill cold-bloodedly his companions if they don’t follow the orders. He rapes the innocent women. In *Returning Marines*, invisible North Korean gunfighters kill an innocent mother in front of her young daughter: the sensitive, humanitarian South Korean marines save the young girl risking their own lives and adopt her… The communist son in *Rainy Season* is an uneducated character, driven by his emotions and his resentment, irrational, full of envy and anger. It is one of the strongest scenes of the movie when “he” comes back to the house as a snake that the mother of the righteous guerrilla fighter has to welcome in order to appease his suffering soul.

But we have to be careful with the determination of the nouns we use: the North Korean soldiers may be depicted sometimes as wild animals, it doesn’t mean necessarily ruthless beasts. In *Nampukan*, the guerrilla fighters have to overcome incredible hardships to survive in the mountain. They eat tree barks, flowers, sleep under covers of
fallen leaved, wash naked in streams, eat the food in the hand of dead people like jackals, etc. We are spectators of a *becoming-wild* of these people, the longer they spend in the wilderness. But it is not necessarily negative, since they become for the public courageous victims of the times who deserve our compassion. Instead of bringing more hatred towards these characters, these descriptions give them extra humanity by a counter-effect typical of the “double negation” process. It is confirmed by the fact that some anti-communist fighters, who should have been positive heroes, are also described as cruel beasts, raping, beating and even killing innocent people (*T'aebaeksanmaek, The Last Witness*): this operates an inversion, bringing sympathy towards the North Koreans and their partisans, despite the anti-communist agenda.

We see with such narratives the structure of the redemption: wandering or sinful souls are purified by their ordeals, and often self-sacrifice. We recognise here the structure at play in the Christian myth of many saints or in shamanist rituals. In those rare but strong movies, the few ones about the subject from that time which have been saved from oblivion, the ex-South Koreans became North Korean sympathisers to become, after a long cathartic process, simply Koreans: here, the otherness of the other is a way for him to become again the same (another double negation or inversion trope).

It is quite different from the North Korean movies of the same era, as we have seen. In fact, the beasts in the North Korean movies are the American and Japanese people, and eventually South Koreans who have been “corrupted” by them. In *Order n°027*, the North Korean agents are almost caught in the South Korean train because one of them was touched by a child being molested by American people. The Americans or their Korean impersonators have long hair, as we have said, even the army members, and all of them are really hairy on the body and the face: they usually have a beard (whereas Japanese style people have a moustache). We know that the hair is a symbol of savagery for men, and of depravation for women. This *becoming-beast* of the Korean people when in contact with Americans or Japanese is an excuse to their otherness as well as a symbol of it. It could show the place and role of otherness in a society like North Korea based on the strong values of Sameness, values like obedience, order, adequacy to the Party, etc.: otherness is simply not acceptable, and one’s identity is to be made through the sameness of the same. In other words, South Korea cannot be recognise symbolically as
different, as other, and had to be treated as an impure and corrupted same, exactly like in
the famous movie *The Fate of Keumhui and Unhui*. In that movie, the sister who was
bred in North Korea lives happily as a talented musician and dancer, while her poor
sister who was raised in the South suffers a miserable life of poverty, prostitution, etc.
They are twins, almost the same persons, except that one was “corrupted” by the
depraved environment of Americanized South Korea. What was corrupted by society
could in theory be later cleaned up and corrected by a pure regime like North Korea.

ii. The Island, Symbol of Metamorphosis

The symbol of the beast is a good occasion for us to mention the special images which
are being slowly developed in this cinema. We have seen the forests of the mountains
and all the metamorphosis brought by that wild milieu: partisans becoming animals, the
communist son transformed into a snake, etc. Actually, the valleys where the partisans
live, deeply isolated in the mountains, are like islands of wilderness at the edge of the
civilised world. From time to time, the wild beasts (the partisans) go down from the
mountain to raid the villages. Sometimes, some farmers live the village to follow them,
and become themselves wild beasts. The deep isolated valley works like a cluster of
metamorphosis. It has the same valorisation than another symbol, a symbol as feminoïd
as the forest and the wild beasts are: the island. The island is also a place where radical
changes occur (ask Robinson Crusoe, Doctor Moreau, heroes of *Lord of the Flies*, etc.).
The island symbol is present as such in *The Fate of Kumhui and Unhui*: the miserable
sister, Unhui, is bred on a poor island where she meets her unfortunate fate, it is there
that she becomes a South Korean… But also the soldiers transformed into heroes in
*Wolmi Island*, or the courageous spy of *In the Den of Bats* (see here the interesting
comparison between US soldiers and bats…). That symbol will come back again and
again later in more recent South Korean and even North Korean cinema. Let us for now
just notice that this is another feminine symbol to be linked to other female images of the
wild forces of nature.
iii. A Depraved Feminine World

In *The Fate of Kumhui and Unhui*, the island is for Unhui the place from where she is introduced (by force) to the hell of South Korean society. When described by North Korean movies (as also in *True Colour is Out* and *Order n°027*), South Korea is a place of extreme poverty where people live in slums. Disease, violence, crime is everywhere. Streets are full of US soldiers and American jeeps, and they are lined with “cabarets” and other bars serving alcohol (a recurrent stereotype attached to Americans and their Korean puppets) where people fight with each other. In such a world of depravation, women suffer and have not much choice: work hard as slaves in factories or become prostitutes, another form of slavery. Corruption is everywhere, and women are sold to work in brothels like animals. This leads us to the image of the woman in the movies, especially in the North Korean films. A very central but ambiguous image…

In a very rare instance, *The Women of Namgang Village*, female characters have a positive image in a North Korean movie. The women of that village on the front line are alone because their husbands and sons are fighting in the army. Led by a charismatic female figure, they organise the resistance, achieve the very hard field works of ploughing, repair the local bridge, feed the neighbouring army regiment, etc. Their courage and dedication allow that regiment to receive the ammunitions it needs to defeat the enemy. These women really could appear as pure positive characters, but we have to notice that they only try to be as good as their men would have been in that situation. More precisely, as often repeated in the movie, they try to be the best wives possible, and their efforts are not only made to save the battle, but also to be exemplary spouses! And as one character says clearly: “I really wish we could be men”… So they are obvious Confucian figures of the ideal wife transformed into the perfect communist spouse, but who are always only copies of the original: the ideal (male) communist soldier.

There is another quite positive female character in our North Korean corpus: the researcher of *The True Colour is Out*. She is an exemplary citizen and scientist, dedicated to her country, though her friend makes her suddenly a suspect. She is whitewashed when attacked in her house, and the real criminal is finally found out: the
horrible lady spy who decided to take the appearance of the old friend that disappeared to approach the researcher easily. It is interesting to have a look at the spy before her transformation: she appears with long hair on one side of the head, as a seductress, and her body covered by a strange silk lined gown. The nurse attending her is probably an American caricature, as she has incredibly long and thick blond hair unattached on her shoulders. These two ladies are perfect impersonations of the corrupted females of the imperialist world.

The spies, and often the double agents, are female characters: Order n°027, True Colour is Out, but also Black Rose, Many Years Went by, etc. It is because in the North Korean cinema imaginary, women are dubious characters, they show a double personality, and they are subjects to temptations and "corruption", whereas men are stiff and right. Women become easily impure, at least ideologically. This is the way they are usually portrayed in the many "Socialist Reality" movies: a character, usually a woman, is lost in her understanding of the Party’s line and she commits errors. Hopefully, a pure man, most of the time a scientist, shows her mistakes, and awakens her. So women are easily “twisted”, and it is the role of righteous men to help them find the right direction back. There could be infinite discussions whether this is a neo-Confucian approach of female and male roles…

What is interesting is that it is not only in North Korean movies that women are dangerous seductress who make mistakes and have to be brought back on the right track. Namkwa puk and Hand of Destiny are excellent examples of that. In these cases, the women are North Korean females tempting the male characters, seducing them and creating the troubles. Hopefully, the movies usually “correct” the sinful ladies.

We see here the very important, although ambiguous, role of women in those movies. We have to develop now on that.

d. The « Sexionalisation »: from the metaphor of the family to the sexualised opposition North-South

Women do play an important role in Korean cinema. I have briefly evoked the Manichean situation in North Korean movies where women characters are sometimes
seen as exemplary wives, but most of the time as victims and even agents of errors, temptation, treachery.

In South Korean cinema, the situation is more complex. We can see from the first films almost an attraction to oppose the two halves of the country through characters symbolising them. *Rainy Season* could be one asexual example: the partition is symbolised by a family metaphor. The two brothers-in-law who have joined opposing parties are forced, one after the other, to take refuge in the mountains. Through them, the whole family is divided, and the old large house is a physical ground used by the cinematographer to express that violent clash of ideologies. But women in this movie play, on both sides, the role of mediums and bring back together, at the end, the two parts of the family divided because of the men.

Most of the movies using this personification of North and South actually display a sexualised structure. This has been expressed in my former article by the Lacanian word “sexionalisation” or separation of roles by the sex. The partition is sexualised, and almost always in a regular pattern following the traditional expression: “namnampuknyŏ”, meaning: (handsome, nice) men are from the South of the Peninsula, (beautiful, nice) women come from the North, and they make an ideal couple. Using that cultural stereotype, movies portray a North Korean woman engaging in a love affair with a South Korean man. We can see such a structure in *Hand of Destiny* (1954), *Piagol* (1955), *Namkwa puk* (1965 and 1984), *The Last Witness* (1980), etc. It is a steady structure, I would even say a “temptation” of South Korean cinema which is going to be fully developed after 1997.

What do we have here? *Hand of Destiny* is interesting since the guilty female figure, the North Korean spy falling in love for the South Korean student, who happens to be a counterintelligence captain, dies at the end. She was unable to kill her lover, she has sacrificed her ideology for her love. Quite a rare example in our cinema. *Piagol* shows a different scenario with the North Korean female partisan, stiff and determined, falling in love for the mild hero who finally dies in her arms. She is the only survivor, and she is seen in the last seen escaping on a white sand plain… To where? The censors have forced the director to put a ROK flag to make sure that the female character is seen as surrendering to the good cause… Here the female is the only survivor and men are
sacrificed for the cause. *Namkwa puk* displays a similar structure, with a North Korean woman bringing two men from opposite sides together, and causing their death. Here the woman figure is a medium and a cause of men’s sacrifice. *The Last Witness* communist partisan female character is the cause of the entire plot, and of the series of male victims. It is another proof that the female character is definitely in this cinema a frightening force, to be executed as in *Hand of Destiny*, or else it would cause the ruin of the male characters. This female enemy though is not always “eliminated”, on the contrary she is often the only survivor of the story. It is quite interesting to see here imaginary working with fascination for deep rooted symbols and trying out different structures of narrative to combine them.

This is quite tempting indeed to sort out the opposition South/North with a Male/Female opposition, trying to make them complimentary. But sadly enough, it does not work: that kind of “reunification” is not for now, one side has to be sacrificed. There is no happy love story, as says the song, and men have to learn that truth at their own expense… For sure, this tragic conclusion is also set for melodramatic purposes. But it is quite fascinating that the male characters, symbolising the South, are most of the time sacrificed in the South Korean cinema: as if there was the intimate belief that the masculine part of oneself has to be wiped out to permit the reunification… Let us remind that in imaginary’s economy, the scheme of separation (*diairesis*) is almost always characterised as masculine (and in relation with weapons, fights, war, etc.). It goes actually in the same direction as the movies showing endings staging shamanistic rituals (seen in these movies as a feminine activity). Women forces are seen as ambivalent, sometimes even frightening and dangerous, like all the forces of the wild, but they don’t seem to be fundamentally negative: they foster transformation, thus a hope for a reconciliation. This genderization of the Peninsula will be later on, during the Sunshine Policy period, vastly developed, but in more varied directions, because the times won’t ask anymore for a suicidal erasure of the male aspects. Is it indeed the sign of a remasculanization of Korean cinema?
Conclusion

We have seen that different strategies have been tried by North and South Korean cinemas since the partition of the country to solve that embarrassing question: how can a nation be divided, i.e. how can the same be also the other? The simplest solution is to deny that otherness, like most of the North Korean movies have been doing: South Koreans are just (North) Koreans who have been corrupted temporarily by imperialists (Japanese and Americans), but they are fundamentally the same people who just have to be “purified”.

Another solution is to radicalize the otherness of the other, as did many anti-communist movies of the Park Chung-hee’s time: North Koreans are beasts, non-humans, they can’t be seen as Koreans (hence they can be – must be – eliminated). But from the beginning, despite that heavily loaded and constraining political agenda, some movies tried to bring more subtle answers: the sameness is also made of the otherness (identity is a heteromorphic process, see Lacan). The otherness must be recognised, accepted, and also overtaken in a dialogic or dialectic manner. Some movies have proposed the indigenous traditional heritage as a ground where to meet… Some seemed to be seduced by the redemption structures of sacrifice and rebirth. Some were just pessimistic about the possibility to find a way out… No clear solution is found of course, because movies are not here to bring solutions. We see that they slowly map out new imaginaries, selecting the structures which fit the most the society’s psychological attractions and topiques. Actually, these movies prepared the way to the movies of the next generation, post 1997, which were going to offer, in South Korea at least, a place (lieu) for the North Koreans in the South Korean collective imaginary. And the South Korean example seems also to prove that even a strong propaganda agenda doesn’t necessarily work deep on psyches when the structures imposed don’t meet tendencies or topiques of the actual imaginary. We hope that this could be proved true also for North Korea…
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Vacillation of Shin Saimdang: Inventing an Historical Heroine in Colonial Korea

Kim, Soojin

Shin Saimdang (申師任堂, 1504-1551) is a nationally renowned historical figure who is often regarded as the representative image of Korean Women, a traditional icon of ‘Wise Mother and Good Wife (賢母良妻)’. Her image, like that of many historical characters of Korea, had been strengthened during Park Chunghee administration in the 1960s and 70s, through national heroization projects. Since the 1980s, however, the national heroine Saimdang has sometimes been criticized as symbolizing ruling ideology designed to oppress women. Seen as the embodiment of ‘Wise Mother and Good Wife’, Shin Saimdang came to be regarded as a stereotype of women of old days, representing Korea’s fossilized tradition. The controversy surrounding the decision to print her image on the newly introduced banknote in 2007 was in line with such criticisms.

Controversy over Shin Saimdang is predicated on the popular conceptions that she was a wise mother and good wife and that wise mother and good wife was the traditional ideal type of Korean women. In fact, such conceptions can be understood as resulting from the ‘modern invention of tradition’ elucidated by Eric Hobsbawm. Since the late Chosun Dynasty, when Shin Saimdang first appeared in the discourse field mediated by modern publication, her image has been vacillating over time to create a dominant image. In the patriotic enlightenment period (愛國啓蒙期) of the 1900s, when there was much emphasis on the role of mother as educator of a civilized nation, Shin Saimdang was regarded as one of the wise mothers in Korean history. From the 1920s to early 1940s she received more attention from researches on Women’s history, magazines for women and newspapers, which emphasised her image as an accomplished woman who cultivated her talent despite oppressive Confucian norm. This new image was added to and coexisted with her image as a wise mother and good wife. On the other hand, the story of Shin Saimdang had been dramatized in a ‘national drama’ staged from 1943 to
1945, at the height of the Pacific War, her image re-created as the ‘Mother of the Military Nation’.

These processes reveal how Shin Saimdang has been recalled repeatedly, whenever there is a need to define the relations between women, on the one hand, and nation, colonialism, and the state on the other. Recall of Shin Saimdang involves reference to the past history, but it has a bigger implication of Korea’s colonial experience. Therefore, the making of Shin Saimdang as the wise mother and good wife is not only a process of ‘inventing the tradition’ but also a representative case through which the colonial origin of the Korean statism and the dynamics of the gender politics are revealed.

In this paper, I would like to examine the initial motive of making the modern image of Shin Saimdang, by raising the following questions: Through what process had Shin Saimdang become the representative image of the ideology of wise mother and good wife during the colonial period? In what sense is the notion of wise mother and good wife modern? How the notion of good wife and wise mother (ryousaigenbo, 良妻賢母) imported from Japan has varied under the influence of civilizationism, nationalism, and colonialism?

1. Wise Mother Instructing the Civilized Nation

Shin Saimdang appeared in the modern discourse field with the rise of patriotic enlightenment and nationalist history. At the centre of the wide range of the criticism against the old order, spread with enthusiastic ethos of civilization from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, was the family system. Reorganization of the family order was considered the core prerequisite in constructing the ‘civilized and enlightened’ nation or state. Traditional family system was deemed an obstacle to facilitating the new ideology of making a wealthy nation with strong military. Family has now become a site to raise members of society for the new era and to be reorganised as a unit of the state. And the role of making the new state-family order was given to the women. Therefore, issues of gender equality and female virtue were adopted selectively within the framework of family-state, and the necessity of enlightening and educating women was
advocated in the context of constructing the civilized nation and raising enlightened citizens.

It was in this context that enlightenment theorists and members of the Association for Independence (獨立協會), and leaders of organizations for women's education from late Chosun Dynasty published newspapers and magazines that advocated natural rights, women's right and gender equality. However, the focus of discourses on natural rights and gender equality shifted in the 1900s, in the face of national sovereignty crisis, putting more emphasis on women's role as the educating mother. There was no objection to the enlightenment elites’ argument that defined women as the educator of enlightened males, and stressed the need to enlighten and educate women for that role.

Such argument stressing the role of mother as the educator of men, who would be raised as ‘loyal subjects of the nation’ contradicted traditional Confucian definition of female virtue. The primary status of woman in Confucian society was that of a daughter-in-law, dedicated to the ‘filial duty’ (孝) in the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system. Women's primary role was to serve the parents-in-laws, perform ancestral rites, and treat the guests well (奉祭祀接賓客), and her most important duty was to give birth to at least one son who would succeed the paternal ancestral line. Her role as a mother was confined to raising, i.e., feeding and clothing, her children, and children’s education was regarded as one of the father's rights. Women were more of the birth-giver and breeder, rather than the educator, and to educate a woman was deemed unnecessary and even harmful. The basis of female virtue was obedience to the parents-in-law and husband. Education for a woman was no other than 'edification', to internalize the norm of 'female virtue', and any special knowledge beyond this was regarded harmful since it can possibly damage the virtue of obedience.

Shin Saimdang first appeared in the modern publication when the discourse on the new motherhood was at its formation. The first publication of this line was Woman's Textbook (Yeojadokbon, 1908) by Jang Jiyeon. This was a kind of Korean language textbook, written in vernacular Korean. Like other enlightenment elites, Jang Jiyeon put forward the education of mother-educators of civilized nation as the purpose of publishing his book.
"A woman is a person to become a mother of a subject of this nation. Her children can be a good subject only after she is properly educated first. Therefore, better education for women will lead to better education at home and to the guidance of knowledge of people." (Woman's Textbook, vol. 1, Chapter 1 Lesson 1)

*Woman's Textbook* introduces the exemplary case of women in historical records from Korea, China, and Western countries in two volumes. The contents are quite different from traditional Confucian guidebook for womanhood such as *Pictorial Account of Three Principal Moralities* (三綱行實圖) or *Book on Disciplining Women* (誡女書). *Woman's Textbook* does not contain stories of exemplary women that would have been included in guidebooks of the Chosun Dynasty, such as the so-called Confucian women of chastity, that is, ‘women who sacrificed herself for the sake of her parents-in-law, her brothers-in-law, and her husband’.

Instead of stressing docility, virtue of obedience, or the duty to perform ancestral rituals and treat guests, *Woman's Textbook* emphasizes 'mother's way' and the quality as a wife. Volume 1 contains the following chapters: mother's way (母道), wife's virtue (婦德), chastity and devotedness (貞烈), and other virtues. Here the virtue of mother and wife is considered, above all, to be supporting her son and her husband in their effort to serve the state and society. The chapters on chastity and other virtues mainly consist of honor and patriotic revenge against foreign invaders. Stories of Chinese and Western women were selected on the basis of their devotion to the country by participating in a war effort or philanthropy.

Overall, the image of women in *Woman's Textbook* is the mother educator of future citizens, and the woman with a devotion to preserve national independence. Inclusion of Shin Saimdang in the chapter ‘mother’s way’ may be based on the patriotic enlightenment thought that emphasizes women’s role of education, in the face of crisis of sovereignty and national urgency of enlightenment. However, in *Woman's Textbook*, Saimdang was presented as one of several other exemplary mothers, and did not receive any special attention. Her story was fourth in order and was not covered in much detail compared to other cases. Major anecdotes were not mentioned, with only a passing remark on Yi Yulgok (李珥) as “became a noted sage of the nation after receiving home education.”
education” from his mother who was virtuous and talented. In this regard, to the patriotic enlightenment theorists of late Chosun period, Shin Saimdang was one of many exemplary mothers that deserved attention from women of the time, who needed to become educators under the grand objective of building a civilized nation.

2. Distinguished Lady Intellectual (閨女識者) or Wise Mother Good Wife in History

After the 1920s, Shin Saimdang received much attention as a wise mother and good wife, the new woman of a civilized country, and as a woman who accomplished learning and cultivated talent, overcoming Confucian norms of Chosun.

Yi Neunghwa (李能和) paid attention to the historical female figures who overcame Confucian norms. In 1927, Yi Neunghwa published *Thoughts on Chosun Women* (朝鮮女俗考, Chosun Yeosoggo), the first research work on women’s history and modern folklore work. In the book Yi Neunghwa introduces Shin Saimdang as one of the women in history that cultivated her learning and talent under repressive social atmosphere that prohibits women’s education. The book dealt with learned women in a separate chapter. In chapter 23 titled ‘Female intelligentia of Chosun’, learned women were categorized into four: women of ruling class with the ability to read and write, women of ruling class who could compose verses, concubine of ruling class who could compose verses and female entertainers who could compose verses. The chapter also includes the verses of the latter three categories: 22 in the second category, 34 in the third, and 10 in the fourth.

Among the learned women of ruling class were Shin Saimdang, Heo Nanseolheon, Esteemed sister of Yu Mongin, and wife of Yun Gwangyeon. Yi Neunghwa quoted Ju Munwi (周文위), “Women shall be cautious not to be called virtueless, even at the risk of called untalented. If verses written by women of high standing leak by any chance, it is sure to circulate and end up being sung by prostitutes. What a shame would it be?” to point out that those women’s knowledge was acquired by learning ‘over one’s shoulder’, rather than direct education, since women’s education was regarded as damaging women’s virtue by ruling class of Chosun.
Yi Neunghwa paid attention to the talent and knowledge of Shin Saimdang. According to Yi, Shin Saimdang had mastered Confucian classics and histories, talented in poetry, calligraphy and painting, as well as embroidery. She complemented the learning of her husband. She introduced anecdotes from Confucian classics and idiom to plead against the (possible) remarriage of her husband after her death. She also wrote two poems in memory of her parents.

It was in the 1930s that Shin Saimdang came to receive more special attention than many historical female figures. Cha Sangchan (車相瓚), who was active in exploring historical romance and folktales, chose Shin Saimdang as ‘the great model and representative for Chosun women’ who is both talented and virtuous in his serial “Famous Women of Chosun”. He introduced Shin Saimdang’s anecdotes from the perspective of admiring her brilliance, talentedness and excellence in learning. She had mastered calligraphy, embroidery and painting grapes. She wrote many fine poems including the one she wrote in her journey to her husband’s home to get married, and another one she wrote in Seoul, thinking of her mother. She had a good understanding of histories and Confucian classics so that she could teach her husband whose learning was shallow, helping him to avoid difficulties. She entreated her husband not to remarry after her death on the basis of Confucian cannons. Finally it was thanks to her education at home that all of her sons, including her second son Yi Yi (Yulgok) and youngest son Yi Wu became famous.

However, Shin Saimdang is not the only women that drew attention in the 1930s. Heo Nanseolheon (許蘭雪軒) and Hwang Jini (黃眞伊) were always mentioned, and at times drew more interest and admiration than Shin Saimdang. For instance, Cha Sangchan praised Hwang Jini as ‘Lady entertainer’ who demonstrated her exceptional beauty and talent. On the other hand, Donga Ilbo’s 1934 serial “Chosun’s Minds and Chosun’s Beauty”, which introduced folklore, institutions and women in history, chose Heo Nanseolheon and Shin Saimdang. The writer of the article, Kim Wongeon (金瑗根) described Heo Nanseolheon as genius poet with Taoist spiritual enlightenment, though she was deserted by her husband.
While there was much attention to her talent and academic achievement as a woman, others viewed her as the pride of Chosun history, focusing on her virtue as a wise mother and good wife. In the late 1930s, Shin Saimdang was increasingly quoted as the representative ‘wise mother and good wife’. In Shin Jeongeon’s article “Shin Saimdang, the Model for 100 Virtue and 100 Arts” in 1941 ChunChu (春初) journal called her ‘Holy Woman (女聖) of the East’. The article emphasised that ‘she had fulfilled her duty of serving parents in law and her husband in impeccable accordance to the ‘Three Principal Moralities’’. He further asserted that she “was not only a model of 100 virtuous conduct and 100 arts, but also an exemplary wise mother and good wife at home” (138). The article did not mention the anecdote of Saimdang’s entreaty to her husband not to remarry. Instead, it depicts the scene where Saimdang set with her sister in law and mother in law after getting married, and said she was ignorant about the world. The author interprets the anecdote as the instance of practicing the Confucian norm that women should keep out from worldly affairs and be prudent with her word. However, the same anecdote can be interpreted as Saimdang arrogantly preaching the senior in-laws. In contrast to Cha Sangchan’s discussion of Saimdang which focused on her intelligence and knowledge, Shin Jeongeon’s article chose the anecdotes that can support the interpretation of the ‘Three Principal Moralities’.

Even though Shin Jeongeon called her a wise mother good wife, he did not regard her accomplishments in learning and art as damaging her virtue as a woman. This contrasts with the attitudes of late Chosun gentries towards Saimdang. Typical of such view is the comment by Song Siyeol (宋時烈), the renowned late Chosun neo-Confucian scholar. He said that her painting could not have been created for the purpose of handing down to posterity, and that Saimdang must have fulfilled her duty as a woman faithfully.

3. Shin Saimdang, the Mother of Military Nation

The Japanese colonial government began to inflame the statist ideology of good wife wise mother among the women of Chosun, as it began recruiting soldiers through volunteer and conscription system in the early 1940s. The idea of the wise wife and good mother was established in the 1890s as the state goal of women’s education had changed
into that of the mother and wife of military nation through the experience of the first Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War.

The idea of the 'mother of military' was a discourse that exerted powerful influence in Japan during the wartime mobilization, encompassing a wide range of responsibility from the mental strength of sending family men to the battlefield and living courageously as the family of the war dead, from extreme frugality and willing donation, and sometimes, to becoming a woman warrior herself rising in arms. As Ueno Chichuko pointed out, the wartime mobilization was the biggest national project and symbolic field of struggle, calling for both ‘statification of society’ and ‘statification of family’. Japan pursued the strategy of ‘segregation’, maintaining the division of gender role, while mobilizing women as the citizen. Such a segregated system of wartime mobilization granted Japanese women the status of “Mother of Yasukuni”. “Women who had suffered the ‘indignity of not being able to die in the battlefield’ can now stand up to the heroism of military god (軍神), a euphemism for the war dead, for the first time, as his own mother. For instance, Nogi Shizuko, the wife of the national hero of Russo-Japanese war, general Nogi Mareske, became the model of mother of military nation, by the dignified manner in which she accepted the death of her two sons during the war, and her heroic act of suicide after the death of her husband who also killed himself, following the death of Meiji Emperor.

On the other hand, Japanese put forward the ideology of good wife and wise mother as the guiding principle of women’s education in colonial Chosun. However, this could be termed as ‘pure good-wife-wise-mother-ism’ in that it stressed only the aspects related to the family life apart from the realm of the state. As the war created the need to recruit more soldiers through voluntary and conscription system, Japanese empire began to instigate women’s awareness as the imperial citizens, rather than good wife and wise mother. However, offering their sons to the state, or having awareness as imperial citizens were very strange ideas for women in colonial Chosun. In contrast to Japan, where there were contemporary models of mother (or wife) of military nation, namely, those women who killed themselves during the Russo-Japanese war, Korean history had known no female figure that even compares to those Japanese cases.
Korean intellectuals who followed the Japanese initiative of turning Koreans into imperial citizens, found out that in order to create the image of mother of military nation in colonial Chosun, history itself needed to be reinterpreted and re-narrated. In his novel “Wonsul going to War (Wonsurui Chuljeong)” written in Japanese, Yi Gwangsoo (李光洙) recast the mother and wife of Wonsul in the image of ‘mother of military nation’. In “Heroic Stories of Women (Yeoinjeon-gi)”, Chae Mansik (蔡萬植) tried to model after Nogi Maresuke, the Japanese national hero of Russo-Japanese war.

The play “Shin Saimdang” came out in the series of attempts to create the image of ‘mother of military nation’ from Korean history. Originally submitted to the 3rd national drama contest (1945. 1. 29 ~ 3. 7) by Song Young (宋影), the play “Shin Saimdang” was staged in Dongyang Theater. The play was a great success, each show attracting 2,500 audiences. Considering the fact that Dongyang Theater had seats for only 648 people, response from the audience was almost explosive.

As had been told by the author, Song Young, below, the play “Shin Saimdang” presented the image of strong mother with loyalty (忠) to her country, protecting her family in the absence of her husband, raising her son who is to become a soldier, elucidating the ideology of mother of military nation.

With the introduction of conscription system, incorporation into Japanese imperial system accelerated in the Korean Peninsula.

As much as the shining spirit of valiant son of Korea, whose heart is overwhelmed by the honour of becoming part of the body of His Majesty, his ‘mother’ sending him off to the battlefield is herself the representation of ‘loyalty (忠)’. However, in order to make her son a loyal subject of the empire, his ‘mother’ should have great strength and courage. Shin Saimdang, who gave birth to the Master Yi Yulgok, the great philosopher of the East, is the paragon of motherhood not only of Korea, but also of the whole Orient.

As an admirer of Shin Saimdang, I sincerely hope that my dramatization of a portion of her life will serve as a stimulus for all the Korean women today, so that every remarks and behavior of Shin Saimdang will lead to the awareness that ‘I would like to be a better mother and devote my sons to the country’”. (Song Young “Shin Saimdang”, Yi 245
The play “Shin Saimdang” is about a woman who decided to live separately from her husband for 10 years to support his successful career. She successfully raises her son Yulgok, educating him with patience and exemplary deeds in the absence of her husband. Finally her husband returns home after achieving success. The plot and characterization is almost fictional. Historical record reveals a quite different picture as to the 10 years of separation, the birth of Yulgok, the husband Yi Wonsu (李元秀) returning home at the age of 36 after appointed as a government officer.

The distortion and imagination played a significant part in elucidating the theme of the play. 10 years of separation and raising Yulgok alone can be readily associated with the image of the wife and mother of military nation, who raises the sons of the empire in the absence of the husbands, who went to war.

Also, there is no historic record suggesting that Saimdang was a patient woman head of the household. Once again, the play characterized her as predominantly ‘patient’ with the help of imagination. Thus, Saimdang appears less frequently and talks even less than her husband Yi Wonsu or her son Yulgok. Her virtues are revealed and praised in the dialogues of Yulgok.

Saimdang’s life as is told by her son is patience and waiting, whereas active role of awakening her husband is materialized by the son. Such behavioral pattern of Saimdang contrasts with mother characters in Song Young’s other works, e.g. “Sanpoong (山風),” where the mother who lives in a mountain village plays an active role. The ‘Oriental Wise Mother Good Wife’ is depicted as restraint in word and deeds. The fact that ‘loyalty’ was revealed as the ultimate value in Saimdang’s education is highly suggestive of the imperialization ideology. Upon returning home as a government officer after 10 years of wandering and absence, Yi Wonsu tests his son like the following:

  Wonsu: Okay- If you were to attend the Royal Court, write on your palms.

(Yulgok brothers write down)

  Wonsu: Loyalty (忠誠). Loyalty (忠) (Nods approvingly.)


Jaemyoung et al. eds., [Collection of Post-liberation Plays] vol. 2 – Chapter on Song Young, 2004, p 290, underlines by this author)
The short scene inserted at the end may be a slight deviation from the main plot line, but it serves to accentuate the objective of learning, which is solely defined by ‘loyalty’. Shin Saimdang was recreated as the Japanese style ‘women behind the guns’ and ‘mother of military nation’ by Korean intellectuals who actively sought to adopt the policy of imperialization in the colonial total mobilization period. Thus Shin Saimdang was recalled as the historic figure that proves the existence of quality of imperial citizenship in Chosun’s past.

4. Creation and Vacillation of Shin Saimdang’s Image as Wise Mother Good Wife

Aside from her calligraphies, paintings, embroideries and poetry, historical locus of records and discourse about Saimdang’s stretches hundreds of years. Shin Saimdang’s achievements in learning and arts were brought up fully by her son Yi Yulgok. However, such talent was a taboo for upper class women in Chosun. Therefore, late Chosun neo-Confucian literati tried to minimize its significance, and instead emphasised the fact that she was a mother of Yi Yulgok, the great theoretical authority of Noron faction. Modernistic image-making of Saimdang started from the inherited image of ‘Yulgok’s mother’. However, here the motherhood implied the educator of nation. Furthermore, in the 1920s and 30s, Shin Saimdang received attention as female intellectual and a woman who cultivated her talent breaking away from Confucian norms for upper-class women. She was just one of the many ‘distinguished women in history’. In the ideological topography of militarism in the 1940s, in which oriental virtue was pursued as the mark of imperial citizenship, Saimdang was chosen as the woman who had embodied the militarist notion of oriental motherhood, establishing the foundation for statist image of wise mother good wife in colonial Chosun. On the other hand, public discussions in colonial Chosun depicted Saimdang in a variety of perspective, ranging from a woman who overcame the oppressive patriarchal system of old Chosun, an active mother educator of a civilized nation, a woman who had practiced Confucian virtue of modesty and prudence, a paragon of modern good wives who assisted her husband at home, and to the historic model for mother of military nation.
Such multiplicity of interpretation of Saimdang calls for a frame of reference that goes beyond the Hobsbawmian thesis of modern invention of tradition, which may be called de-historicization or colonial hybridization of tradition and modernity.

The concept of wise mother good wife associated with Saimdang was influenced by Japanese ideology of ryousaigenbo (Good wife wise mother, 良妻賢母), yet the connotation is slightly different. Ryousaigenbo ideology of Japan was based on Western ideology of domesticity, characterized by gentle disposition and intellectual ability comparable to her husband and assisting him at home. Therefore, the role as a good wife was more essential. By contrast, in colonial Chosun, the wise mother good wife concept was associated more to the Confucian virtue of women. At the same time, anecdotes that potentially suggested deviation from Confucian norm were interpreted in a way compatible with traditional female morality. Saimdang’s strong matrilineal identity was substituted by filial piety and disciplining her husband was embellished as an act of assisting her husband.

Depicting Shin Saimdang as a mother of military nation required too much dramatization and imagination. We find strength and state-orientedness as common denominators that characterize both the ideology of mother of military nation, or wife behind the guns, in late colonial mobilization system and the image of mother-educator of patriotic enlightenment period. It is no coincidence that the anecdotes of Kim Yushin’s mother and his wife (i.e. the mother of Wonsul) were recast as stories of mother of military nation. Then what would have been the motivation for the distortion and image-making of Shin Saimdang? Ironically, this may have been due to the property of potential destructiveness that Shin Saimdang represented. That is, her talents and knowledge had the potential of destroying the Confucian female virtue, and these at the same time could have been interpreted as the patience and strength that were required of imperial citizen of wartime and housewife of modern nation state.
The Patterns and Meanings of Human Relations in Korean Stepmother Stories

Choi, Won Oh

1. Introduction

Human beings are bound to the network of vertical human relations from birth. It is because we are born into the network of vertical human relations formed, narrowly, by our parents and, more broadly, by grandparents and our parents’ siblings. Family is a socially important research topic in that the first human relations experienced by people are related to vertical hierarchy or order, and people learn this hierarchy or order through family and must continuously acclimate themselves to it. Furthermore, none of the peoples of the world consider human relations established through family to be confined to a specific family. It is because such relations usually attain a social consensus. Nevertheless, how strong the power is that such a consensus exercises socially depends on each people’s historical situation or customs, so the pattern of the relations is not uniform. Furthermore, because we cannot say that such socially accepted vertical human relations mean the same thing and pursue the same ethical values, we may not be able to expect superficial perception and unconditional sympathy.

From the account of family above, we may derive three important points. First, family is the starting point of the birth of vertical human relations. Second, such vertical human relations are not limited to a specific family but are, though informal, a kind of social phenomenon that has attained a social consensus. Third, the ethical value of vertical human relations formed through family may vary according to each people’s historical situation or customs, and the enforceability of such relations based on social consensus may be different.

This study proposes to discuss the three issues through stepmother stories handed down in Korea and Japan. The reason for focusing on stepmother stories among various types of family stories will be explained in the main discussion. Although this study
defines the scope of research in this way, it assumes that inquiry into family may reveal the basic types of all human relations, including the vertical human relations mentioned in the introduction, as well as ethical values inherent in the relations. Accordingly, this study is fundamentally different from previous studies that choose stepmother stories and limit their discussion to the single type of stories.

2. Family: A space for the birth of vertical human relations

Common sense is enough to discern whether family is where the birth of vertical human relations starts. It is because almost all humans start their lives in the sphere called family. Furthermore, a new family is created through the vertical human relation and marriage between a man and a woman, but this process inevitably involves the two persons’ respective established families (usually headed by the parents). This is evidenced sufficiently by a number of folktales in which the parents choose the son-in-law or the daughter-in-law. In this sense, we can say that a new family or a husband-wife family is engendered in the vertical hierarchy and order of established families headed by the parents.

However, vertical human relations connoted by birth and marriage on the premise of ‘parent-child relations’ are vastly different in reality. This is because, while birth occurs within a single established family, marriage involves multiple established families. Therefore, we can expect that the ethical values asserted by the vertical human relations may be different from each other. This point will be discussed later, and here we will discuss further why family is the starting point of vertical human relations.

First, let’s think about the fundamental nature of vertical human relations resulting from birth. For this, we need to examine the relation between parent and child. However, because this relation is an eternal vertical human relation from which we cannot escape; it is a subject beyond discussion. The question is how to capture the relation among siblings who have the same parents on the top of the vertical relation. In particular, twins demonstrate paradoxically the essential nature of such vertical human relations. This is because, although twins have almost no physical time difference such as that seen in ordinary siblings, they are still subject to the hierarchy of elder and younger siblings.
However, the ‘determined’ hierarchy contains a high risk of overturning. That is, it is usually perceived that the settled hierarchy or order of elder and younger brothers does not have strong durability. In many stories in which twins are the subjects of the narration, the twins are more often in a conflicting relation than in a cooperative and harmonious relation. For example, in “Cheonjiwangbonpuri” the creation myth of Jeju Island, the twins Large Star King and Small Star King reveal their hierarchical relation by the words ‘Large’ and ‘Small,’ but the Small Star King never admits that he exists in a vertical human relation with the Large Star King. This is clearly confirmed when the Small Star King continues to suggest a competition for the exclusive possession of the world. In a word, they admit the vertical human relation outwardly, but inwardly it is regarded as a loose human relation that is highly likely to collapse. This suggests paradoxically that family is a group not based on horizontal human relations but based on vertical human relations.

Not only in traditional Korean society but also in contemporary society, a couple can hardly establish their marriage without their parents’ involvement. Even if it is possible, most husband-wife families formed through marriage are somehow placed in the network of vertical human relations built by established families. In this sense, marriage does not go beyond the hierarchy and order of vertical human relations formed through birth. Representative examples are the human relations between father-in-law and son-in-law, between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, etc.

From the discussion above, it seems obvious that vertical human relations are maintained consistently through the establishment of a husband-wife family through marriage, the birth of new family members, namely children, and the development of next-generation husband-wife families through the children’s marriages. However, we should take note of the fact that the importance of such relations in maintaining family was understood not in the factual dimension but in the perceptive dimension, and such understanding was projected onto most of the stories. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the understanding of vertical human relations in the perceptive dimension can lead to the proposition that family must be based on vertical human relations. It is because a settled perception and proposition for an object creates an ethical value apart from the matter of
right and wrong, and such an ethical value needs a scapegoat.

Stepmother stories are a type of family story that are particularly important in this regard. It is because stepmother stories involve both birth and marriage, the two concepts discussed above in connection to family, and exhibit how important the vertical human relations created by birth and marriage are in a family group. Thus, we will examine this point briefly using a typical example of a stepmother story before continuing our discussion.

There was a girl in a town called Mokju. She was famous for her filial piety to her father and stepmother, but her father listened to her stepmother and mistreated his daughter severely. Nevertheless, the girl supported the parents even more sincerely. One day, however, she was thrown out of the house by her parents. Leaving her parents, she met an old woman in a stone cave in a mountain and told her what had happened. The old woman had pity on her and allowed the girl to stay with her. The girl served the old woman just like she had served her parents. The old lady received her as her daughter-in-law. The couple lived peacefully and accumulated great wealth. Hearing that her parents were in poverty, she invited them to her house and supported them with all her heart. However, the parents were not pleased with her. Deploving this, the filial daughter composed a song (Mokja-ga) (Koryosa).

The stepmother story above is one of the oldest stepmother stories in Korea. Thus, it is expected to suggest the archetypal form of stepmother stories. For this, we need to answer questions such as what permeates the three stories and what correlation it has with ‘vertical human relations’ that we focus on in connection to ‘family.’ In this regard, we may point out characteristics as follows. First, stepmothers are depicted negatively. Second, stepmothers confront the children of the former wife. Third, the husband is described as an incompetent man. These characteristics are common factors of stepmother stories, and in particular, the second and third are the most essential features of stepmother stories. It is because confrontation between the stepmother and the former wife’s child is the basic outline of stepmother stories, and this confrontation is possible due to the husband’s incompetence. If the husband had played his role properly, the stepmother might not have been able to persecute and slander the former wife’s child. In this sense, the husband’s incompetence is the factor that enables the stepmother to
commit evil deeds in stepmother stories.

However, stepmothers’ evil deeds cannot be fully explained by the husband’s incompetence alone. We need to consider people’s emotions toward a stepmother. Examining closely the second factor, ‘confrontation between the stepmother and the former wife’s child,’ we can find that the emotion is made concrete by the stepmother’s severe mistreatment and driving out of the former wife’s child. Why does a stepmother do such things and what is the ultimate purpose of such deeds? Part 4 of Volume I, “Second Marriage” in Ahn Family’s Codes of Conduct interprets this as “a naturally occurring phenomenon in a real life situation, not just because of the woman’s strong jealousy and the man’s falling in love with the second wife.”

In addition, it is believed that the husband can treat a child from his second wife in the same way as he treats one from his former wife, but the second wife regards a child from the former wife as an obstacle to everything. For this reason, stepmothers cannot help mistreating the former wife’s child, and this produces the negative image of stepmothers. Accordingly, such a negative image of stepmothers is emphasised by their efforts to ‘remove the former wife’s child.’ This is because this may be a stepmother’s natural human instinct in real life. The story might be different if most stepmothers could overcome ordinary human nature, but how many stepmothers are able to do that in real life? In this sense, ‘a stepmother of negative image’ may be a necessary evil that has to appear in human society.

If we understand this discussion in terms of ‘vertical human relations,’ which are the fundamental human relation advocated in family stories, we can say that ‘a stepmother’ is a being who aggressively attempts to destroy existing vertical human relations and establish new vertical human relations. In such a trial, the former wife’s child is perceived to be the only obstacle that may frustrate the stepmother’s attempt. For this reason, if she can remove the former wife’s child, the stepmother becomes able to form her own family equipped with completely new vertical human relations. Of course, this assumes that the stepmother has her own children, so in a stepmother story, not only the stepmother’s own marriage but also the birth of her children plays a critical role. This is because both marriage and the birth of children are the fundamental motives that support vertical human relations in a family.
Stepmother stories reveal that vertical human relations among family members are in violent conflict. Vertical human relations hidden behind ordinary family stories make it impossible to hide the human emotions felt by members of a remarried family, particularly the stepmother, when they collide with one another. Therefore, a stepmother can inflict ruthless violence on the former wife’s child that is legitimately based on the hierarchy of vertical human relation. It is because the stepmother holds a certain position in the family hierarchy, namely the motherly position over the former wife’s child. Furthermore, the husband’s incompetence strengthens the stepmother’s authority as a mother. Through this, the hidden violence of vertical human relations established among the family members provides a natural ground for focusing on ‘the stepmother.’ In this, we can find all the reasons why the stepmother is described as a violent figure in all stepmother stories. What is more, such an image of the stepmother is based on a kind of social consensus, though informal. This is because human emotion in real life, as is pointed out in Ahn Family’s Codes of Conduct, is not applied to a specific stepmother, and we can see the regular pattern of a stepmother mistreating the former wife’s children. Particularly because ‘the regular pattern’ here permeates all stepmother stories, we need to examine the meanings of the pattern in detail. Such examination may be a way to identify the core of stepmother stories.

3. Stepmothers’ evil deeds and typical patterns, and informal social consensus

From the oldest stepmother stories in Korea, China and Japan, we can find a typical pattern related to stepmothers’ evil deeds. It is that they initiate the mistreatment of the former wife’s children. What we are curious about are the detailed contents and patterns of mistreatment. Another question is how the patterned contents of mistreatment are different according to the gender of the former wife’s child. These points are missed by many of the previous studies on stepmother stories, and, as far as this author is concerned, answering these questions is the way to find the literary value and meaning of stepmother stories within the category of family stories.
In this regard, this study looks at a number of stories transmitted in Korea and Japan, and the one to be discussed first is “The Bride without Hands.” It has been reported that this study has around 18 versions, and research on its connection to novels has made some progress mainly focusing on: type system; mythological characteristics; psychological analysis; relevancy to novels; comparison with similar folktales in neighboring countries; and literary therapeutic analysis. In this study, however, we attempt to explore meanings overlooked in previous studies by focusing on the stepmother’s evil deeds in this story and their typical pattern in the category of stepmother stories. For this, we collected from these 18 versions a number of versions with relatively logical narrative development, extracted their outlines, and compared the versions based on the outlines.

A man who was bereaved of his wife and had a daughter remarried. The stepmother persuades her husband to drive out the former wife’s child for the prosperity of the house based on a fortuneteller’s words. The father cuts off both of his daughter’s hands with a fodder chopper and drives her out. The two amputated hands fly up to heaven. The girl

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7 Kim Hye-jeong, A Study on the Typical Organization of Bride without Hands, Kyonggi University, a thesis for a master’s degree, 2002.
without hands climbs up a pear tree beside a house in order to appease her hunger, and there she is noticed by the boy in the house who is reading. The boy hides the girl in the wall closet of his room and cares for her. However, a maidservant recognises that the amount of food eaten by the boy has been changed and she peeps into the boy’s room. She finds that the boy hides a girl in the wall closet and reports it to the lady of the house. Hearing about the girl’s situation from her son, the lady lets the girl marry her son. While her bridelroom is away for the civil service examination, the bride without hands gives birth to a son. She writes her husband a letter, saying that she has given birth to a beautiful son, but the hostess of the inn where the postman stays steals the letter and changes its contents, saying that the baby does not have either eyes or a nose. In his reply, the bridelroom asks her wife to raise the baby well, but the innkeeper again steals the letter from the postman and fabricates it, telling the parents to drive out the bride without hands. Receiving the forged letter, the mother-in-law drives out the bride with her baby. As she is trying to drink water at a wall, a thunderstorm pours down rain and the bride, with her baby on her back, falls into the well. Then, her hands are restored. The mother and baby are adopted by Old Lady Magu in Mt. Cheontae and they live together. When the boy becomes five years old, the bride encounters her husband, who is on his way home after passing the civil service examination. She tells her husband that her hands were restored, as her dead mother had kept them in the well. The husband brings his wife and son home in a palanquin. When the bride returns, she finds that her parents have already been ruined. The innkeeper was her stepmother. After that, the husband and wife lived a long happy life.

As outlined above, a key point of “The Bride without Hands” is that the former wife’s daughter is thrown out with her hands amputated but the hands are later restored. This is common among all the different versions. What is more, the amputation of the former wife’s daughter’s hands is closely associated with the stepmother’s evil deeds because the stepmother provides the motivation for the amputation. Accordingly, we need to examine this point closely in order to understand stepmothers’ evil deeds and the typical pattern of the evil deeds.

After he remarried, the stepmother came in and worked the daughter hard. However hard the stepmother was, the fifteen or sixteen-year-old girl endured it and did everything the stepmother ordered. If her stepmother told her to weave, she wove, and if her stepmother told her to weed, she weeded. The stepmother said to herself, “What a talented girl she is! She does everything so well. I cannot let her be.” So she said to her husband, “That girl! She must be driven out for our family’s peace and prosperity.”

If a fifteen or sixteen-year-old girl does housework well, she must be praised. However, the stepmother envies the stepdaughter and urges her husband to cut off the daughter’s hands and drive out her, saying that this is what a fortuneteller told her. As a result, the daughter, with her hands amputated, is driven out by her father. What we should examine carefully here is the correlation between ‘a woman’s domestic labour’ and ‘her hands.’ In most families, housework is exclusively the women’s share. Thus hands are essential for women’s housework. A woman without hands is not able to do housework any longer. Furthermore, a family does not need such a woman.

However, considering that the former wife’s daughter is mistreated through heavy housework in a number of different versions of “The Bride Without Hands” and “Kongjwi Patjwi,” we can hypothesize ‘woman ≒ domestic labour’ as a higher category that subsumes ‘a woman’s domestic labour ≒ a woman’s hands.’ The assumption of the higher category is believed to give a very important implication for understanding social consensus projected on stepmother stories. It is because one of typical patterns in the stepmother’s mistreatment of the former wife’s daughter in stepmother stories is associated with ‘woman’s ability to perform labour.’ In one version of “A Bride without Hands,” when a minister with a son and a daughter remarries, he hides the daughter, believing that the stepmother may mistreat her. Let’s think about the fact that he thought

14 Ibid., pp 332-333.
15 This is confirmed clearly by “The End of a Stepmother Who Mistreated Her Stepdaughter,” a different version of “The Bride without Hands.” The outline of the different version is as follows. “The stepmother forces the stepdaughter to do all kinds of housework. The stepdaughter completes everything perfectly. Then, the stepmother orders the stepdaughter to find dropwort, which cannot be found in midwinter. The stepdaughter gets dropwort with a bachelor’s help. The stepmother kills the bachelor and gives the same order to the stepdaughter. The girl revives the dead bachelor and gets dropwort again. Then, the stepmother cuts off the stepdaughter’s hands and throws her out.” Lim Jae-hae, Grand Collection of Korean Oral Literature 7-10, Academy of Korean Studies System, 1984, pp 890-894.
only of his daughter, and not his son, as a target of mistreatment. Then what would a woman like a stepmother use to mistreat the former wife’s daughter? It may be transferring her housework to the former wife’s daughter or acting out of jealousy over the daughter’s perfect completion of housework. An extreme and concrete representation of the stepmother’s jealousy is ‘amputating the hands of the former wife’s daughter.’

Another typical pattern that we can find from the stepmother’s evil deeds in “A Bride without Hands” is ‘pregnancy.’ As shown to some degree in the version mentioned above, the stepmother does not let the former wife’s daughter live a new happy life. At first, she drove out the stepdaughter in the name of the prosperity of the family, but later she revealed her wickedness by changing the contents of letters so that the former wife’s daughter would be thrown out of her husband’s house. That is, she fabricates the story that the stepdaughter gave birth to a monster-like baby and causes her to be driven out by her mother-in-law.

A number of different versions of “The Bride without Hands” use ‘pregnancy’ in their introductory part as a means of creating a pattern for the stepmother’s evil deeds. This proves that ‘pregnancy’ can be used as a typical event for describing a stepmother’s evil deeds against the former wife’s daughter. When a stepmother secretly did the former wife’s daughter harm, she must have known that ‘extramarital pregnancy’ is the most powerful cause for social disgrace for a woman, and this was not only the perception of women such as the stepmother but also that of men. Accordingly, stepmothers might utilise women’s sexuality and specifically social perceptions of a virgin’s sexuality.

Yet another version of “The Bride without Hands” that shows this is “The Virgin without Hands Driven out by Her Stepmother”17. In the version, the stepmother finds the former wife’s daughter, who had been hidden by the minister, causes her to have a stomachache by feeding her wild buckwheat paste, and then she puts a skinned mouse in the stepdaughter’s underwear while she is sleeping in order to fabricate a miscarriage. The minister, who accepts the fabrication as fact, cuts off his daughter’s hands and orders his son to kill her by dumping her into the river. What is curious about this is the fact that the minister cut off his daughter’s hands and then ordered his son to kill her by

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dumping her into the river. If he had intended to kill her from the beginning, it would not have been necessary to amputate her hands. Of course, this may be understood as a result of mixture with other stories, but may also be a consequence of the dual significance of ‘a woman’s hands.’

In the early discussion, we examined how closely ‘a woman’s hands’ is correlated with ‘a woman’s domestic labour.’ Then, do ‘a woman’s hands’ indicate only ‘a woman’s domestic labour’? Are they not related with ‘pregnancy’ at all? In a Koryo folk song “Ssanghwajeom”, which contains indecent descriptions, sexual intercourse between a man and a woman is described symbolically by each seizing the other’s wrist. In the myth “Mr. Dorang and Bride Cheongjeong” as well, Bride Cheongjeong goes through several tests in order to meet Mr. Dorang, who died even before the first night, and her failure of the tests results from her attempt to grasp Mr. Dorang’s hand first. Grasping Mr. Dorang’s hand represents Bride Cheongjeong’s hidden sexual desire but, at the same time, it was considered immoral for a woman to grasp a man’s body part with her hand. Considering these facts, accordingly, ‘the amputation of the daughter’s hands’ in “The Bride without Hands” implies a punishment for her immoral sexual deed.

From the discussion above, we can derive the typical patterns of a stepmother’s evil deeds against the former wife’s daughter as follows: the transfer of domestic labour to the former wife’s daughter; jealousy over the stepdaughter’s perfect completion of housework; and dishonoring the stepdaughter by fabricating extramarital pregnancy. In a word, ‘domestic labour’ and ‘pregnancy’ are typical patterns used to describe a stepmother’s evil deeds. What is more, “The Bride without Hands” describes the stepmother’s evil deeds more vividly by presenting the act of ‘hand amputation’ in connection to these typical patterns. That is, ‘hand amputation’ is described as a symbolic act that not only removes the former wife’s daughter but also destroys her abilities as a woman to work and conceive.

In order to see how authentic such a characteristic is, however, we need to examine what evil deeds stepmothers commit against the former wife’s son. “Medicine Liver,” a folktale with around 20 different versions reported throughout the country, describes the stepmother’s evil deeds against the former wife’s son. Using this story, let us examine the typical patterns of stepmothers’ evil deeds against the former wife’s son in
comparison with their evil deeds against the former wife’s daughter.

Upon his wife’s death, a man remarries. The stepmother plots with a shaman and says that she has to eat the stepchildren’s livers. The father orders a hunter to kill the children and bring their livers. However, the hunter sends dog liver instead of the stepchildren’s livers. The stepmother pretends to eat the dog liver and says that she has recovered from the illness. The stepchildren settle at an old man’s house. They pass the civil service examination and succeed. Returning home, the stepchildren put the stepmother in a palanquin made of brier and place the palanquin at an intersection with a public notice telling passersby to pull the saw. However, they cannot bring themselves to kill the father. After this, the stepchildren live long and happy lives.18

As outlined above, “Medicine Liver” shows a somewhat different pattern from stepmothers’ evil deeds against the former wife’s daughter discussed earlier. In this story, the stepmother does not mistreat the former wife’s sons through heavy work, nor does she fabricate the sons immoral affairs with women. What is more, the story tells of no abilities of the stepsons that are equivalent to the stepdaughter’s perfect performance of domestic chores. Accordingly, the stepmother does not show jealousy over the stepsons’ abilities. The only thing that she is jealous of is the husband’s care for the sons so that they can study at a temple. That is, she is envious of the husband’s attention to the former wife’s sons. Furthermore, the stepmother grieves over her childlessness and the expected ill-treatment by the former wife’s sons in the future. Thus, in order to control her husband’s estate, she hatches a plot to remove the stepsons. According to the plot, she pretends to fall sick and urges the husband to get the stepsons’ livers.

Interestingly, while a stepmother is described as one who can exercise her authority over the former wife’s daughter, here she instead treads lightly around her stepsons. This may reflect the position and social perception of daughters and sons in a family rather than the relation between a stepmother and the former wife’s children. The storyline suggests the common idea that a stepmother is allowed to do anything with the former wife’s daughter but not with the former wife’s son.

In order to clarify further the typical pattern of stepmothers’ evil deeds against the

former wife’s son, let us look at another story. This story, titled “Umoknangsang” has 
some seven versions found so far, and its plot is as follows: A man, who is a government 
official, loses his wife and is left with a son, and he marries again. One day the man is 
exiled to a remote place, and the stepmother shows her stepson a forged letter saying that 
the father fell ill in the place of exile and the only remedy is the eye of a living person. 
The son gouges out one of his eyes and gives it to her, and the stepmother puts it in a 
needle box. After a while, the stepmother presents another fabricated letter that mentions 
the father’s sickness. The stepson takes out his remaining eye. Then the stepmother 
drives out the son. The blind son makes a pipe out of bamboo and begs around. The 
father is released, and on his way back home he is attracted by the sorrowful sound of 
the pipe and meets his son, but the blind son does not recognise his father and is led 
home by the father’s hand. Following the doctor’s prescription, the father collects a 
bucket of tears, soaks the dried eyeballs from the needle box in the tears, and puts them 
back in the son’s eye sockets. The son’s sight is restored and the stepmother is punished. 

In “Umoknangsang”, the stepmother makes the former wife’s son gouge out his eyes 
on the pretext of the exiled husband’s illness. “Worrying about her own son’s future due 
to the former wife’s son, in case the husband never comes home,”\footnote{<Filial Son Yoon’s Pupil>, Yoo Jeong-seon, Traditional Stories in Yeongnam, p 416.} she envies the 
stepson. So she fabricates a false letter and blinds the stepson, and this scheme is carried 
out very cleverly. She makes the stepson gouge out his eyes himself by appealing to his 
filial affection. Here again, a question is raised as in the stepmother stories above. If the 
stepmother worried about her own son’s future, why did she make the stepson gouge out 
his eyes instead of killing him, which might be a more perfect solution? We may thus 
identify two typical patterns of stepmothers’ evil deeds against the former wife’s son. 
One is killing by taking out the liver and the other is gouging out the eyes to deprive the 
stepson of the ability to function socially. Blinding is considered equivalent to 
amputating the hands of the former wife’s daughter in order to destroy her existence as a 
woman. This is evidenced clearly by the blind stepson’s begging. 

Through the discussion above, we can see that the typical pattern of stepmothers’ 
evil deeds is different depending on whether the former wife’s child is a son or a 
daughter. That is, unconditional sacrifice is forced on the former wife’s daughter through
domestic labour, extramarital pregnancy, etc. and on the former wife’s son through his sacrifice to cure his parent’s disease. In addition, such typical patterns mean the deprivation of the deprivation of the former wife’s daughter’s position at home and the deprivation of the former wife’s son’s position in society. In order to restructure the vertical human relation of the family, the stepmother has to deprive the former wife’s children of their positions based on the established family relation. In this sense, stepmother stories reveal violence that is either hidden in families built on vertical human relations or tabooed in normal families.

4. Understanding ethical values through comparison of stepmother stories

If evil deeds in stepmother stories have relatively typical patterns, there must be some ethical values involved. This is because an established value restrains human behaviors, and it may be adopted as an undeniable value in literary works. In order to prove this, we will make a brief comparison with a similar folktale in Japan.

“The Bride without Hands” transmitted in Japan has around 114 versions found so far. Among them, we chose one whose narrative development is logical for our discussion.

A rich man in Osaka leaves home for Edo for business, and while he is gone, the stepmother tries to kill the pretty stepdaughter but fails to do so. She orders one of her retainers to kill the stepdaughter, but, not wanting to kill her, the retainer just cuts off the girl’s two hands and abandons her on a mountain. In order to quench her thirst, the girl with the amputated hands comes down to a village and picks a pear from a pear tree in a yard. Reading the doorplate of the house, the girl murmurs that she was engaged to the son of the family. A servant of the house hears this and reports it, and the girl without hands becomes a daughter-in-law of the family. After her husband leaves home for a business trip, the girl without hands gives birth to a son. The servant who has been sent to report this news to her husband stops by the girl’s maiden home. The stepmother intoxicates the servant with alcohol and changes the letter. In the same way, she changes the contents of the return letter from the husband of the girl without hands. Reading the letter, the parents-in-law cannot help but drive out the girl without hands and her son. At a
Buddhist shrine by the roadside, the girl prays for the restoration of her hands. On the way, she meets an itinerant monk and learns from him that her hands will be restored when she is surprised. When she tries to drink water flowing under a rock, the baby on her back nearly falls off. She is startled and tries to hold onto the baby, and her hands are restored. The girl meets the itinerant monk again and settles at a temple he tells her about. When her son becomes four years old, the husband returns home and goes out to find his wife and son. After two or three years, the husband visits the temple that the itinerant monk tells him about. The boy shouts “Daddy!” and runs to his father. The three return home and live a happy life. The stepmother loses her sight due to her evil deed. One with an evil heart is punished.20

Like the other versions presented earlier, The Bride without Hands” transmitted in Japan shows the common pattern of the stepmother trying to kill the former wife’s daughter. In comparison, the stepmother in the Korean version of “The Bride without Hands” mistreats the former wife’s daughter through all kinds of hard work or disgraces her by fabricating an extramarital pregnancy. Moreover, the stepmother in the Japanese story orders her retainer to kill the former wife’s daughter—that is, the daughter of the retainer’s lord—but the retainer has pity on her and sets her free after only amputating her hands. Cutting off the stepdaughter’s hands functions as a symbol indicating that the retainer is faithful to his duty. In the Korean story, on the contrary, there are largely two reasons for amputating the stepdaughter’s hands. One is that she is extremely good at housework, and the other is her extramarital pregnancy, which is immoral for a virgin. As discussed above, both of these reasons are closely associated with hands. Therefore, the stepdaughter’s loss of her hands in the Korean story is considered highly relevant to the stepmother’s intentions. That is, the stepmother wanted the stepdaughter’s hands to be cut off. Without hands, the stepdaughter cannot be good at housework any longer and will be perceived to be an immoral woman by society. Either way, the stepdaughter can hardly lead a normal life as a woman.

Which is more immoral: killing the stepdaughter completely or impairing and defiling what is most important to a woman, domestic labour and pregnancy? There may not be a definite answer to this question. If one is more immoral, is the other less

immoral? What is immoral is simply immoral, and it is difficult to give a relative value to it. This is because, both in the Korean and Japanese stories, killing or driving out the former wife’s daughter is a consequence of the stepmother’s envy and jealousy of the stepdaughter. In this sense, the core of the question is whether the consequence of envy and jealousy is limited to individuals or goes beyond individuals.

Concentrating on this question, we may draw conclusions as follows. In the Japanese folktale, the stepmother is engrossed only in killing the former wife’s daughter. She does not plot with any of her family, and her deed is purely from her envy and jealousy. In this sense, her act is thoroughly personal. By contrast, the stepmother in the Korean version colludes with the stepdaughter’s father, namely, her new husband. As a result, the stepmother’s evil deed is replaced naturally with punishment enforced by the authority of the husband as the family head, namely, by the hierarchy and order of vertical human relations. Ultimately, the stepdaughter loses her position as a daughter in the family and as a woman in society. From this viewpoint, the stepmother’s envy and jealousy, and her evil deeds as the visible representations of this envy and jealousy, have a strong social aspect. Punishment is the most convenient means for maintaining a group, and it is found in the family, which is the smallest social group. What is more, the stepmother’s evil deeds in the Korean story are shared with her husband and this means that such evil deeds were carried out under the patriarchal system. From this viewpoint, we can say that the stepmother’s evil deeds are underpinned more by masculine ethical values in the Korean story than in the Japanese version; that is, such deeds are based on ethical values that exist under the patriarchal system.

Next, there are 15 versions of “Medicine Liver” reported in Japan. The outline of the story is not much different from the Korean equivalent: a man loses his wife to death and marries again. Plotting with a shaman, the stepmother pretends to be sick and says that she has to eat the stepson’s liver. The father explains the stepmother’s situation to his son (or orders his servant, a hunter, etc. to take out the son’s liver, or the father discusses with a deity in the temple and is instructed to give a dog liver). The servant brings a dog liver and lets the boy run away. When the stepson is wandering, the dead mother or her incarnation (or an old man, a Buddhist priest, a deity in the temple) appears and gives him a pipe and a magic fan. The son is hired as a horse driver by a rich man. The stepson
dresses himself gorgeously using the magic fan and plays the pipe in a festival. Seeing this, the rich man’s daughter falls so in love with him that she falls ill. Advised by a fortuneteller, the rich man has his servants appear before her as she lies in bed, and when the horse driver appears at last she receives his cup and is healed. Then the stepson transforms himself into a noble man and marries the rich man’s daughter. The stepmother starves to death, or the father loses his sight and the stepmother comes to beg. The rice cake on the 3rd of March and the use of ibuki mugwort as a remedy originate from this story. Unlike this outline, however, a few versions do not mention the stepson’s marriage. The father saves the son using a duck liver, or the hunter saves the son using a monkey liver, or the father brings a dog liver as instructed by a deity. Later, when the stepson returns in gorgeous attire, the stepmother falls sick and dies, or the father tells the truth to the stepmother and she regrets her actions and raises the son sincerely, or a deity raises the son into a great man.

There is little difference in the general outlines of the Korean and Japanese folktales of the same line. With these stories, however, we may draw a conclusion similar to that for “The Bride without Hands” stories analyzed above. In the Korean story, the stepmother’s collusion with the husband is maintained to the end and her plot is discovered at the last moment. In the Japanese story, however, the collusion between the stepmother and the husband is broken easily and turns into a confrontation, or the husband persuades the stepmother to receive the stepson. Moreover, in the conclusion, the stepson’s punishment of the stepmother is not as impressive as in the Korean version. This is probably because social consensus on or perceptions of punishment for the stepmother’s evil deeds were not clearly formed. From these facts, we can see again that the stepmother’s evil deeds are carried out not by the stepmother alone but under the patriarchal hierarchy and order represented by the husband. The fact that stepmother stories were more popular than stepfather ones may be understood as a visible phenomenon of patriarchal hierarchy and order, but its ethical value has to be dependent on the practical implementation of the hierarchy and order.

It is noteworthy that, because stepmother stories are commonly recited by women, they must have reflected women’s consciousness, but in Korea, women’s consciousness, which had already been masculinized, thoroughly permeated the stepmothers’ evil deeds. This is because the question of who would punish the stepmothers’ evil deeds and set standard
ethical values for the punishment is a social issue based on the family as the smallest social group, as well as an issue of society as a whole.
During the decades-long dominance of the *juch'e* ideology, North Korea’s official philosophy has demonstrated a curious inconsistency in its approach to the outside world. On the one hand, North Korean official thought has placed the DPRK at the spiritual centre of the world and presented *juch'e* as a beam of hope for all progressive mankind, quite in the mode of Soviet and Chinese Communist ideologies which used to summon the world to rally under their respective banners. Meanwhile, an over-arching national solipsism and an overwhelming militant anti-Americanism have significantly narrowed North Korea’s international perspective. These traits are particularly discernible in the most popular vehicle of North Korean propaganda, its creative writings.

When it comes to the visualization of overseas followers of *juch'e*, North Korean literary propaganda commonly employs mono-ethnic images of Korean nationals living overseas, mainly in Japan or South Korea. However, these personages are portrayed not as alien to the North Korean cultural space, but rather as forcefully expelled members of the North Korean community who suffer incurably because of their separation from the motherland and who share a belief in the greatness of *juch'e* and North Korean leaders, no matter from which part of Korea they originally hail from. As a Japanese Korean character in Hyŏn Sŏng-ha’s short story titled “Aroma” (1999) exclaims: “We are not refugees who have left our country in order to hide from the difficulties of war. Of course, we are not migrants who have left our country of our own free will. We are people who have been forcefully dragged here, crying tears of blood, at the point of the guns of the Japanese bustards. We did not want to come here; we do not want to live here. Our roots are in our motherland. The eternal motherland of our blood, our soul is in the embrace of our Land, of the Great Father Marshal.”21 The speech leaves a North Korean reader with the illusion that in 1999, Koreans in Japan are still living in captivity, unable to return to their Korean homeland—despite the fact that a route of repatriation has been available to them since 1959. Among innumerable

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Interestingly enough, North Korean creative writing provides practically no images of ethnic Koreans as enemies of the DPRK, apart from the usual senior South Korean politicians. However, even such villains, labeled as “American puppets” and referred to as “president” or “minister” including derogatory quotation marks, are not hopeless, and many North Korean writings include the process of awakening, remorse and reformation of loyalist servants of the South Korean regime. As examples of such reformed personages, take the South Korean interrogator of the North Korean patriot in the novel The Storm Fills the Big Sail27 or the family of the South Korean minister in the satirical story “The Feel of Civilization”28.

In contrast to numerous accounts of overseas Korean nationals as unquestionable supporters of North Korea, the fictionalized DPRK picture of the non-Korean environment appears, at first sight, to be significantly less friendly. A children's poem by Kim Ch’ang-mu, with a characteristic title “They Envy Us, They are Afraid of Us” (1998), conveys the idea of distrust and confrontation of the DPRK by the “whole world” in an ambiguous way: “The whole world envies us/The whole world is afraid of us/We are the nation of the sun/the nation which shines under the slogan of juch’e/We are the sons and daughters of guns and bombs.”29 Indeed, unlike Soviet and Chinese propaganda30, in the North Korean narrative of the alien non-Korean world centres not on

23 Ri Sang-min, “‘Manp’ungnyŏn’ ch’angga” [A Song in Praise of Good Harvest], Chosŏn munhak, 2005, #5 (691), 54-57.
27 Hong Sŏk-jung, P’okp’ungi k’un toch’ul p’yŏlch’inda [The Storm Fills the Big Sail]. Serialized in Ch’ollima, from 2007, #5 to 2009 #1.
28 Kim Ch’ŏng-nam, “Mumnyŏng kamgak” [The Feel of Civilization], Chosŏn munhak, 2000, #8 (634), 71-80.
29 Kim Ch’angmu, “Purŏwŏ haeyo, musŏwŏ haeyo’” (They Envy Us, They Are Afraid of Us), in Pok padun kangwan (Blessed Rivers and Mountains) (Pyongyang: Kamsŏng Ch’ŏngnyŏn Ch’ulp’ansa, 1998), 39.
positive figures of overseas friends and admirers of juch’e, but on vilified images of Americans as anti-heroes of things North Korean.

The negativist approach to Americans has become a logical consequence of the officially promoted self-perception of North Korea as a nation at war with the USA. Like any war-time propaganda, the North Korean art of persuasion, being dominated by the “military first” slogan, has aimed at motivating people to fight their foe and for that reason, it ignites hatred towards Americans by all means possible. In a standard North Korean narration, “American beasts” emerge as an evil monolithic entity stripped of any complexity, and associated exclusively with an aggressive US international policy and supposed war crimes committed on Korean soil. On a personal level, Americans are presented as opposites to the heavily idealised Koreans, with their indispensable purity, spontaneity, child-like vulnerability and high emotionality—qualities which are presented as testimonies to the perceived moral superiority of the Korean nation. These self-ascribed features constitute the core of the officially promoted pattern of North Korean identity which Brian Myers wittingly defined as the “child race”. The supposed antithesis of this “child race”, Americans, regardless of their class, gender, education or personality, emerge, first and foremost, as a bunch of emotionally inept creatures who may possess cunning minds but who are innately devoid of any human feelings.

The roots of this anti-American pattern in North Korean fiction of “socialist realism” can be traced in the writings of Yi T’ae-jun and such works as “The American Embassy” (1951)31, a piece of war-time propaganda which was highly commended by the Great Leader himself32 or in the works of Han Sŏl-ya such as Jackals (1951), Love (1960) or “Idiot Contest” (1958).33 These works present Americans as irrationally inhuman creatures whose cold-blooded cruelty is aimed in particular at the most vulnerable, Korean youngsters. These monsters can inject a little Korean boy with deadly bacillus (Han Sŏl-ya, Jackals), or run over and kill a little Korean girl just for fun (Han Sŏr-ya, Love). In later works of North Korean fiction this motif was further developed. In Ri

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32 Yi Ch’ŏl-ju, Puk-ŭi yesurin, 235.
33 On anti-American motifs in Han’s writings, see Myers, Han Sŏrya and North Korean literature, 122, 123.

Jackals has been reprinted in the DPRK many times. One of the recent republications was in 2003 in Chosŏn munhak (see Han Sŏr-ya, Sŏngnyanggi [Jackals], Chosŏn munhak, 2003, #8 (670), 44-64. In the following issue of the journal they published a critical article relating to the novel, under the title “Jackals are alive today”. See Pak Sŏng-guk, “Sŏngnyanggi onŭdo saraitta” [Jackals Are Alive Today], Chosŏn munhak, 2003, #9 (671), 77.
Ch’ŏng-su’s “Conversion” (1977) a seemingly kind and sensitive female American teacher breaks the hand of a little Korean boy as a punishment for the child’s accidental damage of flowers in her garden. In Kim Ch’ŏng-nam’s “The Feel of Civilization” (2000) an apparently intelligent employee of the American embassy in Seoul entertains himself by torturing animals and watching them die. In Kim Tŏk-ch’ŏl’s “An Unusual Marriage Ceremony” (2000), otherwise respectable American doctors cut the vital organs out of the living body of a healthy young South Korean boxer and use these organs as transplants for a rich American.

These horror stories can be summarized in the words of a female protagonist in the above-mentioned “Conversion”: “All Americans are evil no matter how they look”, and this still constitutes the majority of North Korean representations of Americans. Thus, it is difficult to argue with the opinion of Myers who defines the contemporary anti-American discourse of the DPRK as plainly and openly racist.

However, the question arises whether we can write off the entire North Korean view of the overseas world in this manner and claim that in a profoundly racist North Korean discourse “real fraternity between pure (Koreans) and impure (foreigners) is impossible” and that “all foreigners are inferior.” While such a generalization is tempting, and based as it may be on the overwhelming amount of hatemongering writings about “American beasts” in an overall ethnocentric North Korean propaganda, the actual international perspective of North Korean culture cannot be reduced to such texts alone. In order to fully comprehend North Korea’s view of the non-Korean world we should turn to alternative narratives of foreigners in North Korean culture.

Stories of “good foreigners” as a special genre in North Korean fiction

Despite the fact that racist anti-American narrations are placed at the forefront of North Korea’s propaganda, literature and the arts in the DPRK provide a range of accounts which testifies to the complexity of the North Korean vision of the foreign world. One good example of such

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34 Ri Ch’ŏng-su, “Ch’ŏnhwan” [Conversion], Chosŏn munhak, 1977, #8 (358), 49-59.
35 Kim Ch’ŏng-nam, “Mummyŏng kanggak” [The Feel of Civilisation], Chosŏn munhak, 2000, #8 (634), 71-80.
37 B. Myers, The Cleanest race, 131
complexity is the depiction of the sworn enemies of Korea, the Japanese, which is far from being one-sidedly racist. While in North Korean fictional portrayals of the colonial period or the Imjin War, Japanese characters are vilified in a manner similar to the racist anti-American propaganda, criticism of contemporary Japan and the Japanese is centred not on their racist denunciation as an “inferior/impure nation” but rather on an anti-capitalist criticism of Japanese society in which Korean characters (Koreans in Japan) are forced to live. Even in their condemnation of the aggressive anti-North Korean international policy of today’s Japan, North Korean literary propagandists refrain from racist comments on the contemporary Japanese. In the short story by Kim Ch’ŏng-su titled “My Arirang” (2002), Kim Il Sung directly instructs his subordinates that “we should separate militarism and the Japanese people”—a statement which is apparently anti-racist. North Korean writings about contemporary Japan often contain positive Japanese characters, such as “The Second Briefing” (2000) by Ryang Ch’ang-cho or “The Flag of the Republic” (2008) by Kim Sŏng-ho.

We should remember, of course, that a national solipsism of the North Korean picture of the world prevents North Korean writers from depicting foreigners in any capacity other than their relation to the DPRK. For that reason, positive Japanese characters in North Korean narrations, like other foreigners, share or at least sympathize with the “correct” ideology of the DPRK. In fact, all North Korean narrations about “good foreigners” fit into a special genre of texts about overseas admirers of the DPRK and the Great Leader.

This genre originates in a special body of fiction on the theme of Soviet-North Korean friendship of the late 1940s, which represented the response of North Korean literary propagandists to a request by Kim Il Sung in 1946 to extol the Soviet liberators. Today it unifies an array of narrations about people from all over the world, such as Russia, Japan, South America and Europe, which all revolve around one major storyline: an individual foreigner comes across things North Korean/the Dear Leader (a term which includes both Kim Il Sung and Kim

38 See, for example, Kang Kui-mi, “Tonjigap’ [The Wallet], Chosŏn munhak, 2001, #12 (650), 35-45.
39 See, for instance, Ri Sang-min, “Manp’ungnyŏn’ ch’angga” [A Song in Praise of Good Harvest], Chosŏn munhak, 2005, #5 (691), 54-57.
41 Ryang Ch’ang-cho, “Tupŏnchécha e kija hoekeyon” [The Second Briefing], Chosŏn munhak, 2000, #2 (628), 55-63.
Jong Il) and falls in love with them, sometimes in contradistinction to his/her previous political views and even against his/her own will.

The apparent goal of such stories is to enliven the artistic images of the Dear Leader/the DPRK/North Koreans by presenting them from an unusual perspective – a position well beyond the ethnic Korean boundaries. The stories also claim the universality of Korean values by emphasizing their supposed international appeal. However, in order to fulfill these intentional missions, North Korean literary propagandists must unavoidably “domesticate” characters of non-Korean blood by transposing onto them North Korean values and characteristics. “Good foreigners” in North Korean fiction not only share Korean cultural values and live like Koreans in their everyday life but they also offer their love to the Dear Leader and to socialist Korea with spontaneity, benevolent naivety and openness which brings them quite close to the pattern characteristic of the North Korean “child race”.

Needless to say, plausibility has never been a major concern of the North Korean authors of these “socialist realist” texts, so the degree of Koreanization of fictional “good foreigners” often reaches fantastic heights. For instance, a Russian protagonist of one such story, a female doctor living in the remote Siberian wilderness in 1986 eats kimch’i and rice for supper and plays North Korean marches on the piano just for pleasure. An old German lady, a character in another story, swears by Korean ginseng which she drinks for 14 years for health reasons. Her daughter-in-law, also a German woman, takes care of her mother in law in the typical fashion of a dutiful Korean daughter in law, with frequent bowing, massaging the feet of her mother in law and serving tea to her and her guests. Even an American antagonist in one such story cites a Korean proverb. In fact, the improbable Koreanness of overseas characters of North Korean narrations brings to mind patterns of early South Korean dramas, with positive foreign characters which essentially enjoy kimch’i, Korean traditional music and other officially sanctioned symbols of Korean culture. While these fabrications clearly reflect the national solipsism of both Koreas, the intentions behind these images of improbably Koreanized foreigners are quite benign— to familiarize outsiders of the Korean cultural space by presenting them in a recognizable mode as otherwise “normal people” rather than curiosities/strangers.

45 Paek Po-hŭm, “Yel taot pŏnchehe hac” [The Fifteenth Year], Chosŏn munhak, 2008, #7 (729), 11-22.
For all the Koreanization of their ways, these foreign characters are portrayed as having stereotypically non-Korean looks, with blue eyes, pale skin and blond/curly hair. Unlike negativist presentations of the physical appearance of white Americans in works such as *Jackals* by Han Sŏ-ya, these Caucasian features of “good foreigners” are described in complimentary ways. A Soviet nurse in a Korean hospital from the short story by Kim Hong-mu, “Marusya” (1960) “is slim, with a moon-like shining face, big eyes as poised as a deep marsh, and a clear forehead above which her blond hair waves” and her beautiful smile “shows snowy-white teeth.” A Soviet engineer Fedya in the short story by Hwang Ju-yŏp “Fedya” (1960) is portrayed as a gentle giant with “golden locks”. A French boy Julian from “A Spring in Pyongyang” by Han Ki-sŏk (1992, republished in 2010) is an “extremely cute boy, with curly blond hair, astonishingly blue eyes, oval face and milky skin”.

The attitude of fictional foreigners to Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il fully reproduce the “domestic” patterns of loyalty of North Korean citizens to their leaders. North Korean writers infantilize their overseas characters in the style of the Korean “child race”, portraying mature foreigners as naïve and highly emotional creatures and often directly comparing them to children. In one episode of “The Fifteenth Year” by Paek Po-hŭm the above-mentioned German character, a female anti-fascist activist of 83 years, links pinkies with the Dear Leader thus making him promise to live one hundred years. The narrator also relishes the “sweetness” of the episode, fondly comparing the old lady with a “little girl”.

Similar to the attitude of fictional North Korean characters, the attachment of fictional foreigners to the Dear Leader is based on an adoration of his personality rather than on any rational judgment of his activities. Overseas devotees rarely discuss the political values which the Leader represents or concrete material advantages of the state which was constructed under his guidance. At the very best, they briefly praise the DPRK in terms of general Communist rhetoric, as a “country of people”, where “there are no rich and poor”. At the same time, all narrations rave about the exemplary personal morality of the Leader and the mystical appeal of his personality. For example, in the short story by Chŏng Yŏng-ch'ong titled “A Glow in the Sky”

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the exemplary filial piety of Kim Jong Il, who mourned his deceased father Kim Il Sung for three years, impresses the new Russian leader Vladimir Putin to the extent that the Russian President reconsiders his own dismissive attitude towards the historical past of Russia and the Soviet Union and makes his policy more nationally oriented. A Russian female character in the same story claims that the glow of Kim Jong Il’s smile was like that of the icons in Russian churches and she could not take her eyes off it.54

The rhetoric in which attitude of fictional “good foreigners” to North Korean leaders is described follows quite closely the rhetoric of “domestic” North Korean writings. While comparisons to the “sun” or “god” are fixed terms for Kim Il Sung/Kim Jong Il in North Korean culture, fictional foreign devotees are portrayed as creating these terms independently. A passing acquaintance with Kim Il Sung forces an Ecuadorian Korea enthusiast, an old Umberto, to discard his life-long belief in the Sun God and come to the conclusion that the real Sun God of our age was Kim Il Sung.55 After much deliberation over the reasons for the ecological bliss in the DPRK, an English biologist, John Haw, comes to understand that North Koreans have their own unique “sun” which allows nature to thrive in the DPRK—the Dear Leader.56

Just like fictional North Koreans who by definition cherish the Motherland and their Dear Leader more than their blood relatives, the love of fictional foreigners for the Dear Leader supplants all their other human feelings and attachments. A casual gesture of kindness by the Great Leader, a tasty dinner together and a moment spent playing on swings, causes a deeply depressed seven year old French boy from the above-mentioned “A Spring in Pyongyang” to immediately forget the death of his father and become happy.57 The above-mentioned Umberto from the short story “Will” by Kim Myŏng-jin is hospitalized with myocardial infarction after receiving news of the death of Kim Il Sung and refuses to take a necessary operation because he feels his life is empty now, after “the Sun has set forever.” Only the news about the forth-coming genius Kim Jong Il is able to cure the inconsolable Umberto. Meanwhile, the near death of his only son in an accident does not force Umberto to postpone his next visit to the DPRK.58 The above-mentioned German admirer of the Leader who survived the death of her spouse with

54 Chŏng Yŏng-ch'ong, “No'ul” [A Glow in the Sky], Chosŏn munhak, 2001, #12 (650), 48-53, 53  
56 Song Pyŏng-jun, “Paeksŏlŭi pimil” [A Secret of Paeksŏl], Chosŏn munhak, 1988, #7 (489), 17-25.  
57 Han Ki-sŏk, “P’yongyangŭi pom” [A Spring in Pyongyang], Adong munhak, 2010, #4 (660), 9-17.  
exemplary stoicism loudly mourns the death of the Dear Leader, beating her chest and exclaiming “where did you go, why did you leave your Louise?” and her dutiful daughter in law in her early 60s joins her “sobbing like a child”59.

Myers was completely right when he mentioned the “tributary” nature of North Korean texts which involve foreign friends of Korea. However, there is nothing specifically anti-foreign in this demeaning pattern, for the fictional relations of the Korean “child race” with their Leader are similarly tributary and demeaning. In fact, these improbable narrations about foreigners are essentially anti-racist for they present people of non-Korean blood equally with North Koreans.

We must however stress that the texts about “good foreigners” do not entirely deprive North Koreans of their perceived moral superiority. While the North Korean “child race” is always depicted as unwaveringly moral, “childlike” foreigners often have to go a long way before they learn to live as virtuously as Koreans. A typical example of such a narration is the short story “A Secret of Paeksöl.”60 The protagonist, an English biologist John Haw devotes his academic career to cultivating and protecting a rare tree species but fails to achieve the outstanding results of his North Korean colleagues who succeeded in covering a vast tract of land with the blooming rare trees. John comes to understanding that the Koreans' success is the result of an exceptional devotion to the cause, a devotion which he himself lacks. John humbly recognises that while he is thinking so much about personal fame and money, Koreans devote themselves to a cause quite selflessly and wholeheartedly. While John is alone in his research, his North Korean colleagues receive support from the leader and the entire nation, including little children who help the adults to take care of the young trees. John is astounded to know that when during the Korean War a battle occurred on a mountain slope which was covered with the rare trees, a North Korean battery commander refused to allow his unit to use artillery in a concern for the trees and consequently died protecting the natural heritage of his socialist motherland. John cries at the thought of the exemplary moral nobility of the North Koreans whom he now perceives as “the most loving, beautiful friends”.61

As we can see, this text acknowledges the higher morality of the North Korean people but substantiates this morality not by an implied purity of blood of the Koreans but by the Korean ideology of socialist patriotism, socialist collectivism and loyalty to the virtuous national leader.

59 Paek Po-hŭm, “Yel tash tŏnche hae’ [The Fifteenth Year], Chosŏn munhak, 2008, #7 (729), 11-22, 21.
60 Song Pyŏng-ju, “Paeksŏlŭi pimil” [A Secret of Paeksŏl], Chosŏn munhak, 1988, #7 (489), 17-25.
Similar to the Communist propaganda of China and the USSR, the North Korean paradigm not simply places the “progressive nation” of North Koreans ahead of other people, but it also illuminates a path to this same bliss though the acquisition of a proper “progressive” worldview. All North Korean writings about “good foreigners” which I have encountered consistently emphasize the social and political advantages of North Korea’s “socialism of our style”, such as collectivism and nationalism or patriotism, are attainable by outsiders. The thought that with some effort people of other nations can construct a North Korean style paradise is a leitmotif of numerous North Korean texts about contemporary Russians. While post-Communist Russia serves as an anti-model in contemporary North Korean propaganda, Russian citizens are presented sympathetically, as victims of scheming international imperialism rather than as independent-thinking villains. North Korean authors make it abundantly clear that in order to restore their national glory Russians should follow the course of the independent DPRK. Works like Rim Hwa-won’s “The Fifth Photo” (2001), Ch’ŏng Yŏng-ch’ŏng’s “A Glow in the Sky” (2001), Kim Tae-sŏng’s “A Condition of Peace” (2009), or Ryang Ch’ang-cho’s “The Second Briefing” (2000) all deliver this idea in various forms.

In the set of North Korean advantages attainable to outsiders, the only exception is the figure of the Dear Leader whose exclusiveness is not questioned. However, North Korean propagandists make it quite clear that paradise is open for those foreigners who choose to be loyal to Kim Il Sung/Kim Jong Il.

In many North Korean accounts, the Leaders are depicted as being ready to protect people of non-Korean blood, in a similar manner to their own people. Most stories about overseas admirers in which foreign characters personally contact Kim Il Sung or Kim Jong Il reproduce normal patterns of communication of the Father Leader with his Korean “children”. The above-mentioned children’s story by Han Ki-sŏk, “A Spring in Pyongyang” is typical in this regard. The interaction of Kim Il Sung with the French boy Julian, a son of one of Kim’s recently deceased followers, is strikingly reminiscent of numerous North Korean texts in which the Leader cares

63 Rim Hwa-won, “Tasŏt pŏnch’æhæ sajin” [The Fifth Photo], Chosŏn munhak, 2001, #2 (640), 50-63.
65 Kim Tae-sŏng, “P’yŏnghwaui chokŏn” [A Condition of Peace], Ch’ŏngnyŏn munhak, 2009, #7 (608), 7-16.
67 Han Ki-sŏk, “P’yŏngyangui pom” [A Spring in Pyongyang], Adong munhak, 2010, #4 (660), 9-17.
about the offspring of his deceased revolutionary friends. The story emulates even such popular patterns as the Dear Leader marrying off sons and daughters of his deceased friends by finding good partners for them from families of good reputation. In “A Spring in Pyongyang” Kim Il Sung secretly introduces Julian to a beautiful Korean girl Mi-yŏng, a daughter of a North Korean diplomat, so she could “accidentally” discover and make friends with the lonely French boy and thus distract Julian from his depression.

Characteristically, no personages from the other socialist states are depicted as requiring additional enlightenment and social enthusiasm in North Korean narrations (see, for example, the thoroughly positive Russian character Sonya in Yun Kyŏng-ju’s “Red Roses of Siberia” (1988) or Eastern German characters in Kim Myŏng-ik’s “Spring in Golchev” (1987)). These already enlightened and highly moral personages are depicted as simply enjoying their encounters with equally virtuous North Korean brethren or the unique personality of the Dear Leader.

Though the texts about overseas admirers of the DPRK are less abundant than writings about “American beasts”, these texts clearly testify to the fact that the foreign discourse of the DPRK goes beyond the frame of racism. Sharing of “child race” imagery and values with people of non-Korean blood, in addition to the implied concept that the acquisition of a proper North Korean worldview opens a path of reformation to people of other nations, including the sworn enemies of Korea, the Japanese, identify the people of the DPRK with the human community all over the globe.

**Americans as “good foreigners”**

Considering the set role of the USA as a mortal enemy in North Korean “military first” propaganda one would not expect Americans to be the subjects of narrations about “good foreigners”. The essential anti-Americanism of North Korean fiction presupposes a typical plot in which American sub-humans initiate a threat against North Koreans but, being intimidated by the moral and physical might of the Dear Leader and the DPRK, they crawl on their bellies and plead for mercy. For typical examples of such personages one can have a look at the short story by Kim

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69 Kim Myŏng-ik, “Kolch’obŭŭ pom” [Spring in Golchev], *Chosŏn munhak*, 1987, #4 (474), 23-33
Ch’ŏl-min titled “It is Time to Answer”\(^{70}\) (2007) or Kim Tae-sŏn’s “Condition of Peace”\(^{71}\) (2009). This image of Americans serves perfectly the long-term political goals of North Korea’s leadership, and North Korean propaganda has expended much effort in reinforcing this picture lest North Koreans forget the “true face of the American beasts”. That is why racist anti-American classics such as Jackals by Han Sŏr-ya are constantly republished in the DPRK up until quite recently, often being adapted for younger readers or transformed into comics for female magazines. A rare issue of a North Korean literary magazine for children, *Children’s Literature*, would not contain anti-American narrations or visual images of Americans as scary and ugly “bogey men”.

However, North Korean propagandists proved that when political goals change, they are able to discard this fixed racist paradigm and easily fit Americans into the mould of a standard narration of “good foreigners”. A characteristic example of this flexibility is a short story by Kim Chun-hak entitled “Enchantment” [Maehok] \(^{(1998)}\)—a fictional representation of the events of 1994 when the former American President Jimmy Carter accompanied by his wife Rosalynn visited North Korea in order to convince Kim Il Sung that he should freeze the development of nuclear weapons in exchange for some concessions from the USA.

In his book “Our Endangered Values” (2005), the former American president recalls his visit to Pyongyang as one of innumerable meetings with various political leaders of the world which were a regular part of his long political career. He recalls his visit to the DPRK as follows: “responding to several years of invitations from the North Korean president Kim Il Sung and expressions of deep concern from Chinese leaders and with the approval of President Bill Clinton, Rosalynn and I went to Pyongyang and helped secure an agreement from President Kim that North Korea would cease its nuclear program at Yongbyon and permit IAEA inspectors to return to the site to ensure that the spent fuel was not reprocessed. The North Korean leader also promised me that he would hold full diplomatic discussions with South Korean President Kim Young Sam, who immediately accepted the invitation we delivered to him”.\(^{73}\) In hindsight, Carter expresses his firm conviction that at the time “the combined forces of South Korea and the United

\(^{70}\) Kim Ch’ŏl-min, “Hoidaphal tuaegi toyŏotta” [It Is Time to Answer], *Chosŏn munhak*, 2007, #7 (717), 41-53

\(^{71}\) Kim Tae-sŏn, “P’yonhwadari chogŏn” [Condition of Peace], *Ch’ongnyŏn munhak*, 2009, #7 (608), 7-13.

\(^{72}\) Kim Chun-hak, “Maehok” [Enchantment], *Chosŏn munhak* 1998, #9 (611), 22-34.

States could defeat North Korea", but that the casualties in such a potential war would be too enormous for the American ally, South Korea. The former American president expresses his belief that “good-faith diplomacy between the United States and North Korea is necessary” for the stability of the region.74

As we see, in this brief account Jimmy Carter mentions Kim Il Sung in a neutral tone, obviously unconcerned about the actual status of the North Korean leader (Kim Il Sung has never been a President of the DPRK). Carter speaks in a matter-of-fact manner of the “several years of invitations” from Kim Il Sung prior to the visit and Kim’s “promise” to have diplomatic discussions with the American ally. For the former leader of the world’s superpower, this cool and confident approach to what Carter obviously perceives as a trivial nuisance rather than a major international problem and one which in addition does not represent any direct threat to the USA, is rather predictable. Judging by other accounts of this meeting, Jimmy Carter described the personal characteristics of Kim Il Sung only once, briefly describing Pyongyang’s octogenarian as “vigorously” and “alert”.75 Rather than reflecting on his private emotions towards Kim Il Sung, Carter’s description of these characteristics are rather an evaluation of the efficiency of the old North Korean leader in the eyes of the ex-American president.

Yet, the fictional commentary on this historical meeting provided by the North Korean writer Kim Chun-hak paints a very different picture of the events.

While Carter’s unorthodox gesture was treated as a sign of appeasement even by some of his American colleagues,76 North Korean official propagandists did not depict the event in the fixed conventional schema of the “bestial Americans plead for mercy from the humane Koreans”. Instead, Kim Chun-hak portrays the Carter visit through the paradigm of “love which conquers all”; that is, love for the Great Leader allegedly conquers the hearts of the Carters and forces them to discard their life-long advocacy of “gunboat diplomacy” and to fall in love with North Korea. “Enchantment” focuses on the Carters' impressions of Kim Il Sung and depicts the various emotional states of Rosalynn and her husband before, during and after their meetings with the Great Leader. The rhetoric which the author uses to describe these impressions and emotional states of his characters is particularly interesting.

74 Ibid., 111.
75 Don Oberdorfer, The Two Koreas. 334.
It is easy to note that in his image of the Great Leader (or Chairman), Kim Chun-hak reinforces a common paradigm in North Korean literature. He portrays Kim Il Sung as a mighty but gentle giant, customarily comparing him to the sun ("the Chairman warmed up the surroundings like the sun heats the cold soil") or, alternately, to a god who "decides the fate of the USA". On the one hand, Kim Il Sung is "an experienced Marshal who had once destroyed with one blow the UN forces under the leadership of the USA, and who openly named their homeland, America, 'the ringleader of the world's imperialists' and struggled with America. [He] was an indomitable anti-imperialist fighter who openly summoned the world's people to fight the USA... Marshal Kim Il Sung, if necessary, would not hesitate to engage in the mortal struggle which would erase America from the face of the world". He is portrayed as a "self-confident rebel who feared neither sanctions nor war" with the USA. On the other hand, Kim’s smile is depicted as "shining and charming" and his manners "poised". He is a "politician who wipes the tears of his people", a person of "rich human beauty of the soul and a broad mind." The approaching bright smile of the Chairman makes "the flowers bloom fuller and butterflies and bees fly more happily". Whilst explaining why Kim Il Sung has remained in power in the DPRK despite his advanced years, the narrator emphasizes that "in the same way there is no particular term in office for God in heaven, there is no term in office for Kim Il Sung on earth. The fact that he remains in office is his kind service to the people". This merging of bombastic militant clichés with soft, sentimental expressions is a typical way of portraying the Dear Leader in the North Korean literary tradition.

The presentation of the Carters in the story, however, is significantly different to the normal stereotype of Americans as ugly immoral creatures of cunning mind and no feelings. This presentation is surprisingly favourable, but in a specifically North Korean manner. Casual comments by Kim Chun–hak testify to the fact that he is well informed about the actual details of the visit as well as about the life and activities of both Carters. However, faithful to the tradition of a tale of the good foreigner, this North Korean author robs his American protagonists of common sense and the advantages of their rich life experiences and strongly infantilizes them in different ways.
Rosalyn Garter the “teenage girl”

In reality, Rosalynn Carter is a former first lady of mature age, who has been an indispensable helper to Jimmy Carter in his long political career and is known as a veteran of high level politics—an activity which naturally requires a pragmatic mind, general sensibility and level-headedness. Kim Chun-hak in fact acknowledges that in everyday political activities, Rosalynn is indeed known as a “steel magnolia”, implying a contrast between her delicate appearance and her strong personality.

Yet, in “Enchantment” this experienced person undergoes an extreme mental transformation during her few days visiting the DPRK. A meeting with Chairman Kim Il Sung allegedly turns this mature, assertive, rational and self-confident former first lady into a sensitive, animated and emotionally unstable schoolgirl whose “feelings betray her reasoning” and who unquestionably “follows the will” of the Great Leader.

Rosalynn is portrayed as being totally confused by the new North Korean scenery and her own mixed feelings towards Kim Il Sung (“she has lost herself in Pyongyang”, “she did not understand herself”, “her whole body was wrapped in unknown emotions”). Together with her husband, Rosalynn blushes in front of her idol, stiffens at the slightest deviation from diplomatic etiquette, awkwardly smiles in order to hide her embarrassment and shyness before Kim Il Sung, excitedly runs towards the Chairman to meet him in her room, “shakes”, “trembles” and “shivers” because of her uncontrolled feelings, suffers from emotionally driven insomnia and her inability to stop thinking of her idol the Chairman and plays the piano at night in a vain attempt to calm herself down. Several times throughout the text the author openly compares Rosalynn to a happy little girl (“her face was brightened with romantic feelings, like the face of a little girl”). As if to further stress the resemblance of Rosalynn to an excited schoolgirl, Kim Chun-hak has his mature heroine wear a light purple dress which gracefully floats as Rosalynn, thrilled and excited, walks fast-paced in her garden, deep in thought of the Great Leader. “Her whole soul was trembling with joy” when she beheld the beautiful “Kim Jong Il flowers” sent by Kim Il Sung to her room.

Instead of applying logical reasoning to the actions of Kim Il Sung, as a mature individual would, the child-like Rosalynn carefully watches his gestures and manners and listens to the sound of his voice, rather than contemplating the meaning of his words. In the typical mode of an
excited teenager who falls in love with a rock star at the first sound of his guitar, Rosalynn completely defines the personality of the Chairman at the first sound of his voice. This voice miraculously exposes to her such qualities of Kim Il Sung as “good will and friendliness, softness and delicacy, open-heartedness and depth, vitality and energy of a man in the prime of his life”. To the fictional Rosalynn, the butterflies and flowers which surround Kim Il Sung’s palace in Kumsusan are sufficient evidence that the DPRK is a civilized country which “has nothing to learn from others”. In the perception of the North Korean writer, the presumed absence of logical reasoning makes Rosalynn the most objective observer of the famous meeting, for she listens to the Great Leader “through feelings”.

Rosalyn not only behaves like a child but she also considers herself a child in comparison with the adult figure of Kim Il Sung. She feels that the Chairman lives for his people, while she and Jimmy are “like schoolchildren who have just started to learn the first letters of the special political handbook of the Chairperson who holds his people as exalted as heaven”. Rosalynn also feels that comparing any other American presidents, including her husband, to Kim Il Sung was “like comparing a little boy with God, or rather comparing the glow of a firefly with the sun”.

**Jimmy Carter as a “naughty boy”**

The ex-president of the United States feels and behaves in a similarly childish manner, striving to hide his shyness before the Chairman under an “unnatural smile” or by suddenly becoming “as stiff as a stone Buddha”. However, Jimmy’s perceived child-like behavior, like the behavior of the contemporary American administration which he represents, has different implications. While Rosalyn embodies the idea of naivety and the unconditional belief of a foreigner in the Great Leader, the immature behavior of Jimmy is instead related to his naughtiness and insignificance. When for example, on the first day of their meeting Kim Il Sung announces it is time to break for lunch, Jimmy’s facial expression is as happy as that of “a schoolboy, who was luckily spared by the sudden school bell from answering a difficult question from his strict teacher or showing his homework”. Like Rosalyn, Jimmy is aware of his own insignificance: during the discussions the former president of the USA was unable “to raise even one single objection to the words of
the Chairman.” The unexpected mercy of the chairman and the success of the negotiations left Jimmy feeling “dizzy with excitement”.

After a few days of contact with the Chairman, however, the first signs of conscientiousness awakened in the soul of Carter the “naughty boy”. He began to feel the “love and inner beauty” of the Chairman and felt shame for America and his compatriots. Discussing the American administration with the Chairman, Jimmy acts “like a parent whose children have been caught in a stranger’s garden and who has to apologize to the owner”.

Kim Il Sung and the Carters—mutual sensuality

In addition to the childhood metaphors of the Carters’ feelings towards the Chairman, their fictional relationships are permeated with a characteristic underlying sensuality—similar to the rhetoric of the standard North Korean writings about the love of North Korean citizens for their leader. In North Korean cultural discourse, expressions like “the leader is the lover of all Koreans” or the images of a girl who tosses in bed at night being enwrapped in thoughts of the Great Leader, are stereotypical. “Enchantment” follows this same line in its portrayal of the relationships of the Carters to the Chairman in scenes which often border on lewdness.

For example, in one scene Rosalynn confesses to the Chairman that his smile is the most beautiful in the world - even in comparison to the smile of her husband! Jimmy, in his turn, playfully comments that the Chairman has carried away the heart of his wife. Thinking about the Leader, Rosalynn feels estranged from her husband, feeling “embarrassed and strangely resistant” to Jimmy’s behavior and political actions. While the real Rosalynn is a strict Catholic and no longer a young woman the fictional Rosalynn desires to touch her idol physically, for example, “to put her small hand to the wide chest of the leader and feel the heartbeat of his mighty heart filled with the love of his people”. Jimmy, in his turn seems to be so enwrapped in “the love and human beauty” of the Chairman that he forgets his wife, thus making her envious. The Chairman seems to encourage the relationship, joking about taking Jimmy away from Rosalynn because her husband is so beautiful, about the youthful looks of Rosalynn, and so forth. The fact that this fictional narration omits any other real witness to the negotiations, such as the wife of Kim Il Sung, stresses the close personal interaction between the Chairman and the Carters.
It is difficult to adequately evaluate whether such scenes are transpositions of North Korean cultural norms on American characters, (it is unclear to what extent such sensual jokes and mutual confessions of love are considered normal in North Korea) or if they are transpositions of North Korean misconceptions of the West on Western characters (in North Korea, American social norms are often misinterpreted as excessively sexualized).

Conclusion

While a Western reader can scarcely find the image of the Carters in “Enchantment” flattering, the publication of this story is a significant and in my opinion, positive sign. The warm feelings of the Carters towards the Great Leader - with all their excess - are an indication that the North Korean author endeavored to humanize his American characters by applying to them a common framework of North Korean literature: the spontaneous eruption of emotions at the expense of cold logical reasoning. The spontaneity and naivety of the fictional images of the Carters correlates well with the patterns of “good foreigners” and, for that matter, “good North Koreans”. A characteristic feature of the story is the positive connotations of the pale skin and thin figure of Rosalyn Carter. While, as we will remember, these attributes are otherwise popular, negative signs of the “American beasts” in stereotypical North Korean narrations such as Jackals or “Conversion”, in “Enchantment” they emphasize the spirituality and delicacy of the American heroine—like in a standard story of a “good foreigner”. The appearance of Jimmy Carter is also referred to as “beautiful”, “attractive”, etc.

Because the rhetoric of unfinished war in still essential in North Korean propaganda and it largely defines a contemporary paradigm of the USA, texts like “Enchantment” constitute a minority of North Korean presentations of Americans. However, narrations which defy a standard vilifying pattern of Americans do exist in the North Korean discourse.

An image of Jimmy Carter as an admirer of Kim Il Sung can be found in the above-mentioned short story “The Fifteenth Year”. In this text, which was written ten years later “Enchantment”, Jimmy Carter is reported to declare in front of the journalists that “at the very moment of meeting with Chairman Kim Il Sung I was completely enchanted by him because I understood how sincerely the Chairman loves peace. Kim Il Sung is greater than the three greatest American
presidents, the Founding Fathers of America: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln”. It is also claimed that meeting with Kim Il Sung has allegedly taught Carter, who was famous for his “soft and fragile smile”, to smile broadly and sincerely. Carter who came to Pyongyang “with a scared soul”, started to relax and smile “ecstatically, like a person who has received the help of Christ or enlightenment from Buddha”\textsuperscript{77}. While this episode speaks more about the preferred attitude to Kim Il Sung rather than to Carter it depicts the American ex-president not as a regular “beast” but as a human who in order to act and feel like a “normal” North Korean simply requires some additional information and inspiration.

A science fiction story by Ri Kŭm-chŏl entitled “Change the course” (2004)\textsuperscript{78} presents various images of Americans. In this story a brave North Korean journalist saves a plane full of people from all over the globe, including the USA. The catastrophe is organised by the CIA and aims to demolish a progressive Russian scientist who happens to take the plane; yet potential victims of the crash hail from many countries, including the USA. While the text portrays the American terrorists in the regular manner of thorough villains, the other foreigners on board are portrayed quite sympathetically. Being at first suspicious of a North Korean hero at the end of the narration, they all fall in love with their brave savior and his supportive, humanistic and progressive country (the story includes no mentioning of the Dear Leader in any capacity). “Change the course” which is written in accordance with the Soviet canon of fiction about Communist saviors of the world clearly demonstrates a non-racist readiness of North Korea's official ideology to take people of all races under its wing.

North Korean literary and popular magazines along with major pieces of fiction and articles often publish snippets of information about the lives and activities of personalities from foreign cultures. Interestingly enough, Americans often feature in these columns and are treated quite respectfully, not unlike Beethoven or Tolstoy: see, for example, short materials about Hemmingway or Mark Twain\textsuperscript{79} in \textit{Korean Literature}. This testifies to the fact that when North Korean propagandists refer to Americans out of the war context they discard their usual militant rhetoric.

As one can judge by the genre of fiction about “good foreigners”, current anti-American racism, for all its prevalence in the North Korean discourse, is far from defining the entire North

\textsuperscript{77} “Paek Po-hŭm, “Yel tăsŏt pŏnchehe hace” [The Fifteenth Year], \textit{Chosŏn munhak}, 2008, #7 (729), 11-22, 12.

\textsuperscript{78} Ri Kŭm-chŏl, “Hanggorŏl pakkura”[Change the Course], \textit{Chosŏn munhak}, 2004, #5 (679), 71-80.

\textsuperscript{79} Anonymous, “Ŏnŏ gŏsi kachchairsa?”[Which one is false?], \textit{Ch’ŏngnyŏn munhak}, 2009, #3 (604), 40
Korean picture of the overseas world. It is also clear that despite the overpowering rhetoric of unfinished war between Korea and the USA, racism does not entirely define even the contemporary North Korean discourse of Americans. Texts like “Enchantment” demonstrate that North Korean propaganda is able to retreat from the mode of racist vilification of Americans and treat them as regular “good foreigners”. While this pattern can hardly be called objective, impartial, or pleasing (a rare European would associate himself/herself with fictional North Korean characters such as John Haw or Louise), its anti-racist implications are undeniable. Therefore, current anti-American racism in the North Korean discourse may yet still be but a transitory phase which may pass with the improvement of relations between the USA and North Korea or other changes in the political goals of North the Korean regime.

Cho, Wonhyong

Introduction

This study aims to investigate the text structures and the rhetoric as well as stylistic persuasion strategies of Korean religious didactic poems. Korea is one of the ‘multi-religious’ countries, in which so many religions coexist. Most of them are from abroad, but at least three religions – Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity (including Roman Catholic and Protestant) – became the major religions of Korea, whose influence covers all around Korea. And some new religions are also active in Korea.

In ancient Korea, there were only Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism in Korea. But in 1784 the Roman Catholic Church established indigenously1 in Seoul, Korea. The amount of Korean Catholics became more and more, although the Korean Government banned the Christian belief because the dogma of Christianity was different from Confucianism. Roman Catholicism was a new attractive religion to the Koreans of that era, because it taught the new morals and reform methods of Korean society.

In 1860, Choi Je-u founded a new religion, Donghak,2 whose dogma was a kind of summary of Confucianism, Buddhism as well as Taoism. Choi intended to reform the Korean society, but he was against the Roman Catholicism. That’s why he founded a new religion. Even the name of that religion, Donghak, means ‘the Eastern learning’, while the Roman Catholicism was called as Seohak, the Western learning, in 18–19th

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1 There was no missionary in 18th Century Korea. There were only Korean scholars who imported some Roman Catholic Books from China. They only ‘studied’ those books at first, but they have got ‘believing’ the Christian God afterwards. Martyr Lee Seung-lun Peter, baptized in 1784, was the first baptized Roman Catholic of Korea.

2 All Korean words in this paper is Romanized according to the ‘Revised Romanization of Korean’ released on 7th July 2000. It is different from the Yale Romanization. No miswriting of the original documents is arbitrarily corrected, and the orthography of 19th Century is preserved except so-called ‘arae a(*)’, which is Romanized into ‘a’.
Century Korea. In modern Korea, the official name of *Donghak* changed into *Cheondogyo*, whose meaning is ‘the religion of celestial reason’.

Both Roman Catholics and *Donghak* believers in that era wrote the didactic poems to propagate their religion to others. The didactic poem written in Korean language, *gasa*, was one of the mostly spread literature genre in Korea. They intended not only to explain the dogmas of their religion, but also criticized the society. To write an effective and attractive didactic poem, they tended to be a rhetorician. In the words, phrases and text structures of the Korean religious didactic poems we can find some text linguistic characteristics, which make them rhetorically more effective.

Cho (2009) investigated *cheonjugasa*, the Roman Catholic Didactic Poems, focusing on the text structures revealing the conflict between Confucianism and Roman Catholicism. To widen and deepen the issues of this preliminary study, the author of this line put his focus on the rhetoric methods ‘to reveal the will to reform the society’. It is sure that the Korean Roman Catholics intended to reform the Korean society with their belief, so that they conflicted against the Confucian Korean government who even killed them, but *Donghak* believers were not so hostile to the Confucianism itself, although they were also strictly against the Korean government. Therefore in the *donghakgasa*, the Cheondogyo didactic poems, we cannot find any conflict against the Confucianism. But in *donghakgasa* also we can find the desire to reform the people’s mind as well as the society.

Beaugrande (1997: 1) explained that “the top goal of the science of text and discourse (...) is to support the freedom of access to knowledge and society through discourse.” Cho (2009: 1) mentioned that this sentence of Beaugrande allows for the linguists to study on the religious didactic poems written in Korea. They have so many things to be investigated not only for the field of linguistics, but also for the other fields.

This research subject is related to the critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk 2001: 352). In this paper the author of this line will argue about the religious, philosophical as well as political position in which the authors of the religious didactic poems were located.
In chapter 2, the text structures of one cheonjugasa and one donghakgasa are analysed. Morphological, Syntactic, text linguistic features will be argued there. In chapter 3, critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be a main subject to be investigated. The CDA includes the mutual relationship between the text and society. In chapter 4, as a conclusion, the themes of this study will be summarised.

**Analyzing the text structures of two gasa works**

Selecting the gasa works to analyse
In this study, Sahyangga (Yearning the Hometown; cheonjugasa) and Gyohunga (The Instruction; donghakgasa) are mainly investigated. These two gasa works have some features in common as follows:

1. Contrasting the belief of the believer of the new religion and the opponent
2. Long verse (more than 200 lines) to tell diverse things

There are two kinds of religious didactic poems. One of them only explains the dogmas of the author’s religion, while the other intends to persuade the opponent to claim that the new religion that the author believes is righteous. Both Sahyangga and Gyohunga comprise some lines revealing the debates between the believer of the new religion and opponent.

Some gasa works are so short that only one or two themes can be explained. But Sahyangga has more than 400 lines and Gyohunga have 227 lines, so that the author can express more things to tell.

*Sahyangga*, whose author is unknown, has many variations, because there were only oral transmitted versions throughout 19th Century. There are more than 20 written versions of *Sahyangga* based on the oral versions, which are divided roughly into two types. One of them is surmised that this type would be not so different from the original

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3 Basically four foots comprise a line in *gasa*.
4 Differ from the variations, but all of them have at least 400 lines.
5 Some scholars claim that Martyr Choi Yang-eop, the 2nd Roman Catholic priest of Korea, wrote *Sahyangga*, but there is few evidences.
6 Most of the written versions of Sahyangga are written in 20th Century. Only some copies were written in 19th Century.
one (the ‘non-revised’ Sahyangga), and the other is somewhat ‘revised’ to attach something to explain (Cho 2009: 16). The copy of Geumbeduru, one of the ‘non-revised’ Sahyangga is selected in this study. This copy is already analysed in Cho (2008, 2009), but in those studies only the macro structure of Sahyangga was mainly discussed. Although the analysis results of Cho (2008, 2009) will be cited in this chapter, the author of this line will inquire more into the micro- and macro structure of Sahyangga to bring out the author’s intention to reform the Korean society. Gyohunga is written by Choi Je-u, the founder of Cheondogyo, and the original copy is extant. Cho (2009) once refers to the existence of Gyohunga, but he didn’t profoundly inquire into that. This is the first text linguistic study to research this donghakgasa thoroughly.

Text structures amplifying the themes of each gasa

Sahyangga

Cho (2008, 2009) argued that the structure of Sahyangga is very similar to the sonata form, so the subjects are very clearly expressed. To succeed that research and make a further discussion, Cho (2009) should be cited and discussed. Cho (2009: 141) shows the integrated text structure of Sahyangga as follows:

Exposition of the 1st subject: Paragraphs 1–3 (lines 1–55)
Exposition of the 2nd subject: Paragraph 4 (lines 56–97)
Development of the 1st subject: Paragraphs 5–8 (lines 98–185)
Development of the 2nd subject: Paragraphs 9–13 (lines 186–275)
Development as an amalgam of two subjects: Paragraphs 14–15 (lines 276–332)
Recapitulation of the 1st subject: Paragraphs 16–17 (lines 333–383)
Recapitulation of the 2nd subject: Paragraphs 18–19 (lines 384–401)
Coda: Paragraph 20–21 (lines 402–415)

The theme of each paragraph is as follows: (Cho 2009: 80-106)

Paragraph 1: Let us go toward the hometown. (lines 1–17)
Paragraph 2: It is too difficult to arrive at the hometown in this secular world. (lines 18–32)

Paragraph 3: The secular people are poor. (lines 33–55)

Paragraph 4: The methods to go to the hometown, i.e. the Catholic dogmas. (lines 56–97)

Paragraph 5: The secular people don’t respect the truth. (lines 98–114)

Paragraph 6: The secular people don’t respect the grace of God. (lines 115–122)

Paragraph 7: The secular people are haughty and extravagant. (lines 123–145)

Paragraph 8: The secular people repute the Catholics. (lines 146–185)

Paragraph 9: Critiques on the paragraph 8 in the perspective of Roman Catholic (lines 186–215)

Paragraph 10: The existence of God (lines 216–232)

Paragraph 11: Critiques on those who don’t believe in God in spite of their knowledge about Roman Catholic (lines 233–240)

Paragraph 12: The excellence of the soul and God (lines 241–268)

Paragraph 13: The way to return the celestial grace (lines 268–275)\(^\text{10}\)

Paragraph 14: The duty of the man (lines 276–313)

Paragraph 15: Critique on those who don’t fulfill their own duty (lines 314–332)

Paragraph 16: Difference between the secular world and the hometown (lines 333–365)

Paragraph 17: The regret of the secular man (lines 366–383)

Paragraph 18: The way to the hometown for ‘you (=the secular man)’ (lines 384–397)

Paragraph 19: The conversion of the secular man (lines 398–401)

Paragraph 20: The preach to the secular people (lines 402–410)

Paragraph 21: The preach to ‘you’ (lines 411–415)

The paragraphs are divided basically by the theme, but sometimes a certain word or phrase indicates the division of the paragraphs. In the first line of paragraph 1, 4, 21 the word “gohyang” of “nakto” is used, while paragraph 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20 begin with the

\(^{10}\) The first two foots are a part of paragraph 12, and the last two foots are a part of paragraph 13.
phrase containing the word “sesok saram garyeonhada” (secular people are poor). All lines that are mentioned here starts with the interjection “eohwa”.

This text structure is indeed a ‘poetic’ version of a sonata. This is a unique feature of Sahyangga. How can it be? It is because of the author’s critical mind. The author of Sahyangga had to debate with his opponents who were strictly against Roman Catholic. The opponents were not so faithful, but they tended to be a nobleman and condemned the Catholics because the dogma of Roman Catholic was considerably different from Confucianism. That the Catholics do not hold the memorial ceremony of ancestors made the Confucian scholars upset. So the author, maybe a Roman Catholic scholar, would plan to refute the opponents and claim that Roman Catholic is righteous.

Cho (2009) explains the similarity of the text structure of Sahyangga and the sonata form. He argues that two themes of ‘exposition’ paragraphs ‘develope’, and after the ‘development’ paragraphs the first two themes appear again as if they are the ‘recapitulation’ of a sonata. This text structure has even the ‘coda’, which is to summarize the themes.

Although Cho (2009) found out a pile of cohesive and coherent features such as words, phrases and text structures to prove that this analysis is correct, he didn’t deeply explain the relationships between the exposition and recapitulation paragraphs. So the author of this line attempts to explore that issue.

In line 1 (paragraph 1), ‘nakto’ (paradise, Heaven) is disposed at first. It is followed by ‘pungjinsegwe’ (secular world) of line 5. Line 2 to 4 depicts the ‘getting lost’ in the secular world. They are contrasted each other. ‘Gohyang’ (hometown) is an alternative word of ‘nakto’ in Sahyangga. The whole text of line 1 and 5 are as follows: “Eohwa beonnimneya uri nakto chajagaja (Oh, friends, let’s go to the paradise) / Ireohan pungjinsege pyeonganhan got aniroda (This secular world is not so comfortable.”

In line 335 (paragraph 16), ‘jamgansyesyang’ (the transient world) and ‘mugungyeongsye (eternal world) is clearly contrasted. The whole text of line 335 is as follows: “Jamgansyesyang wihadaga mugungyeongsye eotihamyeo’ (How can you live in the eternal world if you work only for the transient world?). ‘Pungjinsege’ and ‘jamgansyesyang’ are cohesive words, so as ‘nakto’ and ‘mugungyeongsye’. They are de facto synonyms in this gasa.
After the texts contrasting two worlds, the depiction of the secular world follows. Paragraph 2 and 3 follow paragraph 1, and paragraph 16 after line 335 depicts the secular world like paragraph 2 and 3. Although each word itself is not same, the theme is same. Unlike the genuine musical sonata, in which all notes of the 1st subject of the exposition and the recapitulation are usually same, in this ‘poetic sonata’ only the theme and the stream of narration are same.

Paragraph 17 has a special function. It is like a transition of the sonata form. The 2nd subject of the ‘exposition’ of Sahyangga is paragraph 4, which preaches about the way to the ‘hometown’ to all people. But, in contrast, the recipient of the message that paragraph 17 addresses is ‘you’ who were against Roman Catholic. He regrets in this paragraph because he has lived a secular life. This paragraph is connected to paragraph 18, which indicates the way for ‘you’ to go to Heaven, i.e. the ‘hometown’. Paragraph 18 is the 2nd subject of the recapitulation. In the sonata form, the 2nd subject is transformed in the recapitulation to conclude the music. In the major scale sonata, the 2nd subject of the exposition is usually composed in the dominant key, while that of the recapitulation in the tonic key. The transformation of the recapitulation is to conclude the musical work.

In Sahyangga, the ultimate intention of the author is to persuade his opponent to have the Roman Catholic belief. So the 2nd subject is aiming ‘you’, the opponent. But in the exposition paragraphs, the way to the hometown is indicated for all people (sesang beonnimdeul = the friends all around the world). To emphasize the theme, the author changed the recipient of the message in the recapitulation paragraph.11

This text structure effectively amplifies the theme of Sahyangga. The four rhetoric techniques, i.e. contrast, development, repeat and transformation, which are also the major features of the sonata form, make Sahyangga more attractive and interesting. Furthermore, this text structure helps the reader to understand and remember the message of the author easily.

Then why the sonata form? Maybe the author of Sahyangga would not know the sonata form itself. But the composition step of traditional Korean poetry, gi-seo-gyeol (introduction, development, conclusion) is somewhat similar to the sonata form. So the

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11 On the other hand, there is no transition in the exposition paragraph of Sahyangga.
text structure exposing, developing and repeating the theme is actually a usual form of
Korean traditional didactic poems. Nevertheless, sonata-like composed didactic poems
such as Sahyangga are rare. That is why the text structure of Sahyangga is one of the
solidest among not only cheonjugasa works, but also among all didactic poems.
Gyohunga, a donghakgasa, has other kind of text structure, which is more ordinary, but
attractive in other way. The following chapter is for Gyohunga.

Gyohunga

Gyohunga is a part of Yongdamyusa, de facto one of the sacred book of Cheondogyo.
Yun (1999) annotated Gyohunga, but his annotation is just an explanation of the
religious meaning. Any text linguistic issue cannot be found in his annotation. The
theme of each paragraph is as follows:

<Paragraph I>
Paragraph 1: My 20-year-old sons and nephews, listen me (Choi Je-u). (lines 1–6)
Paragraph 2: I returned to my hometown, Yongdamjeong, to be enlightened, after
40 years of suffering life. (lines 7–19)
Paragraph 3: All anxieties are after all in vain. (lines 20–29)
Paragraph 4: Let us try to understand the will of Heaven and lead a frugal life.
(lines 30–46)

<Paragraph II>
Paragraph 5: After 7–8 months from the return, I was enlightened by the God
(Hanulnim). (lines 47–68)
Paragraph 6: God ordered me train himself more sincerely. (lines 86–106)
Paragraph 7: The encounter with God made me happy. (lines 107–135)
Paragraph 8: I taught many people. They became wiser. (lines 136–139)

<Paragraph III>
Paragraph 9: There are the poor secular people who are so jealous. (lines 139–152)
Paragraph 10: Even if they blame me, I receive them all. (lines 153–161)

<Paragraph IV>
Paragraph 11: I have to leave my home due to the blamers. (lines 162–170)
Paragraph 12: Be earnest to train yourself, my fellow disciples. (lines 171–185)
Paragraph 13: To be enlightened, one must be earnest and meet a good teacher. (lines 186~190)

<Paragraph V>

Paragraph 14: The secular people are ridiculous, because they are not so earnest. (lines 191~200)

<Paragraph VI>

Paragraph 15: Believe God and train yourself sincerely. Do not give up to train. (lines 201~227)

Paragraphs 1~4, 5~8, 9~10, 11~13, 14, and 15 are combined with each other to make a larger paragraph.

There are some words, which have a text linguistic function. The words indicating the time make the paragraph to be divided from the preceding or following paragraph. For example, “ireogureo” of line 47 and “geureokjyeoreok” of line 68 (both of them means ‘some way or another’) is a beginning of new paragraph. And the words indicating the time are also a kind of text division marker. The time word itself does not have a function of paragraph division marker, nonetheless the phrase of macro structure containing the time word can be divided from other phrase to form a paragraph. The word “sasip” (forty) of line 12 and 17 makes the paragraph 2 as an independant paragraph.

There is no text structure like sonata form or any other musical form. But it is obvious that the emotionally negative message and the emotionally positive message are circulating. Paragraph I, III, V describes negative things, while paragraph II, IV, VI positive things. Negative things are such as suffering of the author, secular people, etc. and positive things are such as the enlightenment, instructions of the author, etc.

This circular structure seems not to be an ordinary gi-seo-gyeol structure, but it has also some features that make it to have a trichotomy structure. First, the paragraph 1~2 (especially paragraph 2) describes the life of the author. This is an ordinary form of gasa, especially ‘instructional’ gasa. The author tends to brag of the age to teach the people easily. Even some cheonjugasa works, e.g. Piaksuseonga, begin with the story about the

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12 The circular structure itself is a little bit similar to the rondo form of music. But the phrases or words of Gyohunga are neither repeated nor cohered. Therefore the author of this line does not regard Gyohunga as a rondo form.
age. And paragraph 15 is the conclusion of Gyohunga. The message that flows all around this gasa is summarized in paragraph 15. ‘i geul bogo gaegwahaya nal bon dasi sudohara’ (Correct the false and train yourself with this book, as if you watch me) is the main theme of this gasa. The word ‘i geul’ indicates the whole paragraphes.

Cheonjugasa, donghakgasa and the critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Intertextuality and CDA

According to Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), intertextuality can be defined as “the ways in which the production and reception of a given text depend upon the participants’ knowledge of other texts.” In this perspective, ‘the social status as well as the people’s attitude to the new religions’ and gasa works that we investigated can have a intertextual relationship. The social status of the people’s attitude can be reduced into a ‘text’, because a text is a crystallised form of human thought and mind.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) argues how to approach the issues of intertextuality between the text and society. In the following chapter, the intention of the cheonjugasa, donghakgasa author to reform Korean society will be argued in the perspective of CDA.

Intention of cheonjugasa and donghakgasa to reform the society

Both Roman Catholic and Cheondo gyro intended to reform the Korean society in 19th Century. Therefore in cheonjugasa and donghakgasa we can find some features to criticise the Korean society and try to reform it.

In Sahyangga, the words describing the opponent are usually vulgar. For example:

(1) Honmaehago umonghameul ryeonminhago burinhaya (line 147)
   (I feel the pity, so I cannot endure your silliness and stupidness any more)

(2) Heottanhago yomanghada jomuljinju itdanmalga (line 150)
   (How empty and frivolous. Where is the Creator God?)

(3) Neoheu bunno buriogo naeui mareul deureo bora (line 188)
   (Calm your anger and listen to me)
In (1), the author depicts the opponent as silly and stupid. In (2), a speech of an opponent, is too aroused. In (3), the author points out that the opponent is upset. Therefore the author says, “Calm your anger”. In this way Sahyangga gives a bad image to the opponent.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholic related things are nobly described. The word ‘gohyang’ (hometown) is one of the evidences. Hometown is always welcome. Van Dijk (2000) suggests the ideological square. According to that, the participants of the debate emphasize positive things about themselves and negative things about the opponents. Therefore we can say that Sahyangga shows a typical ideological square.

In Gyohunga, direct critiques are used. “aseora neoui geodong” (Stop your act; line 179), “eotji jeuri maemolhango” (How can you be so silly; line 183), “jigak eumneun igeotdeura; line 184” (You the absentminded), etc. are the examples of direct critiques. The direct critiques are also used in Sahyangga. Both the author and the opponent use this rhetoric technique like (1) and (2) above. But the critiques of the opponent are refuted. It makes that for the opponent the critique itself seems to be problematic.

In 19th Century Korea, there was no freedom of religion. Only the neo-Confucianism, Seongnihak in Korean, was officially allowed. Roman Catholic was strictly banned. But in the view of the Roman Catholics, the Confucian politician and scholars were not only insincere, but also corrupted. Therefore the author of Sahyangga describes the opponent not only as an anti-Christian, but also a insincere and corrupted guy.

This kind of recognition was basically same to Choi Je-u, although he was against the Roman Catholic. Moreover, Cheondogyo itself was a religion of the reformation. Therefore it is natural that donghakgasa comprises the reformatory idea and sometimes express it in a critical way.

**Conclusion**

In this study Sahyangga and Gyohunga were analysed. Both of them have some features in common. They are not just a catechism, but a criticism on the society. But the text structures of two gasa works are different each other. Sahyangga has a well-formed sonata form, as Cho (2009) points out. This made the message of Sahyangga more clear.
and intensive. *Gyohunga* follows a typical form of instructional didactic poem, in which a contemplation of life precedes before the main theme. In *Gyohunga* the emotional characteristics of each paragraphs changed into negative → positive → negative → positive → negative → positive. These emotional changes can make the reader more concentrated on the message, because the reader tends to follow the author’s emotion when he or her read a literature text. *Gasa* is basically a kind of literature text, although *cheonjugasa* and *dohngakgasa* contain a religious message.

This is only a short paper as a series of the succeeding research of Cho (2009). To develop the arguments that are discussed here, more texts must be deeply analysed and described.

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**Foolish Jesus**: Reflexivity and Identities in the Material Korean Church.

Han, Gil-Soo

**Introduction**

Frequent air travel has contracted the earth and turned the world into a global village. The continuing development of information and communications technologies brings people together in a highly effective manner, leading them to greatly overcome the tyranny of distance. Those Korean migrants in Australia who are eager to be informed of the news, incidents and even national security of their ‘homeland’ are in close touch with every detail of them through the new ICTs. Perhaps what is called ‘long distance nationalism’ (Schiller and Fouron 2001; Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004) is clearly in operation despite their settlement in Australia for many years. What happens to others in their expression of Koreanness when Korean migrants make a home away from their homeland? Undoubtedly, Korean migrants in North America, Australia and New Zealand have most commonly maintained their Korean ethnicity around the Korean immigrant church. The church has been an institution to help the newly arrived not only to establish networks within the Korean community, but also to provide those transmigrants to develop their links to the broader networks in Australia, cultivating their transnational identities (cf. Riccio 2001, p.595; Min 2010). Thus, the Korean immigrant church is potentially a transnational space whereby its members are closely exposed to ‘the cosmopolitan orientation and imagination’ (Golbert 2001, p.724). A number of social, cultural and historical factors such as Korean society being the most Confucian-based, rapid industrialisation and Westernisation have given birth to the over-supply of theological graduates, then consequently bringing about the exponential

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13 Pyong Gap Min notes that there are inseparably tied links between religion and immigrant life for Asian and many other immigrant groups in the United States (Min 2002, p.5; Krivisto 1993; Warner 1998).
14 I am here referring to positive aspects of cosmopolitan values that go beyond national allegiances as well as their particularities (Nussbaum 1996; Appiah 2005).
growth of the Korean church since the 1960s (Han 1997). Many of them have planted congregations in the homeland, and many have emigrated overseas and founded Korean ethnic congregations in overseas Korean communities such as the one in Sydney, described in the novel, Babo Yesu (Foolish Jesus), the focus of this paper. The inflow of a large number of theological graduates has enabled the supply side of religious, ethnic and social services through the church. Similar to what has happened to Korean Christianity, this availability of many of the pastors-to-be is a key factor to characterise the Korean immigrant church in Australia to pursue church-individualism and materialism (Han 1997; Han, Han, and Kim 2009). In addition to "brought-along cultural identities," and economic and cultural dimensions of the Korean ethnic church and the dynamics within the Korean community, there are many other contextual and structural factors that influence the intra-ethnic interactions within the Korean community including the Korean church.

According to the ABS census in 2006, there were over 60,873 Korean ethnic populations in Australia. However, due to a large influx of Korean students and working holiday visa holders, it is estimated that there are more than 100,000 Koreans in the Sydney metropolitan area. Many Koreans tend to regard themselves as one relatively homogenous group of Koreans, i.e., those who were born in Korea and migrated to Australia in different stages of their lives. Yet, it seems to be such a common mistake among Koreans to assume that they are all the 'more or less same or similar' in terms of their identities. Whilst they certainly share many Korean cultures, characteristics and expectations from each other they tend to overestimate some cultural dimensions which are in common rather than acknowledging some other cultural dimensions which are less than common amongst the Korean populations. Homogeneity of people in Korea might have been taken for granted much more commonly without disagreement prior to the industrialised Korea since the 1960s. However, there has recently been a debate as to whether or not Koreans make up a homogeneous population in terms of their personhood, characteristics and identities as has been suggested for decades (Han 2007; Kim 2007; Kim 2006; Myers 2010). There is a vast range of Koreanness not only in

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15 See Baker (2008) and Grayson (2002) for a broad discussion and critique of Korean religions including Christianity.
16 This is a phrase used by Williams (2008) in the title of her paper.
Korea but also in the Korean diasporic communities. In fact, it is feasible that the lack of recognition of diverse cultures and identities among the Korean population tend to cause conflicts and tensions in their intra-ethnic interactions.

*Babo Yesu (Foolish Jesus)* is a rich literary depiction of the marginalised life of Korean migrants and some features of tensions and conflicts resulting from their intra-interactions within the Korean community. In the context of the novel, ‘Foolish Jesus’ is a metaphor opposite to those smart, cunning and selfish people who may represent many individuals of contemporary populations, particularly those migrants who might have to try their best in order to fulfil their personal goals and lead their satisfying migrant lives in the not necessarily favourable societal context of the host country. When these are accompanied with a lack of reflexivity, or under-developed reflexivity and/or recognition of their different identities in their human interactions, their difficulties facing immigrant life in a foreign country may not be easily overcome. This complex situation may produce many a clever Jesus within the Korean community in Sydney. The back cover of the novel notes: ‘There is an increasing number of clever Jesus, but the church is increasingly losing its influence over the society.’ This paper is a sociological analysis of select dimensions of the life of Korean immigrants in Australia as depicted in the novel.

**Theoretical Considerations: Structure, agency and internal conversation**

Postmodern approaches have been dominant in understanding immigrant life and ethnic identities in recent decades. For example, Asian cultural identity has been recognised as the central defining factor of Asian ethnic identities in the West (e.g., Burlet and Reid 1998; cf. Eade 1996). There is greater recognition of what leads to the satisfaction of individual life and the recognition helps the individuals fulfil and realise meaningful pursuit. These points are well-deserved, due recognitions returned to the individual agents and members of the society as opposed to the ‘taken-for-granted’ power and influence which have, sometimes bluntly, been granted to structuralism over individual actions. After all, Korean immigrants in Australia have chosen to depart Korea and have made up their own minds to make Australia their permanent home. Those individuals
have been able to prove they are ‘fit’ to meet the requirements of migrating to Australia. The Australian Department of Immigration has also accepted those *individuals* generally on the basis of *individual* qualifications and potential contributions they would make rather than the national and historical contexts of their countries of origin. Upon the grant of permanent visa, it is again *individual* efforts for every facet of their life and continuing decision-making in search of meaningful and satisfying life in a foreign land.

Similar principles can be applied to understanding the interactions among Korean migrants in a range of institutions within the Korean community and beyond. There are only individuals who are constantly forming human relations since individual interests and needs have to be met. Personal ‘tastes’ and needs to consume music, dress and cuisine will lead Korean migrants to join the membership of alumni associations, business groups or religious organisations. When personal or non-religious needs are demonstrated excessively and enough to form a significant interest of the members of a religious organisation, a result might be a change of its intrinsic functions thus becoming more like social or ‘club-like’ organisations rather than religious organisations. Even in this process of a social institution like an ethnic church going through its functional changes, what is at stake from a postmodern approach is about the ways in which the human interactions within the church can satisfy individual needs, both expressive and instrumental.

The other side of the same phenomenon is a realist explanation. That is, whether or not we are concerned about the very first choice of going overseas, filing the application for migration, meeting the requirements of the future home country, people’s planning or actual move cannot take place in a social vacuum. It is not that every potential migrant would wish to move to Australia only, but to many other countries that are recruiting migrants and that only a portion of applicants eventually become immigrants. At societal levels, there are many complex contextual factors which make a country tend to ‘push’ some of its members out of it and there are also other factors which make another country tend to ‘pull’ potential migrants into it. With regard to the formation of ethnic identities, over-emphasis on ethnic cultural ethnicity as the defining factor can obscure or underestimate ‘the structural positioning of Asian communities’ (Ramji 2004, p.3; Eade 1996).
Individual actors live in a social world that exerts different properties and powers from their own – ones which enable as well as restrain their actions. A realist perspective I am referring to is essentially a product of the ongoing debate of the interplaying relationships between structure and agency. A realist advocates that structure and agency make up two distinctively different and ‘irreducible properties and powers’, and that ‘human reflexive deliberations play a crucial role in mediating between them’ (Archer 2003, p.14). Reflexivity refers to ‘the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their social contexts and vice versa’ (Archer 2007, p.4). A realist also accepts the ontological difference between agency and structure. The point about ‘human reflexive deliberations’ is not to prioritise agency over structure, but to acknowledge the centrality of human reflexivity in the process of mediation as to how agency is mediated to structure and vice versa. What Archer (2003, p.16) calls ‘the internal conversation’ refers to the process of mediation through which individual agents respond to, or act against, social contexts – fallibly and corrigibly, but, importantly, intentionally and differently. The process of dialogical reflexivity is essentially manifested through internal conversation.

While Archer’s ‘internal conversation’ is essentially about the mediation between individual agents and social structures, it is an important individual quality in our everyday life and is closely related to ‘reflective capabilities’, especially reflexivity within actions rather than reflexivity about actions (Czyzewski 1994, p.166). Tim May rightly points out that without exercising this capacity, actors within the life world not only refuse to reflect upon their actions, but also to change or modify the social conditions and human relations which impinge upon these actions (May 2004, p.175). May also notes that ‘reflexivity is not a tool to undermine science, but one that provides for a more realistic science through its contribution to a realpolitik of scholastic reasoning in the service of epistemic gain’ (Bourdieu, cited in May 2004, p.186). How internal conversation is deployed in the interactions among the deprived Korean migrants in a small-sized Korean ethnic church is a worthwhile task being pursued in this paper.
What is presented in the rest of the paper is annotated translation of select parts of the novel, accompanied by my analysis. I have organised the paper thematically, bringing the contents of the novel to their relevant themes of the novel, accompanied by my analysis. I have also made an effort to maintain the unfolding of the novel chronologically.

**Historical and political victims: The journey of a middle-aged female protagonist and her son**

The central story of the novel starts with the journey of a woman in her late 50s and her son in his mid-20s, to the life of sojourners in Australia for the last two years at the start of the story unfolding, after losing her elder son and husband – a former school principal. The whole novel is about her observation of human interactions in a small and less than well-established Korean ethnic church in Sydney. Its membership size is about forty to fifty. This is the church that she has always attended as a condition of employment being offered to her (p.25). It was the 1970s when a notable number of Koreans, who previously spent their time in Southeast Asia including the battlefield of the Vietnam War, started arriving in Australia. Completing their contract work, many of them were on their way to returning to Korea and overstayed their visa in Australia (Han 2003; Hoju Hanin 50 Nyeon-sa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe 2008). The first Korean church in Australia was established in Melbourne in 1973; and another was begun in Sydney in 1974. The church has always been the most significant institution in the life of Korean migrants in Australia since the major inflow of Koreans to Australia in the 1970s. Koreans would go to the church and seek information about government services and employment opportunities. In fact, it has been the church that has often actively provided the support services required by the newly arrived for their settlement. Those who have settled for long enough are also well served by the Korean immigrant church, religiously, socially, economically and culturally (Han 1994b). An easily accessible employment for newcomers with no easily transferable skills has been the work of home cleaning or shop/office cleaning. The protagonist (Pak Mi-Hyeon) has paired up with Mr Yi Il-Yeong, a deacon from the same church they attend, for their work of home...
cleaning. The job usually requires a female and a male for an effective division of labour which also satisfies customers (p.9). Kim Eun-Yi, the wife of Mr Yi, spends her time at home, taking care of their young children.

It is almost a convention in the Korean church that any church member who has been attending a church for six months or longer will be called *Jipsa* (a deacon). As deacons demonstrate their devotion and leadership they may be ordained. The next level to achieve, that is often considered to be a promotion, is generally Jangro (elder) for a male and Kwonsa for a female. These titles often represent not only a person’s level of religious devotion and maturity, but also an authority to collect respect from the members of the congregation. This is especially so in the Korean immigrant churches. For example, a group of ‘powerful’ elders may abuse their roles hiring and firing the clergy inappropriately. Hurh and Kim (1990) note that this is a phenomenon of status inconsistency with marginalised Koreans who could not maintain their professional status commensurate with their qualifications and their work life prior to their emigration (cf. Jun and Armstrong 1997). Korean immigrants’ desire to compensate their marginalisation or lost status is a common cause for tension and argument within Korean diasporic churches as will be discussed later.

The protagonist and her son have been renting a residence which was a garage-turned-to-accommodation. The residence has all facilities placed in one space: living-room, bedroom, kitchen and toilet. The protagonist has been pushing hard at her work and is aware that her health status is rapidly deteriorating, suffering from stretched muscles, high blood pressure, diabetes. However, she is not able to afford to take a rest. Her diligence at work is typical of most Korean immigrants and the consequences are often detrimental. A tragedy is that many continue their hardworking lifestyle until their health is almost ‘irreparable’ (Han and Chesters 2001a, b). When the protagonist has spent about three years in Australia she and many members of her church have been to the Sydney Airport to welcome the fourth minister of the six-year-old church. She has been weary for the last several months, suffering from bad health. As soon as she sees the new pastor in the Airport the protagonist has fainted. The novel takes the readers back to her past history in Korea to explain why the look of the pastor was a shock to her.
Yeong-Min is the late elder son of the protagonist. He was born several years after the protagonist’s marriage and he was much loved and enjoyed ample attention from parents and grandparents. He grew to be generous to others, caring, highly altruistic, obedient to parents, and studied at an elite university. The protagonist is informed of her son’s youth activities through his diaries that she accessed following his death. His story is as follows. Yeong-Min meets a Christian girlfriend and he is attracted to the church as a result of the relationship and later to Christianity. Many volumes of his diaries finish with the following notes:

Great ‘foolish Jesus’ and crucifixion. Couldn’t he avoid it? The road of torment, ridicule, suffering, am I able to overcome these? What would happen to my father and mother? What about my brother, Yeong-Jun? The foolish Jesus was crucified and I am foolish Yeong-Min that follows the foolish Jesus (p.57).

It was about ten days after the final date of the diaries that police investigator Kang and his colleagues rushed into her house to undertake a house search. Kang shouted to the protagonist: ‘Your husband is school principal. How come you’ve educated your son in the way he is? Do you want your husband’s early retirement? (p.57)’ These questions from the intelligence agency were a direct threat to the whole family. The protagonist was told that Yeong-Min was the leader of the group pursuing an investigation the deaths of those anti-government Christian leaders who were taken to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency under President Park’s dictatorship and died for unknown reasons. Several days after the house search, Yeong-Min returns home and looks completely worn out. Yeong-Min was home for a short while and seemed preoccupied with thoughts on numerous matters. He then was conscripted for the National Service a few months before his upcoming university graduation despite the fact that he passed the National Examination of Justice and was supposed to serve the Army as a judicial officer. It is commonly known for decades that under the authoritarian Korean governments, this has been how those young men who raised dissident voices against the government were quickly conscripted or escorted away in the middle of the night for their compulsory military service. The protagonist was later informed that the son reluctantly signed up to serve as a private soldier because there was an official pressure and he did not want to
impact negatively on his father’s public servant role. Yeong-Min dies five months after
the completion of his initial training in the army, according to the relevant army
authority that has informed his father, in relation to an accident involving guns. But the
father assumes that Yeong-Min was beaten to death as could be assumed by several
bloody bruises over the body (p.127).

The protagonist could not believe the news of her son’s death and could not dare to
accompany her husband travelling to the army camp to collect and cremate the son’s
corpse. The father brought home a handful of the ash and sprinkled it away. The
protagonist noticed that the husband’s hair turned completely gray in a matter of some
days after the incident. Then followed the collapse of the husband in the bathroom due to
high blood pressure and he passed away. The protagonist was completely and absolutely
at loss since she was brought up in a highly protected and strict, but a well-to-do family
background. She experienced little sufferings in her life till then. Following the loss of
the son and husband, the protagonist occasionally prepared dinner table for four persons,
unwilling to admit or believe the non-existence of the husband and elder son. She then
went under a severe depression with no desire to live her life for a while, but one day she
was made suddenly realise that Yeong-Jun, a middle school student at that time, is an
important reason for her to live. It was in the 1980s – a politically tumultuous time
following the death of President Park Chung-Hee in October 1979 (p.65). Following
Park’s assassination in 1979, Chun Doo-Hwan regime put the Korean society under the
martial law. Dissident voices continued to be raised and the Kwangju Uprising in May
1980 was a horrific clash between the civilians in Kwangju, university students and the
special military force. The incident costed two thousand lives of civilians and soldiers.
All the universities in Korea were forced to remain closed for many months in that year.

The protagonist’s horrendous memories about her elder son resist going away, but
deeply set in her everyday life. The new pastor resembles her son so closely that she is
persistently reminded of her older son, Yeong-Min. The pastor’s facial resemblance of
Yeong-Min is also what Yeong-Jun thought. Yeong-Min was an idol or Superman to his
younger brother Yeong-Jun, but Yeong-Min’s death was the start of the demise of the
happy family. Yeong-Jun is resentful of his brother whose altruistic concerns over his
peers led him to his ‘accidental’ death.
What? Jesus? He believed in Jesus? Who is Jesus? How come he was so willingly prepared to commit his promising future to the foolish Jesus? What are the consequences of the commitment? Nothing at all! (p.76)

To Yeong-Jun, Jesus is the culprit who has completely shattered and reduced his happy family to almost nothing. He feels bitter against Jesus, but is tied to a church due to his cleaning work condition, i.e., attending the church. The cleaning work requires no particular professional skills and is not a job with respect. Nonetheless, there is a clear and hierarchical relationship as to who the employer or employee is. This relation seems to make it legitimate for the employer to request the employee to attend a particular church and make her remain as a member of the church as far as she is employed by that particular employer. The need to stay with the church is also like an unstipulated obligation. When some Korean students arrive at the Sydney Airport and are offered a ride to a temporary accommodation attached to a church it is implicit that the students would attend the particular church as happened to many Korean students (Han 1994b).

As soon as he is financially secure he would like to quit going to church. The protagonist’s health is rapidly deteriorating every day and she is moaning from her increasing pain at night. Yeong-Jun wishes to save his mother from her cleaning work, but they are not able to sustain their life with Yeong-Jun’s income alone. When he has saved a few thousand dollars there are always unexpectedly incurring expenses such as medical bills to pay, motor vehicle repairs. Yeong-Jun feels that his life is as risky as a little child constructing a sandcastle in a beach facing a high wave (p.79).

The novel traces back to the backgrounds of the protagonist’s sojourneying to Australia. She and her son were barely able to meet their economic needs out of her husband’s superannuation and support from relatives until Yeong-Jun finished his high school. She was totally ill-prepared to lead an independent life and Yeong-Jun brought forward his time to serve the army. Upon his completion of the service, he came home one day with the following news about Australia.

One of my army alumni tells me that there will be an amnesty to save illegal migrants in Australia. This is known to be the last chance for them to be ready for it and many are travelling to Australia. In Australia, permanent residency will pay your university
fees and hospital fees. Australia is supposed to be the last heaven on earth. ... There are even allowances for single mothers and widows (p.82).

This is how the protagonist and Yeong-Jun have obtained tourist visas through travel agents. As I discuss elsewhere (Han 2011), many Koreans seem to be less than well-informed or prepared for such a ‘life changing’ decision as emigrating overseas. Such decision perhaps deserves much more serious consideration over a period if potential migrants were to avoid a long-lasting and ‘unwanted’ disappointment (Han 1996, 2000b; Han and Davies 2000). Those who have overstayed their visas live under desperate situations and they are desperate for mercy from the Australian government. This desperation in itself creates unfounded hopes and dreams such as amnesty for overstayers. Further, those welfare benefits such as medical and educational allowances are beyond the reach of temporary residents. The moving plan of the protagonist and Yeong-Jun has not only been a way to escape from their financially impoverished life (cf. Storbeck 1963), but also has been an attempt to escape from the heartaches resulting from the lingering memories of the death of her husband and the elder son. Presumably, the protagonist as school principal’s wife used to be highly respected while her husband was alive. She now is an ‘ordinary’ woman and a poor widow. Her ‘demoted’ social status would have also taken a significant role in agreeing to Yeong-Jun’s ‘quick fix’ of their mounting problems. The combination of all these adversities leads to departing for a hope and fantasy (Mar 2005; Vaught, Perkins, and Sheble 1980). The protagonist is in grief to leave behind her relatives on one hand, but had no regret that she was leaving ‘the problematic homeland to her.’

It seems that this relief of leaving the Korean peninsula is shared between many potential Korean migrants including the author of the biography, ‘Beyond the Australian dream’ (Kim 2000). Within a short span of time upon their arrival, the protagonist and Yeong-Jun quickly realise that the over-stayers have little to benefit from ‘the heavenly land.’ The protagonist with no work permit or any kind of work experience had no option but take up an easily available opportunity from fellow Koreans, i.e., cleaning work with a minimum wage. She thinks it is not a matter of whether she likes the work or not, but a struggle to survive. Yeong-Jun collects

17 ‘Jigeut jigeut han hangukddang (지긋지긋한 한국땅)’ (p.84).
18 Cf. Jeon (1985)
19 Cf. Han (2000a)
shopping trolleys for a supermarket during the day and is employed by Deacon Yi Seong-Chan to clean a bakery company during the night. While she is working she has no room to think about her dead husband and elder son. As the protagonist and son return home and have dinner they are exhausted and have no further energy for anything else, but fall asleep and try to recover their strength for the following day’s work. They have once renewed their tourist visas, but did not bother to do it again. They now call themselves illegal migrants. This is typical of how temporary residents become undocumented migrants (Han 2003).

Although they had been attending the church for the last two years they had little appreciation about any activities or sermons. Their constant effort to make ends meet has been enough to make them pay little attention to their church activities. Instead, they have a full of resentment towards Jesus since he, they feel, is the culprit who has shattered their happy home to nothing. The only reason they continuously put up with boring Sunday services was because attending the church is a condition for them to hold onto their jobs. However, the arrival of the new pastor Mun Seong-Won has changed the protagonist’s attitudes towards the church. Initially she was closely absorbed by his physical resemblance to her dead son and to his sermons.

Not long after his arrival, Pastor Mun has put out his timetable to pay home-visits to all the members of the congregation. The first home to visit was the protagonist’s. Deacon Noh (a founding member of the church together with her husband Deacon Yi Seong-Chan) grumbles and asks other congregational members publicly: ‘Isn’t he supposed to visit senior members first of all?’ (p.102) A few others agreed that the pastor should prioritise the visit to Deacon Yi family, ‘the owners of the church’ (cf. Oh 2000). Despite continuing controversies over the ownership of the church buildings, many Korean church leaders in Korea or in Korean communities overseas, including head minister or senior elders, often claim either the ownership of the church or the way it operates. In the case of the church under observation in the novel, Deacon Yi’s family comprise its ‘chief executive officers’, deliberating and making decisions about major activities and future directions of the congregation. Pastor Mun intervenes:
As far as I am aware, Deacon Pak’s family is in the most difficult situation. That is the reason I shall pay a visit to her before anyone else. I trust this is what Jesus would have done had he been here today. Thus I seek your kind understanding (p.102).

It is a dilemma for a newly arrived pastor to lead the congregation according to his own conviction. Rev Yi Seung-Hak (2010) calls such approach ‘God centred ministry.’ Any misjudgement as to which of the activities he should prioritise or in fact any of his judgement for this matter tends to create tension between the clergy and the laity who consist of different groups within the congregation (cf. Yi 2010). Pastor Mun as a young and conscientious leader must be determined to translate biblical teaching into his ministry. Mun, in his visit to the protagonist and her son, shares a short message with them that God loves both of them dearly. This was shocking to them since their perception of God was simply about punishing those who make mistakes (p.104). Pastor Mun comes to hear the tragic stories of the protagonist and Yeong-Jun. Mun later helps Pak Mi-Hyeon to make a personal commitment to God. Yeong-Jun becomes receptive to the pastor and feels warmth as if he were filling the emptiness the dead brother has created. Mun’s demonstration of loving care, irrespective of whether it was religious or personal, may be a refreshing experience to this family since they are under severe emotional and physical strain. It has not taken long before their dream in the heavenly land was shattered following the loss of the two family members.

The church as the site for comfort, fellowship, conflict and egoistic pursuit

The protagonist was brought up in a Buddhist family and her father prohibited her from going to a church, even barred her from attending a Christmas party at a church during her primary school days. She used to be envious of her friends attending a week long Summer Bible School during summer vacations and collecting presents on Christmas days. Since then, she has lived with envious and beautiful memories about churches and those memories have tarnished soon after she joined one in Sydney.

Mother (the protagonist): I expected that the church is special and different from other organisations. The church-goers appear to be gentle and caring for each other in our superficial observation. In reality, there are full of jealousy, hurt and hatred.
Son (Yeong-Jun): Yes, once they have a quarrel, they remain as enemies to each other for a long time.

Mother: They tell lies so easily in life, but they are so good and fluent with prayers in the public. ...

Son: There is something special about them on Sundays. ... We want to rest at home on Sundays, but they go to church diligently and offer their own hard-earned money. (pp.28-9)

Soon overcoming her perception of the church as ‘the house of fantasy’, the protagonist decides to make it easy to go to the church as if she were in a social club. Whether or not the so-called nominal Christians in Korean immigrant churches take their ‘substantive religiosity’ seriously is a matter for further investigation (Han 1994a). However, a significant proportion of Korean immigrant churchgoers, who are new or old members of the church, take non-religious dimensions of the church seriously. New churchgoers quickly learn that the church serves the roles of social clubs as well as the church (Han 1994b). Pak is not able to pay much attention to the sermons and brings some offerings reluctantly, but enjoys chatting over the lunch at the church. The free lunch saves the members from cooking a meal and is a special attraction to Korean overseas students.

Deacon Yi Seong-Chan (father of Deacon Yi Il-Yeong, Pak’s cleaning partner) is pleased with the protagonist’s regular attendance at the church. She is now confident that her job is secured. Within twelve months of her joining the church, the protagonist is called a deacon herself. In the Korean culture whereby it is not always common to call a person by first name alone, such title as deacon is a common and superficial way to refer to someone, for example, in the church. Thus, the protagonist would be routinely called Deacon Pak or Deacon Pak Mi-Hyeon in the church.

Deacon Yi Seong-Chan is the most influential person in this congregation as demonstrated in the following conversation between the protagonist and Mrs Yu, that took place soon after they have become somewhat familiar:

Deacon Yu Yeong-Hae: This church is more or less owned by Deacon Yi Seong-Chan. His children, relatives, his club members and acquaintances around his work make up around 20-30 members of the church.

The protagonist: Is that right?
Deacon Yu: Without his families and relatives, this church can’t sustain. Other members have no money or power.

The protagonist: I see.

Deacon Yu: Your life would be made ‘tired’ were you to bother his emotion. You may like to be in support of what he does in the church. Then there is nothing to lose by doing that anyway. (p.32)

From the viewpoints of some members of this church like Deacon Yu, it is the ones with material support for the church who should deliberate on the current and future activities and directions of the church. Yi Seong-Chan is the final authority to proceed with any tasks in this congregation. Many Korean immigrants are well educated and public recognition is a particularly important part of their life in the Confucian-influenced Korean community. Now they live in a foreign culture and have little interaction with the members of the broader Australian society. As noted earlier, many of them hold professions incommensurate with their professional qualifications and experiences. The author of the novel notes that many Koreans suffer from status inconsistency and often seek to elevate their status and recognition through their ‘serving roles’ in the church such as deacon or elder (p.38). Also importantly, the church is the avenue whereby Korean migrants can easily satisfy many of their expressive and instrumental needs. They do not have difficulty expressing their views in the Korean language, seeking information on renting, purchasing cars, etc. These are important reasons Koreans attend the churches irrespective of their religious affiliations prior to coming to Australia. As a consequence, Korean churchgoers may stay in isolation from the broader Australian society (Han 2004). Further, their lack of proactive interactions will strongly influence what kinds of transnational identities they as immigrants may formulate. To be more accurate, they may be exposed to limited opportunities, thus unlikely to move towards ‘desirable’ transnational identities.

Deacon Yi Seong-Chan in particular sees the church as the avenue to compensate his own personal class and status ‘yet to blossom’ in the foreign land. Those church members who publicly praise his contribution to the congregation are rewarded with a basket of fruits or dinner invitation. This is how Deacon Yi strengthens and grows his personal network within his ‘own’ church. The relationship among the members of the
network remains close to each other. Interestingly, Deacon Noh Jeong-Ok, wife of Yi Seong-Chan, was particularly good at appeasing those who are critical of Deacon Yi Seong-Chan, by offering them an expensive present or money, buying a dinner. These materialist controls of the members within a congregation are not dissimilar to those priests of the temple described in the New Testament (Matthew Ch. 21: 12-17). That is, those priests primarily focused on making their own material benefit by exploiting those who came a long way to worship, many bringing their own sacrificial animals. Those worshippers were easily deceived for the material benefit of the supposedly trustworthy leaders. The increasing influence of Deacon Yi within the church has meant that those ministers who would not agree with Deacon Yi find it difficult to confidently undertake their duties as clergies and eventually resign from the job and that Deacon Yi is the virtual owner or the Chief Executive Officer of the congregation. This is why Deacon Yi has eventually become and also is known as ‘minister killer’ (p.39). The conflict between clergy and laity due to a variety of reasons is not new (Hadden 1969; Schneider 1969; Dempsey 1983). However, the ways in which the conflict occurs within the materialist Korean churches seem to be specific to them, resulting particularly from the over-supply of the clergy. Commonly observed consequences include: problematic qualities of the clergy due to the quality of their theological training that they have received, ‘church-individualism’, inheriting and selling the church (Woo 2005; Han 1997; Han, Han, and Kim 2009).

‘Keeping the house in order’: Disciplining the newly arrived pastor

The church under description in the novel was established about five years ago, but three pastors have already gone through the church. The church’s third or most recent pastor could not cope with the church leaders’ treatment of him either. The church has been without a pastor for an unknown period and the membership is down to about twenty. The clergy is an important part of making up an independent Christian church and the sermon is a critical component of the activities of the members of an independent Protestant congregation (HanMiJun 2005; Woo 2005; Nudelman 1971). Without being able to hear regular sermons from clergy, newcomers or existing members of a church
are unlikely to sustain their church membership unless a person has a clear sense of belonging or ownership to the congregation. However, Deacon Yi Seong-Chan has his own particular views about ‘contemporary’ pastors in general and how he should deal with them. Deacon Yi Il-Yeong shares much in common with his father Deacon Yi Seong-Chan, in terms of their perhaps ill-informed views about the three pastors. This is not surprising since the Yis’ extended family members strive for being responsible for every single issue to do with the congregation. The Confucian-based principle of a son respecting his father without much reflection seems in strong operation in this extended family (cf. Chang 1997; Kim 1984). Yi Il-Yeong once told the protagonist,

These days, pastors have got too much pride in themselves. Highly authoritarian! It is very difficult to handle them or make them listen. We might have to employ a young one (p.23).

As there is no scarcity of Korean theological graduates or pastors-to-be, each congregation has a large pool of potential ministers. This makes an individual congregational search committee be able to hire or fire a minister much more easily than otherwise. Following the employment of a minister, there may be a list of demands and requests, often including those which may not be core activities of the clergy in general. In this process, there is bound to be conflict between the clergy and the laity (Woo 2005). The roles of the minister and his wife in the Korean migrant church are expected to be different from those of the church in Korea. They are respectively known to be Meoseum (a farmhand) and Sikmo (a kitchen maid) (p.37). The ministers of smaller churches welcome new migrants at the airport and facilitate their settling process including finding a rental home; helping them move house, find schools for kids, and identify shops; and carrying out other chores, which takes at least a couple of weeks. Those newcomers would join Sunday services of the minister’s church, but some would stay with him and others soon look around the churches. These extra services that pastors have to provide for their church members are again related to the over-supply of theological graduates in Korea – about 6,000-7,000 per year whereas only 1,500 graduates are from government recognised theological institutes (Pak 2006). It is rumoured that there are about a few hundred Korean ministers in Sydney looking to plant a church in addition to over two hundred of them already ministering to churches.
There is a saying that if you call ‘Minister (Moksanim)’ in a busy restaurant in Sydney, you will have at least a few responses. It is often unclear as to where they have been trained or ordained, taking a few months to a few years. Yet, they are all known to be Christian ministers. It appears that the author of the novel, as wife of a Korean immigrant church, is well informed of the complex problems resulting from the over-supply of the ministers and poor training backgrounds of many of them. As the author notes, it is not uncommon that it is difficult to identify an ‘appropriate’ pastor despite a large number of them around. Deacon Yi Seong-Chan has set a goal himself to invite a best educated and capable minister to ‘his’ church. This is a challenge not only to revive the congregation, but to vindicate himself whose name has been defamed lately, of which the reason for the latter is not indicated in the novel.

Deacon Yi cries out in the daily dawn prayer, ‘May God send a new servant of God to the congregation!’ Yi’s seemingly serious prayer has touched many people and they think that Yi is a God-loving person. Finally, the prayer has been responded to and a pastor has been selected. Yi has the pastor’s academic record reproduced and learned that the pastor had an excellent record throughout his university and postgraduate studies. He is known to be a great speaker and highly promising pastor (p.42). His only weakness is lack of abundant experiences due to his young age. The members of the congregation are pleased with Deacon Yi’s tireless effort:

We are absolutely thrilled to welcome such a capable pastor to this small church. ...

Without Deacon Yi’s effort, we simply could not have invited such a capable pastor to our congregation (pp.42-3).

All the members of the church are looking forward to the new pastor’s arrival, following the announcement of the appointment. Deacon Noh (wife of Deacon Yi) used to praise the incoming pastor for a while, but has suddenly stopped talking about him because she and Deacon Yi could not afford to divert the members’ attention from them (herself and husband) to the incoming pastor. Deacon Noh may wish to make sure that the church is under control of her family members, not the incoming minister. Then she comes up with an effective strategy. Deacon Noh has gossiped about the pastor to her close friends within the church. Now the members of the congregation promote a completely different impression about the pastor as follows:
The incoming pastor is an orphan, isn’t he?
He is quite a brainy person, but his background is quite poor. That is why he could not find a post in a large church, but currently serves a small church in the country. As he wishes to study further in Australia, the congregation will sponsor his studies, won’t it?
Is that right?
Oh, that is why. (p.43)
The Protestant churches in Korea have been instrumental in fulfilling personal and materialist pursuits of many church leaders in the last few decades. Growth-oriented policy and church expansionism have been a couple of their notable characteristics. The ministers serving smaller churches may be looked down upon in terms of their personal and religious abilities. The clergy and the laity may generally differ on this matter. Consequently, many churchgoers from small or medium-sized churches continue to join large congregations and mega churches whereas many churches close down every year in Korea since the mid-1980s (Sisa Jeoneol 2006; Kim 2004). These tendencies are closely reflected in the church life of Korean immigrants overseas as they are in close touch with the Korean media through magazines, newspapers and the internet. Thanks to Deacon Noh, once a young and promising pastor is now a poor orphan who is perceived to have nowhere to go but the small congregation that he is about to serve.

The new pastor has arrived and already served the congregation for twelve months and its membership has notably increased. He is known to be a good speaker and his convincing sermons have brought new members to the church. Those Korean churchgoers who are seeking more friendly treatments from the church or better social club-like interactions or eloquent sermons are easily attracted to the invitation to change their membership. They are especially so if they could not develop a sense of belonging in their current congregation. As the pastor becomes well accepted and liked by an increasing number of the congregational members, Deacon Noh becomes disgruntled and openly expresses her dissatisfaction with the pastor to other members of the church: He is young, but disrespectful to senior members; He is not obedient enough; Prayer does not resolve all the issues; He doesn’t even clean the church; He doesn’t even wash up after lunch (pp.108-9).
Pastors are generally expected to undertake ‘higher’ duties on Sundays such as delivering the sermons, providing some members with spiritual consolation, chairing some small group meetings, advising the leaders, etc. Naturally, pastors should be exempt from those mundane tasks that can be easily undertaken by other members.

Preoccupied with her own personal pursuit, Deacon Noh is a little reflexive, but inconsiderate to the needs of others. She does not seem interested in considering the ways in which the immigrant church can make positive influences on the lives of immigrants and how the clergy and the influential members like her husband and herself can work together to achieve such goals. Deacon Noh’s aides seem adversely influenced by her thoughts and actions. They do not hesitate to complain as follows:

> It is just unbelievable that the pastor puts himself above anyone else and he doesn’t realise who is feeding him; What’s his job about? Why didn’t he join us mowing the grass last Saturday? He should’ve prepared the sermon beforehand and joined us. Why should seniors mow the grass when younger people are around?; Don’t mention about him. He never calls me to ask how I am. That makes me feel like sharing nothing with him at all; He must be looking down upon us, doesn’t he? What does he think we are? Hello Deacon Noh! Why should we keep quiet rather than retaliating?

(p.109)

It seems obvious that Deacons Yi and Noh and their aides are growing a deep sense of resentment against the pastor. Putting Pastor Mun and young people on one side, Deacon Yi and aides on the other are being divisive and in effect creating animosities within the congregation. No physical violence has erupted against each other yet, but the tension between the two camps is high. When the hierarchy has to have no place in the church (Galatians 3: 28), Deacon Yi and his aides are looking for status and respect (cf. Kim 1985). This church organisation seems to fail to distinguish itself from other social clubs in terms of the characteristics of interactions between the members. Despite the majority of the members lining themselves with Deacon Yi, there are a small number of members who have been dissatisfied with Deacon Yi’s inappropriate dominance and ‘dictatorship.’ However, every member has noticed, since the arrival of Rev Mun, that the church is growing and has stabilised in many ways and that Deacon Noh’s wishes
and opinions are increasingly losing popularity and are less than persuasive than before. She is increasingly irritated over time (p.110). The confronting attitudes that Deacons Noh and Yi and their son maintain do resemble the ones that Annas and his son-in-law Caiaphas observed in their relations with Jesus Christ as he was about to be betrayed and arrested for crucifixion (John 18). Annas and Caiaphas are the ones who are willing to rob the church of its requisite or intrinsic organisational characteristics – being the light and salt of the world – by deserting Jesus and aggressively pursuing their personal power and interest (see Han, Han, and Kim 2009). Annas and Caiaphas bought their high priesthood just as Deacons Noh and Yi, their son, and their aides have bought their power and influence in the immigrant church. Moreover, it was also the tumultuous time when Jesus was about to be arrested that his disciples were arguing over who might be the one with more power in the mistakenly assumed event whereby Jesus overthrows the Roman Empire (Luke Ch. 22: 24-27). This is a serious interest of Deacon Noh and his aides, here and now.

The two families of Deacons Yi Seong-Chan and Yi Il-Yeong (i.e., father and son) would exert their influence to other members by hosting a party for them and methodically depriving them of any possibility of their reflective deliberation, discrimination and dedication, which may be accompanied by a process of internal conversation (Archer 2003, p.139). On a particular day, the protagonist, Deacon Pak, is asked to join the party earlier than other guests and help food preparation. She is told that the party is prepared for a fellowship amongst all the deacons in the church. It is a generous and well served feast. However, as a recent believer, Pak is surprised to see that this party for deacons serves the guests with beer, wine and then later, Soju.20 A good number of them have become drunk and a couple of them are smoking. Some Korean churchgoers drink or smoke, but they rarely do it in a party for church members’ fellowship. It is very late into the night and women are driving their husbands home. Further, Deacon Pak is puzzled about the absence of Pastor Mun and, on her way home, drops into his place to find out whether he has been too ill to join the party. Mun has not been invited to the party and his face contains ‘a shadow of concern.’ Thereafter, Deacon

20 Soju is a popular Korean drink with strength of 25% alcohol.
Pak and Yeong-Jun have noticed in recent weeks that Pastor Mun is not the same as before and looks deeply worried (p. 117).

In the mean time, Deacon Noh is increasingly more explicitly irritable and this has even personal impact on her daughter-in-law, Deacon Kim Eun-Yi, whom the protagonist used to consider being kind and fair-minded. As advised by her mother-in-law, Kim has now ‘kindly’ informed the protagonist that Noh is unhappy with Pak and that she needs to pay an apologetic visit to Noh. Pak somehow agrees to do so and visits Noh’s home. As Pak walks in the corridor of Noh’s house she hears Deacon Yu Yeong-Hae saying:

Look! She [Pak] was school principal’s wife? That shouldn’t make her that proud now, should it? Is she still principal’s wife? No! Now, she is a mere cleaner. But, she doesn’t know how to pay respect to me (p. 121),

The protagonist notices two women visiting Noh and holding a bitching session against herself. Finding out who is walking in, those two women have decided to leave immediately, covertly expressing a sense of guilt. It is not only a large number of Korean male immigrants suffering from status inconsistency and desperately yearning for some kinds of recognition but also their wives, whose level of education and professional experiences prior to coming to Australia are often commensurate to those of their husbands. A culture of jealousy and suspicion seems more prevalent and is deeply acculturated in the group of women in the congregation rather than that of respect and encouragement. Welcoming Pak, Noh’s disciplinary comments follow as follows:

I tell you straight forwardly. Recently I hear that you are too enthusiastic about church affairs. When pastor makes mistakes we have to correct him. It is ignorant people out of fashion that act as ‘yes-man’ irrespective of pastor’s right or wrong deeds. Pastor Mun is five years younger than my younger son, but never obedient to seniors and causes lots of concerns in the church. I feel you and your son are so close to my family and suggest that you shouldn’t pay attention as much as you do now. Also as you aren’t well, why do you attend dawn prayer and overnight prayer meetings? Please rest at home for a while. (p. 123)
The protagonist is shocked to hear these comments and now understands what has been bothering the pastor, whom she now regards as her ‘new son’. Deacon Noh is completely focused on her family’s vested interests within the congregation. In her interaction with the pastor, what comes first to her mind is about correcting and disciplining rather than respecting and encouraging. Within the Confucian convention, a person’s age is much more critical than her professional merit. Pastor Mun’s young age seems to be all that is required to justify what Deacon Noh can expect from Pastor Mun in terms of his thoughts and deeds (cf. Kim 1985). Pak Mi-Hyeon senses that ‘her newly adopted’ precious son is about to be horribly mistreated or hurt and is reminded of Deacon Noh’s recent comment:

How come has the pastor objected the installation of Deacon Yi Seong-Chan as elder of the congregation? He is so ungrateful to what we’ve done to him. He must have no future plan to live in Australia. (p.125)

A Korean immigrant church invites a pastor from Korea under the church’s sponsorship, initially for a few years. The church has a significant influence on the renewal of the pastor’s contract and consequently his grant of permanent residency. This makes some churches abuse their rights and responsibilities. Pak discovers that Pastor Mun has now over-stayed his visa since Deacon Yi has constantly put off the renewal of Mun’s work visa. Pak runs to the manse and advises Mun: ‘Please go and apologise to Yi. Their influence is too big to resist and your resistance is absolutely in vain. Pastor, please act wisely’ (p.126). But he is uncompromising and reluctant to bend his Christian principles, saying that Deacon Yi’s life is far too short of an exemplary Christian life and Yi’s effort to shape the contents of the sermons is not acceptable. Pak is again reminded of her own dead son, Yeong-Min. Yet, she finds herself shouting to Pastor Mun: ‘Are you the only righteous person? Please apologise and stay with your ministerial role. Please, please for my sake.’ Pak has meant ‘for your mother’s sake’. Mun decides to listen to Pak, his ‘mother’ and apologises to Deacon Yi. Mun simply could not ignore his mother’s invocatory request. He may not have come across such a motherly care in his life since he grew up as an orphan. Deacon Yi and Pastor Mun have now temporarily resolved the uncomfortable feeling between them only after a congregational hearing and a huge humiliation accompanying disciplinary comments in front of most deacons of the
church. However, Deacon Yi seems to have planned the reconciliation to be short-lived. Deacon Yi’s aides may have understood his deep dissatisfaction with the pastor due to ‘disrespectful attitude’ from their viewpoints (p.129). The aides have agreed not to make any tithes and offerings in the hope that this may impact on the church’s budget and eventually impose on the pastor to resign from his job. Nonetheless, the congregation continues to function well due to a small number of ‘faithful’ members and Pastor Mun’s extraordinary effort.

Deacon Kim Eun-Yi has been well known to be a quiet and caring person. When she had difficulties coping with her parents-in-law she used to come to the protagonist for a pour-out. In the context of Confucian-based family relations even in modern Korea, irrespective of whether or not a married couple live in the same house as the woman’s parents-in-law, it is often the dissident voices of the daughter-in-law that tend to be marginalised. This is a familial and systematic suppression of reflexivity, thus preventing the particular agent from possible benefit of her internal conversation. This prevention is not different from constantly cutting off the shoots of a plant. Deacon Kim could not stand against the pressure from her husband and parents-in-law and has now become a different person, quitting her interaction with Pak and actively promoting the installation of her father-in-law as elder of the church. Kim has convinced a good number of congregational members that Deacon Yi deserves to be an elder and that Pastor Mun, a sojourner, should leave the church for the sake of long-term stayers who have settled in Australia well before Pastor Mun (p.143). Their earlier arrival than Mun hardly offers them any legitimacy to demonstrate unkindness to him, which is a kind of idea that has dominated the nature of relations between different ethnic groups who have arrived in Australia at different times of the modern history of Australia. This tendency continues at the levels of individual immigrants and ethnic communities.

Pastor Mun eventually receives a chilling note from Deacon Yi Il-Yeong: ‘Leave this place in a week. Otherwise, the manse will be put on fire and you will be killed without anyone noticing it’ (p.174). Pastor Mun tells the protagonist that:

The situation in the church is worse than a group of non-churchgoers. Until this problem is amended I am not able to leave this place. I now sense why God has sent me here. However, my heart is aching and it is really aching (p.175).
One of the features of transnational identities is to be able to reflect on personhood and characteristics and then be able to embrace those people from different cultures and history. Such a transition would necessarily involve ongoing internal conversations, addressing agential adjustment, discrimination, deliberation and dedication in the given structural context. However, the stubbornly persisting non-reflexivity of Deacons Yi and Noh and their aides is obstructive for any such move. More importantly, they create a context whereby other congregational members are forcefully restrained from continuing to develop their own transnational identities. Consequently, the church as an institution is not in a situation to be able to provide the church members with institutional support for them to be able to adapt to the new and broader socio-cultural context. Archer (2003, p.139) contends that not everyone achieves a stable and mature personal identity, but those who do entertain social projects that are ‘designed’ to result in the common good. They display the power of an emergent relational property and their commitment includes ‘the designation and design of specific projects in society, their strategic pursuit through self-monitoring and a commitment to the successful establishment of practices which express a particular over-riding concern.’ Let alone personal monitoring, Deacon Yi and his aides do not seem to display a commitment to promoting and establishing desirable and harmonious relations or a set of ‘respectable principles’ within the congregation. Agents are certainly fallible, but Deacons Yi and Noh continue to ‘misjudge both the “costs” and “benefits” of pursuing a given course of action’ (Archer 2003, p.141). That is, these agents’ courses of action through their own fallible reflexive deliberations to determine their individual projects in the context of their objective circumstances may result in the need to revise or redefine their projects (Archer 2003, p.141).

Summary and concluding remarks

The significance of reflexive approach in our everyday action has been argued for a while (Giddens 1991; Archer 2000). Giddens’ question, ‘What to do?; How to act?; Who to be?’, would be a question that the characters in the novel come across in their
everyday life, dealing with complex survival mechanisms in a foreign land in the West. According to Thompson (1995, p.210), 'The self is a symbolic project that the individual actively constructs' and that we use media symbols (brands, logos, music, etc.) as resources for constructing our identity. How the characters in the novel have been influenced by the media is not the focus of the novel nor that of this paper. The focus is to analyse the depiction of the conflicts between the members including the clergy in a materialist Korean church in Sydney, as described in the novel as a form of media, resulting from lack of desirable reflexivity (i.e., under-developed or displaced or fractured reflexivity in the words of Margaret Archer (2000, 2003)) of those who pursue their own personal agendas through an immigrant church.\textsuperscript{21} Transnational social fields and localities facing the characters in the novel (either in Korea or Australia) provide them with a special context or opportunity in which people may modify or newly construct their identities (Riccio 2001, 589; Goldring 1998). How individual agents will approach the opportunity remains an important task for all immigrants. As the novel \textit{Foolish Jesus (Babo Yesu)} describes, Korean society went through a tumultuous age when there was little facilitation of the flow of information, i.e., little facilitation of reflexive approach or internal conversation or 'internal communication', thus possibly and consequently leading to making uncritical or non-reflexive decisions by individuals, which in turn contributes to the formation of particular circumstances.

The protagonist’s unexpected suffering and tumultuous life started with the loss of her husband and first son during the dictatorial regimes of military governments following the assassination of President Park Chung-Hee. That is the time for one-way communication, i.e., the government constantly hands down orders to the people whom it is supposed to consult and serve. Those dissident voices who are not taking the commands seriously will put them under serious and life-threatening danger. The power of political-economic pressure was indeed overwhelming in every facet of individual lives. There was little room for any individuals for reflective actions. Nonetheless, there was a stream of students and civilians literally putting their life on the line and

\textsuperscript{21} Another matter of interest would be the impact of the novel on Korean immigrants around the world since the kinds of conflicts described in the novel are not unique to this particular church in the novel, but their variations are observed in many other Korean immigrant churches.
persistently pursuing to reform the oppressive governance. History reveals that many dissidents and families have been ruined unnoticed. The Kwangju Uprising has killed over two thousand civilians and the full effects of the incident have not been completely known until today (Yea 2002; Wickham 2000; Lee 1997). The protagonist family members’ suffering caused during the political unrest is just one example of what happened to numerous families. The sufferings had not ended within Korea, but had been spilt beyond the national boundary.

It is surprising to note that people are prepared to settle overseas with little preparation and even hardly enough essential information. Often the consequences they have to face are to undertake ‘dirty, difficult and dangerous’ work and often under the exploitation by the members of their own ethnic community (Han 1999b, a, 2000a). Abusive management of workers or exploitation of labour seems to take place commonly enough within intra-ethnic networks or employment market (e.g., Salway 2008, p.1139; Han and Jung 2009). The cost to health or dignity can be tremendous and in fact is damaging the life of many Korean immigrants (Han 2000a; Han and Chesters 2001a, b). How successfully they can undertake the project of constructing self identities, personal identities and transnational identities in the long run, as they have been seriously wounded, may be a matter that requires attention at least from the Korean community in Australia.

Every ethnic community creates and sustains numerous organisations which facilitate intra- and inter-ethnic communications and interactions. The members of the Korean community also have many ways to express their ethnic identities as well as transnational identities. For them the church has been the most significant place to speak Korean language, share Korean foods, exchange with fellow Koreans their past and current information about the home country (Min 2010). The church is also a place for comfort and fellowship when a person’s immigrant life is harsh, exploring their adaptation process and transnational identities. Some indeed find a new meaning of their life through their newly discovered faith. Yet, the church as the most significant organisation for Koreans is also the place where conflicts and tensions are most commonly observed (Han 1994b). It is sometimes used as a place to have their marginalised status compensated through their leadership roles, consequently inflicting
their established influences on fellow Koreans. Perhaps there needs to be much more concerted effort for reflexive approaches to the ways in which they deal with other fellow immigrants. This will work as an initial step towards developing the most desirable transnational identities.

It has been argued that a significant number of theological graduates have not been well trained in Korea and the quality of clergy has become a serious concern (Kukmin Ilbo 1994; Kim 1998). This is a complex problem to address since it is not only a matter of Christian organisations, but their inherently close relationships with other sectors in the broader society. Social and professional roles and their credibility of well trained and responsible pastors are often poorly understood and under-valued. Some of the Korean migrants whose life has been adversely affected by ‘harsh reality’ of their life in a foreign land seem to behave ‘ruthlessly’ or with little consideration towards others. That is, harsh structural dimensions are ‘roughly’ translated into their actions without much filtering process or ‘internal conversation’. Those who are vulnerable such as ‘temporary’ pastors or sojourners seeking permanent residency can have their basic rights removed and are abused easily. The author of the novel as spouse of a Korean pastor has provided a gruesome description of the ways in which Pastor Mun has gone through as an immigrant pastor, culminating with a death warning from one of his own church members. This seems to be a case whereby worldly ideological practices have been reproduced in an organisation which is strongly expected to be intrinsically different from other organisations.

Reading the novel I have asked a question to myself: ‘Who am I?’ Am I Yeong-Min, a foolish Jesus or Deacon Yi, a clever Jesus who is an influential and dominant figure? Or at least am I able to observe what goes around my life or what kind of communicator am I when people’s diverse and vested interests predominate the characteristics of human interactions? There seem to be a plenty of Deacon Yi Seong-Chan and Deacon Noh Jeong-Ok around the organisations to which we belong. However, who is the protagonist or Pastor Mun for the sake of common good and harmonious relations? If I identify myself with Pastor Mun, who is my Pak Mi-Hyeon, the mother figure or the comforter? Many members of the Korean migrant community overseas may not find it easy to respond to this question. In fact, as mentioned earlier, it would be safe to argue
that the kinds of human relations observed in the novel do not constitute an isolated case, but are prevalent throughout time and space beyond cultural and geographical boundaries, in which case the promotion of transnational identities may turn out to be a difficult project. Under the influence of globalisation and neo-liberalism, people are increasingly less than encouraged to carry out ‘the internal conversation’ to an appropriate degree. People’s decisions may not be adequately reflexive enough. Here I am reminded of a comment from a reflexive study participant of Margaret Archer’s (2003, p.270) research on internal conversation: ‘I think a lot of people have chronic problems because they’re not trying to be reflexive about them in terms of a solution. But I’m saying put the brake on it.’

According to Giddens (1991, cited in Stevenson 2003), people are all increasingly involved in reflexive production of their identities. In other words, ‘we are all responsible for monitoring our own autobiographies’ (p.14). Perhaps what is found through the analysis of the novel, Foolish Jesus, is that the monitoring of one’s own autobiography does not simply lead in one direction, but in many possible directions. As Stevenson (2003, p.14) notes, ‘the more we seek to shape our biographies, the more aware we become of the risks that are involved.’ That is, when the members of the Korean immigrant churches are involved in monitoring, improving and reproducing their biographies, they consequently tend to either fall on a range of pitfalls or become even more constructively reflexive as a result. One of the points the Korean migrants (indeed people in general) overlook might be that as Foucault makes a pertinent note, they are preoccupied with the question, ‘who am I?’ rather than ‘how ought I to live?’ (Foucault 1997, cited in Stevenson 2003, p.28). In the contemporary information era, ‘the right to be different’ (Rosaldo 1994, p.402) may be a fundamentally important dimension to value while enjoying membership of a political and democratic community. However, Stevenson (2003, p.29) points out that Foucauldian ethics tend to be overly individualistic, Foucault’s preoccupation with the self and self-transformation leads to neglecting our responsibility for others and that in Foucault’s advocate for the self, questions of solidarity are replaced with the ‘modern cult of the self’ (Smart 1998, p.89, cited in Stevenson 2003, p.29). The life of Korean immigrants is lived as an individual project in the era of individualisation (Beck 1992, cited in Stevenson 2003, p.30), overly
downplaying the importance of their membership of a political and democratic community, paying little attention to the issues of constructing personal, social and transnational identities (Han 2011 forthcoming).

The final note I would make is about the depiction of the clergy, Pastor Mun. The author, as spouse of a former minister of a Korean church in Australia, has pointed out the problems that have explicitly resulted from the problematic quality and lack of commitment of those clergymen who have been poorly trained. However, the readers of the novel can be led to downplay the degree of the problems directly resulting from the mistakes of the clergy themselves. Whilst they should not primarily be given the burden to address many tasks and issues within Korean immigrant churches, they too should be prepared for ‘how they ought to lead the flock’ and work much more closely together with them, cultivating the ways to construct the most desirable personal and transnational identities within the broader Australian society as well as the global village.

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Lay Buddhist Social Engagement in Contemporary Korea

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Introduction

Buddhism since its introduction to the Korean peninsula in the late 4th century served the nation as a significant force of social cohesion and cultural advancement. The pragmatic and flexible approach of the Korean people is responsible for adapting various religions to their social and political needs. Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and New religion arose in response to the specific social needs and political imperatives of the nation. It is important to note that Korean Buddhism has been already engaged with society for long, and contemporary social engagement is setting an exquisite paradigm of mutual co-existence with diverse cultures. As a matter of fact, religious plurality has been at the core of Korean society where one could find Buddhist grand parents, a Confucius father, a Christian mother and an atheist or non-believer Children in a single family. The Koreans have deftly harnessed the religion in tasks of nation building, social development and economic growth. Though, the Buddhist organizations have indubitably incorporated some modern approaches of other religions for welfare work and social networking.

There exist numerous Korean Buddhist organizations, with their various activities extending both inside the country and abroad, however, this paper will deal with the two lay Buddhist organizations: First- the Buddhist Solidarity for Reform (Chamyeo Pulgyo Jaegahyeondae) also known as BSR, and second- Chongji Jong, a lay Buddhist Order. Despite most of these organizations having a very brief history of social engagement, they have registered a significant presence in society. As a matter of fact, there entire data of their activities, being accessible in Korean only, has released only small quantum of information for further probing. However, few documents and description of social activities are available in English.
Historical Description of Lay Buddhist Movement

It is worthwhile to mention that Monk Mnhae and Yongseong were the pioneers of the reform movement which advocated the notion of social engagement and exhorted common masses, especially students, to oppose the Japanese colonial regime which had deliberately intervened in cultural realms of Korean life by proposing house-hold life, meat-eating and married life for monks. Manhae, in fact had submitted a proposal to the government seeking an official sanction over the marriage issue. Not only this, he also performed the role of a modern “social-engineer,” as is evinced from his participation in the agrarian movement (1986), opening of a land survey office in Seoul opposing colonial survey system (1908) and numerous papers condemning imperialism and feudalism. Besides him, many other Korean monks actively participated in the “March First Movement” in 1919 and inflamed youth and lay followers to struggle for the restoration of sovereignty. It was the first independence movement organised by a group of students, religious representatives and the common people. And, Manhae was one of the prominent members of thirty-three membered committee which had drafted a declaration of Korean independence. Manhae was a first visionary monk who felt the need of time and advocated the idea of Buddhist socialism and recommended social engagement as the most practice worthy tool for contemporary Buddhism. In 1927, he admired consciousness of women; supported women’s movement and emphasised liberation of women by promoting literacy among them with the active participation of literate women. Therefore, his idea of deeper social engagement became ideal for future generation who brought many organizations devoted to social work. Although there is a long antecedence of lay Buddhist movements in Korea, but it was not until 1960s when the “Korea Youth Buddhist Association (1960),” “Korea Buddhist university Federation (1963),” the “Hanmaum Seon Won” and “Guryong” appeared as organised movements in Korea. In the 1970s, the Daewon Jeongsa (1970), the Korea Institute of Buddhist Studies (1974) and the Korean Buddhist Promotion Foundation (1975) were active lay Buddhist organizations, however, their contribution is less emphasised and it seems that they failed to cast remarkable print in the lay Buddhist movements. In the 1980s, other
lay Buddhist organizations appeared with assorted social programs. Park Gwangseo (2008: 399-400) has mentioned some prominent organization such as Association of Engaged Buddhist Movement (1980), Dongsan Banyahoe (1982), Neungin Seonwon (1985), Association of national Buddhist Order for Realization of Pure Land (1986) and Association of National Buddhist Orders (1988), who particularly accentuated in favour of establishment of missionary centres and Buddhist education systems in urban vicinity. However these organizations could not build a strong base for lay Buddhist community during the course of history.

Later on, the rapid growth of economy after 1960s has tremendously affected the trajectories of Korean socio-religious milieu. The Korean temples became richer and much richer, for they had traditionally possessed huge landed property - both in rural and urban areas. Furthermore, the escalating number of churches in urban areas and to some extent in rural areas, caught the attention of young monks and lay Buddhists, who were eagerly awaiting for opportunity to adequately respond to such concerns. Given such circumstances, the Buddhist community, particularly young monks, sought a wide-ranging reform in monastic social approach. On the other hand, many lay Buddhist groups were also demanding easy excess of Buddhism, and they were working as a pressure group. These were the factors behind the foundation of many lay Buddhist organization in modern Korea.

Although a number of Buddhist organizations are enthusiastically responding to the challenges of contemporary society, some of the leading Buddhist organizations are, more or less, associated with Jogye Jong, operating inside and abroad. Among these are, the Buddhist Coalition for Economic Justice is one of the representative organizations which deals with the human rights and migrant workers. Together for Good is working for homeless, orphans, youths and handicapped people etc. The Ilsan Senior Welfare Centre concentrates on the problems of old people, also associating youth with senior citizens. The Buddhist Solidarity for Reform (Chamyeo Pulgyo Jaegahyeondae) also known as BSR is a lay Buddhist organization, which provides a common platform for intellectuals, students and women. However these organizations have begun to engage with society since 1980s, but are now actively seeking greater engagement with society. It becomes necessary to highlight the base organization and social activities of prominent
Buddhist organizations that are truly devoted to social welfare work and social engagement.

**Buddhist Solidarity for Reform**

Buddhist Solidarity for Reform, mainly considered as a lay Buddhist movement in South Korea, was founded in March 1999 through the merger of the two existing organizations named ‘Lay Buddhist Council’ and ‘Lay Buddhist Organization’ - established earlier in 1994. These two organizations were the by-products of Buddhist reform movement of South Korea. In the early 1990s, the Korean lay Buddhists had founded two lay organizations to decelerate monastic conflicts and sectarian disputes of various Korean Buddhist Orders and monasteries.

As a matter of fact, Buddhist sectarian disputes have always been a potent issue since the Japanese occupied Korean peninsula. The decades of 1980s and 1990s witnessed profound upheavals in Buddhist community when the Korean Christians aggressively propagated anti-Buddhist slogans. On the other side, the Buddhist organizations deeply indulged in the financial mismanagement, and violent conflicts within and outside the organization. These prudent issues in turn, provoked lay Buddhists to march onto the streets to bring monastic concerns in front of Buddhist followers. However, as Tedesco has pointed out, the main focus of the BSR was to bring fundamental and lasting reforms within the Jogye Order. It seems likely that Lay Buddhist Council and Lay Buddhist Organization, the mother organizations of BSR, more or less raised the demand for reform of all Buddhist Orders and monasteries of South Korea. Furthermore, in later phase, Jogye Order- as an umbrella organization of Korean Buddhism- became the main focus for wide-ranging reforms. Evidently, one of the major sectarian turmoil occurred at the Jogye Monastery in 1994 on the issue of political and economic affairs of Buddhist community (Henrik H. Sorensen 1996: 170), which attracted the attention of lay Buddhist followers towards the rampant corruption in monastery.

It is noteworthy to mention that the Korean monasteries have previously faced complaints and protests upon the issue of financial corruption, and such kinds of financial irregularities also came into light during the Koryo and Joseon period (Kim
These contemporary upheavals demanded transparency in all financial transactions of Buddhist organizations. Such incidents of Jogye Order lifted the veil of the secrecy of Korean monastic institutions and accordingly left disputed issues for new generations upon which new reform movements were organised from time to time. The years of 1999 and 2001 were ignominious for the Buddhist Orders when the Buddhist monks and nuns began quarrelling over the issue of Order’s General Assembly election (Frank M. Tedesco 2003: 170). Soon, this huge turmoil shocked lay believers and shook their faith and belief in monastic community. It was a major setback for lay Buddhists, on whom Buddhist Orders were, by and large, reliant. And thereafter, common people began to stage a series of protests against the Buddhist Order demanding serious monastic reforms and transparency. The Jogye Order authorities failed to maintain peace within the faction groups, and consequently provided ample space for public intervention. The Buddhist Solidarity for Reform was one of the by-products of reform movement, which attained momentum when majority of lay Buddhist followers launched rallies and processions against the deceitful practices of Buddhist Orders.

Moreover, in the very beginning, BSR had perceived a massive financial mismanagement, and finally proposed financial transparency in Buddhist Orders in general and Jogye Order in particular. This movement resulted in the waxing of mutual participation, collective responsibility and co-operation between the monks and lay Buddhists. For greater social engagement, the BSR hosted three major events with the help of forty Buddhist groups.  

22 The financial corruption was not a very new incident for Korean Buddhists, and the historical evidence of financial irregularities dates back to the late Koryo and the early Joseon period when once P’anso Cho, In-ok, a pious Buddhist, submitted a petition to the king Chang over the financial corruption of the head monk and anti-Buddhist ethical attitude of monks. Another monk who went to Joseon court complaining against greedy attitude of his colleague monks.

Fundraising.’ It showed keen interest in inter-religious dialogue and invited Protestant, Catholic (Choe Jeong-uk 2001) and Tibetan Buddhist NGOs to promote social harmony and work together for broader goals. Most of the Korean social organizations and NGOs welcomed this initiative, and started organizing a series of religious dialogues in many cities and the countryside (Frank M. Tedesco 1996, Geocities Online 2008).

During the year of 2001-2003, BSR had initiated several programs to engage people on mass level. Most of these sub-sections of organization such as ‘Preparatory Committee for Organizing the Centre for Buddhist Policy and Reform’, ‘The Buddhist Academy’, ‘Symposium on Religious Power and Civil Society in Korea’, ‘Bi-monthly Journal on Engaged Buddhism’, ‘Green Village Publishing Company and Weekly Farm’, ‘Program for Migrant Workers’ and ‘Booklet on the Way of Practicing Mindfulness’, have functioned successfully leaving tremendous impact on Korean society (BSR Homepage).

The organization’s mission is:

“To Develop a Vision and Establish Cooperative Relationship, Through which Buddhists can Cultivate Their Minds and Develop a Sustainable Alternative Community Based on the Buddha’s Teachings”;

And its goal is:

“To Support Reform within the Buddhist Orders in Korea; To Contribute to Korean Peninsular Unification; To Support Human Rights, Justice and Welfare around the World”.

It needs to be mentioned that these mission and goals have been formulated immediately after the organization successfully penetrated its influence in Korean society by raising the issue of monastic reforms. Frank M. Tedesco (2003: 172) has

24 The BSR members had actively participated in inter-religious meetings to form a network of religious NGOs organised by Christian Civil Society and Solidarity. The participants of all religious groups were convinced to organize regular workshop, paper publication, and online solidarity work globally.


26 Most of these organizations have been working under the umbrella of BSR, but they are concentrating on particular defined and allotted subjects. Unfortunately, due to lack of authentic sources, financial support to these sub-sections is still a matter of secrecy. Details of sub-section and their activity are available on the organization’s home page.
viewed such initiatives as a turning point of Korean Buddhism when the Buddhist Solidarity for Reform put up efforts to make the Buddha’s teaching comprehensible for modern society. It seems that the ultimate goal of BSR was to bring Korean monastic Buddhism to the common people.

BSR has vehemently criticized and discouraged the sangha to use luxurious facilities (Frank M. Tedesco 2003: 173; Henrik H. Sorensen 1996: 170-171)\(^\text{27}\) and rather proposed simplicity for the sangha as Buddha, the master of dharma had prescribed for the community (for economical conduct see Lee Geolyong 2007). BSR’s true achievement lay in the fact that it has successfully mobilized the academia of Korea. Most of the participants, board members and committee members are affiliated with the teaching and research profession, medical profession, and print and electronic media. Thus, the organization has a sound think-tank, framing policies for Buddhist organizations and working as a moderator of engaged Buddhists.

According to the available data, there were 37,153 intellectuals (Im Hae-yeong 2003: 105) associated with various Buddhist organizations in 2000, who have echoed genuine concerns over the social engagement of Korean Buddhism. This increasing number of members and lay followers associated with BSR has immense implications. As per the records, the total number of permanent members has increased to about a thousand.

Moreover, the following bar-diagram also shows the gradual rise in number of permanent members who serve as the backbone of the organization.

Permanent Membership Since 1999

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\(^{27}\) Contemporary Korean Buddhists are not as like those who were living during the medieval and ancient Korea. Most of the monasteries have old structures, very much traditional, but decoration is equipped with modern facilities. Monks and nuns have their own deluxe cars, costly cell phones, Internet facilities, costly electronic things, and enjoying five-star facilities when they are on international tour. Tadesco has pointed out some points, which were propagated by BSR during his protest movement.
The socio-religious mentoring, social motivation, issue-based counseling, issue-based advice, propagation of the idea of Buddhist social engagement and re-interpretation of the socio-religious issues have been enunciated as long-term goals of BSR. The organization is committed to proliferate the notion of socially engaged Buddhists i.e. social solidarity, inter-religious co-operation, inter-religious dialogue and mutual understanding among the diverse cultural groups. In this regard, during the years of 2000 and 2001, the organization hosted a series of inter-religious dialogues and endeavored to invite the incumbent Dalai Lama to Korea, though the latter was not allowed to visit Korea owing to Korea-China’s foreign policy. However, it had sent a delegation to the Korean Department of Foreign Policy and Diplomacy for requesting the government to grant him entry (for details see Nam Bae-hyeon 2004; Kim Jong-rak 2007, Munhwa Online 2008).\(^{28}\) Unfortunately, this pressure group failed to convince the government to endow any privilege upon the Dalai Lama.

Moreover, for international propagation and issue-based attention, the BSR has commenced an English homepage in 2003, where distant visitors can register online, become its member and therefore gain access to recent development of its sub-branches (Bae Jae-su 2003). The members are being encouraged to acquire newly developed ideas from the engaged Buddhists and organizations of Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar etc.

\(^{28}\) The BSR is an instrumental organization which brought the Visa issue to Buddhist community, and since then there has been persuasive apprehension for Korean Buddhist intellectuals.
Thich Nhat Hanh’s ideas have deeply influenced the BSR and his slogans for engaged Buddhists have received wide acclaim among the Korean Buddhist intellectuals. Therefore, they have realized their tasks and further organised a series of campaigns titled ‘change the world and myself’ under the aegis of BSR, offering group meditation and training programs for broader receptiveness (Kim Ha-yeong 2002). In this series, they have invited Lokamitra (Remi Gudi), an American citizen working for the Indian untouchables under the aegis of Ambedkar Movement, for accelerating the dialogue on the role of contemporary Buddhism, its future prospects and implications on contemporary society (Pak In-tak 2004).

Not only this, BSR has also been organizing regular campaigns in different regions of Korea, motivating people towards the social work. It seems that the campaign is firstly geared towards fund-raising and secondly towards seeking the maximum numbers of sponsors able to finance the welfare projects. Quite amazingly, this lay Buddhist organization does not have any social welfare centre except regional offices that facilitate extension of BSR, wherein the local people increasingly demonstrate curiosity for charity and participate directly in social welfare projects.

In this way, a huge amount is being spent on the institutional edifice with the highest proportion of income being assigned for salary, organizational business, periodical publications, campaigns, and advertisements. The pie-diagram given below reveals that the organization spends more than half of its revenue for disbursing the salary and other expenditures.

Total Expenditure of BSR in 2006
It would also be appropriate to throw light upon the major initiatives of Buddhist intellectuals, associated with the BSR. As a matter of fact, after long discussions and parleys over the functioning of BSR, these intellectuals felt an instantaneous requisite for a common platform, where they could educate and train the lay Buddhists and form a group of devoted professionals for social welfare work. Therefore, in October 2001, the Board members after collective decision founded a Buddhist Academy with the primary objective of modernizing and revitalizing monasteries and engaged Buddhist organizations, and providing financial support for motivated young scholars. Keeping such objectives in view, the academy offered a management course for monks, members of monastic community and lay followers. Other specific programs offered are—

“Management Course: Developing a Model Monastery in the 21st century, Internship Course for Buddhist Activist, Training Course to Develop Family-friendly Program, Training Course for Professional Planners, Tour Course for Leaders, Meditation School for NGO Activist, Financial Analyst Course, Monthly Workshop on Monastery Management, and the more recently popular programs of ‘My Leadership Club’ from 2006 (Buddhistac Org Online),29 and Happy Time from 2007” onwards. Among these,

29 The available materials are only in Korean language, and the English version of site is not accessible well. The main orientation of club and way of working is as similar as BSR, details available online.
the orientation of My Leaders Club is to educate a number of people through the Buddhist approach on social welfare.

Some of the important programs are- “Jagiseongchalgwa Ridesibui Jeobmok [Combined and Self-leadership]”- to prepare and develop a leadership community for self-reflection and self-reliance; “Nawa Sgeyereul Isneun Daeseungui Jiye Tamgu [Our World and Research on Mahayana Wisdom]”- to learn secret endowment and wisdom of Mahayana society and preserve this tradition for contemporary generation; “Hanguksaheoueui Saeourou Mummyeong Undongeul Whan Silcheonhwaldong [Engaged Activities for Korean Society and New Civilization Movement]”- to form 30 communities and a group of 500 leaders, and set up 10,000 foreign family communities and 100 leaders for promotion of Korean society and civilization movement until 2010; “Sgeyepulgyo Junggeungdsehd Seondo [Leadership and Restoration of the World’s Buddhist]”- to promote inter-exchange of leaders and organizations, and aim to build a club of engaged people and organizations for each continent, and “Gyeongyeong Mich Silsaenghwale Firyohan Gogeubjeongbo Jegong [Offer Advanced Information for Everyday Life and Management]”- an introduction and promotion of new techniques so as to highlight the participant’s experience, collected data, statistical data and management techniques through the electronic devices (Buddhistac Org Online).30 Through these various programs, the organization has set up a goal to increase the number of members who serve as its main source of income (Buddhist Solidarity for Reform 2007: 23).

The innovative ideas of associated intellectuals can be visualized through an over view of recently launched campaign called “Happy Time Movement” (Haepitaaim Undong) of BSR. The neighbours, youth, student and lay Buddhists are the main force of this campaign who are playing roles of both the host and the guest, a contributor and beneficiary. It also collaborates with the local community groups, regional rural groups and urban community groups to integrate the community members into mainstream and dispel the isolation and social insecurity engendered by modern developments.

30 This description is based on the handbook provided by the office of the Buddhist Solidarity for Reform in 2007, and Korean version of My Leaders Club is also available online.
In this context, the ‘learning from past’ mission is a unique idea of mutual cooperation, designed to counter the growing trend of nuclear family and individualism. The program organizers seek to convince people to share their 3% of time, 3% of income, 3% of engagement and devote 3% of time on meditation for welfare of neighbours and eventually for society. The active volunteers and permanent representatives (Heo Jeong-cheol 2007; Sin Jae-ho 2007)31 are also supposed to appeal their family members and neighbors to share 3% (15 minutes/day, 105 minutes/ week or 420 minutes/ month) of their total time for the welfare of neighbours. This concept of 3% of income-sharing is based on the savings of one’s total income and expenditure. The members are strongly encouraged to spend less on birthday party, wedding ceremony, commemoration day and other occasions, thus promoting a saving attitude in family and neighbourhood.

Further, the slogan of 3% engagement is based on the idea of one’s active participation with society. In addition to it, the members are exhorting males and females to divide and devote their 3% of time to persuade three persons each month for propagation of the idea of collective sharing, and also suggest people to practice meditation for 15 minutes (3%) each day out of total leisure time for oneself and other’s inner peace, which will eventually deepen peace and harmony within society. Besides members, some monks are also residing and co-operating with program organizers (Lee Jun-sam 2007).

Moreover, BSR in year 2002 took up issues of migrant workers and devised numerous programs for their welfare. The direct medical and medicinal support, group counselling, language training for everyday life, cross-cultural and festival celebration, and food offerings have attracted many migrants to BSR fold, where workers have conducive platform and opportunity to attract attention of local people. Further, in 2006, the BSR held an event on the occasion of Muslim festival Jumma- at the Manhae NGO Gyoyuk Centre where it invited minority migrants to celebrate Muslim festival and also listen to their issues of human rights, oppression and discrimination (Pak In-tak 2006). The motive behind such events is to promote multi-religious, multi-cultural ambiance

31 The permanent members and representative are actively watching the modes of expansion how people are responding to reforms. Further the representative members are drawing attention of lay Buddhist for participation by a series of campaigns.
and communal harmony by supporting the minority migrants who frequently look for emotional support during the auspicious days (Bae Byeong-tae 2008: 4-9). The workers are being solicited and encouraged from time to time by the organization to extend their hands for the long-term mission.

In addition to it, in 2002, the organization launched a mission to support the Buddhist community of India, since then, has been motivating individuals and organizations for carrying out welfare programs. Barepur village in Kannauz district, Navigang and Bongaon village in Mainpuri district of Uttar Pradesh, and Dungeswari village in Gaya district of Bihar, in India, serve as the pilot projects. These two selected regions are significant in history for being deeply associated with the Buddhist tradition, whereas per mythology, the Buddha is said to have visited several times, and homeland of the Sakya clan descendants existed.

It is imperative to note that these areas abound in the significant Dalit populated. It has also provided funds to install hand pumps for drinking clean water in ten villages of Bihar. Through a co-ordination between the registered and host members of BSR, a fund of 20,000 USD in cash was spent for poor Dalit people, 15,000 USD was allotted in school and park construction in Barepur of Kannauz and 5,000 USD for construction of Dhamma hall in Naviganj of Mainpuri. Moreover, an amount of 10,000 USD was also released for school construction in Bongaon of Mainpuri. Through the mutual co-operation of locals and their land grants, now the school and meditation hall are facilitating education and dharma teaching. The BSR members also proposed a conversion ceremony in collaboration with the members of Ashoka Mission Vihara, Delhi- an engaged Buddhist organization, as well as members of Ambedkar movement. The organization took one more step further by creating a separate fund and offering 1 USD for each of the converted people. BSR official website (2008) has details of the support and future plan of organization. In this way, the organization has promoted and supported the inter-faith conversion in India. Moreover, the staff member and sponsors have personally visited and inspected progress work on the site from time to time. The Buddhist Solidarity for Reform’ website (2005) describes the comments of members in

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32 The engaged Buddhist organizations are promptly responding to such events, and seem to be tended to procure such events as a means of popularity. They invited Muslims and celebrated Jumma festival, also known as Boi-Sa-Bi, and cultural program under their banner.
details. This wave of positive change is gaining popularity among Korean intellectuals, especially the members of BRS. It has scaled a higher step further when the Korean Government acknowledged the advice of organization on the issue of employment chauvinism, which later swung into action to prevent religious favouritism against employment aspirants (Donald W. Mitchell 2008: 273).

**Chongji Jong**

The Chongji Jong is one of the major lay Buddhist Order working with a missionary zeal inside Korea, now inviting lay Buddhists from all over the world to demonstrate their role in the contemporary world, which was founded in 1972 by a virtuous lay Buddhist named Master Wonjeong. The founding members decided to construct most of the centres in proximity to the inner city so as to incorporate the urban social issues. Since its establishment, the Order is emphasizing on its crucial motto: ‘Buddhism in Every Day Life’ (Hyogang 2008: 4-7). The Order has a small group of followers who are the chief sponsors for social welfare works and other activities. Most of the affiliated families have been serving as volunteers at the welfare centres. The centres’ Masters, both male and female, are non-celibate, leading simple life and serving as a beneficiaries and volunteers. There are thirty-six centres operating under the Order with thousands of lay followers throughout the Korean urban areas.

The social activities are confined to the South Korea, and except some charity works in North Korea, the Order has not established any overseas program and infrastructure. During an interview with Hwaryeong, the Director of Central Education Centre, an insightful revelation occurred about the lack of international contact and the role of lay Buddhists in the modern world (Hwaryeong 2007a: 4). He elaborated upon the idea of lay Buddhist movement in Korea, its obstacles and future prospects. He considered

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33 The present President Hyogang laid much stress on the motto ‘Buddhism in Everyday Live’ during the Second World Lay Buddhist Forum held in October 2008. He underlined how the Chongji Jong has been a pioneer in the lay Buddhist movement.

34 Hwaryeong is presently holding the post of the Director of Central Education Centre, and has been working as a Director of the Organization Committee of Buddhist Chongji Order. I must appreciate his cooperation for the twice interview, with which I had been graced with in the head office of Chongji Order, Seoul, in May 2008. His long term standing can also be visualized through his message, which he delivered during the first Buddhist Forum 2007, where I was assigned an interpretation work.
modern technology as a major obstacle in practicing dharma, and prescribed the exploration of new coordination so as to overcome contemporary social problems begotten by scientific developments (Hwaryeong 2007b: 15-16).\(^{35}\)

Social welfare was one of the central aspirations behind the foundation. However, the Order could not obtain operational support to carry out social work. It is worth noticeable that the Chongji Jong built the first Buddhist youth facility at Goesan Camp in 1974. During the last two decades, the Order has embarked on several projects to accomplish the proposed goals. The Daedong Education Foundation and Donghae Middle School in Pusan were established to facilitate the education for children of low-income groups in 1988. The Buddhist Social Welfare Committee was set up for consumer protection; the Tumbler Centre for Unemployed Youth was set up to prepare them as a skilled labour force; and Yeoksam Welfare Centre was instituted-all of these serving as the frontline sub-organizations of the Jongji Order (Chongji Jong Homepage).\(^{36}\) In 1999, the Order created a separate wing called Social Welfare Foundation (SahoeokjiJaedan) for social work so as to meet the demand of adherents (Hanguk Pulgyo Sahoeokjichongram Pyeonchanwiwonhoe 1999: 66-67).

There is no denying the fact that South Korea has faced a serious predicament with the issue of orphans since independence. During the 1988 Seoul Olympics, western media accused Korea as the orphan-exporting country (“Koasuch’ulguk”), and a trafficker of human beings. This accusation involved the religious denominations and therefore, many organizations came forward to discourage international adoption. The anti-adoption faction forced the government to adopt comprehensive orphan-welfare programs and promote non-governmental players (Tobias Hubinette 2006: 63-73).\(^{37}\) However, Buddhist Orders, including Chongji Order, were already involved in the proper care of orphans. The Pusan branch, in this regard, took an initiative to support the

\(^{35}\) He has less emphasized the methodology of solution how contemporary Buddhist society should counter the contemporary social problems; nevertheless, he believes to accept new way in this regard.

\(^{36}\) The sequential advancement of sub-organization and their affairs are available in Korean language. However, a sort of translated material is also available online.

\(^{37}\) The article titled “Babies for Sale” published in the American magazine (1988), portrayed Korea as a country selling its children. The North Koreans instantly criticized and provoked national pride. Since then many organizations promoted domestic adoption rather than international, and also established orphan care centres. According to government record, about 156,242 children were adopted by the foreigners between the periods of 1953-2004. However, the other organizations account was more than 200,000, including thousands of unregistered adoption.
elementary and middle school students in 1983 involving about 700 students including orphans. The organization has constructed school buildings and provided bus service and financial support along with other facilities. The education system seems to be a blend of traditional and practical; where meditation, praying, confidence-building programs, folk game- Taekwando, Samul Lori, and volunteer assignments are integral parts of the curriculum. Besides, there is a provision of special funding for summer and winter training camps to the historical and cultural sites where the local people are promoted to aid and entertain the students. In 2004, the Chongji Jong held a congregation where they decided to extend kindergartens and free meal programs for students and carry out social welfare work actively (Kim Hyeong-gyu 2004).

**Orphan and Kids Study Room**

In addition to it, some other ingenious initiatives can be visualized through an insight into ‘Kids Study Room’ (Eorin Gombu Bang) program of Pusan and Daegu’s centres, where poor students and kids are being encouraged for undertaking primary and secondary education. At this juncture, the orphan students have an opportunity to intermingle with the neighboring students sharing ‘Kids Study Room’ during the daytime. The purpose of this program is firstly, confidence-building among the orphans; secondly to create a family ambiance and finally, emotional integration with the main stream of society. For this, educated, well-trained and English speaking teachers have been employed to assist them. An apposite study hall is operational with the developed facilities such as a playground, and a variety of entertainment instruments. The orphans possess complete freedom and interact with the local people without any discrimination. And for waxing intimacy, the organization has been contributing cash assistance, clothes, and stationery to the local poor students. Besides, Chongji Jong’s youth groups are also involved in the charity work and provide textbooks and notebooks for the poor.
Old People Centres

The Order has also expanded its program for helpless and low-income old people by establishing “Yeoksam Welfare Centre” (Kim Jae-gyeong 1999),38 and “Chongji Welfare Foundation” in year 1999. How the Korean elderly people are being ignored and isolated in contemporary Korea has been matter of scholarly mooring, moreover, Sung Kyu-taik (2005: 24, 163-167) has highlighted some aspects of old-people alienation.39 Though the notion of filial piety in Korean society is ascribed Confucian heritage; it tends to ignore the Buddhist notion of filial responsibility, which is “all-inclusive, embracing all living creatures and universal” (for Buddhist filial piety see Kwon Kyung-yin 2006: 141-143). Since the elderly people have less opportunity of work or to associate with any productive pursuit, they are bound to live an isolated life. Focusing on this issue, the Chongji Order has inaugurated comprehensive programs to render them active by providing a sense of security and emotional support.

In the old age centres, a grand hall is erected for recreation where a variety of musical instruments are kept for entertainment, whereby the inhabitants are encouraged for active participation. During the interview, Hwaryeong pointed out that since most of the inhabitants were divorcee, handicapped and childless singles, their foremost objective was to enlighten them with the real meaning of life, notion of Karma, rebirth and Mahaparinirvana- the Buddhist concepts of fearless death. It is remarkable to note that the majority of people are either the member of Order or have been associated for a long time. Here, the health care, food and clothing, financial support for daily expenses, yoga classes, meditation programs, calligraphy and acupuncture programs are being provided by trained instructors.

38 The Order has four storeyed building, in the Gangnam area of Seoul; where separate branches are allotted for specialized work such as Social Education Program, Regional Social Welfare, Publication Division and International Affair.
39 In Korea, the major provider of parent care is still the family where many elderly parents live with their married sons. Even though Korean society has embraced individualism, at least in metropolitan area. However, living with the parents is still preferred and regarded as a cultural pattern in urbanized Korea. It seems that the dharma teachings of parental responsibility have deeply inspired the young people where “Buddhism, the oldest religion in Korea, stresses solemn filial obligation, and particularly the eternal and fathomless love of the mother, which the most filial children would not be able to fully pay back.”
International Buddhist Forum

The lay community accounts for more than 99.8% of the entire Korean Buddhists where the majority suffers from the lack of doctrinal education. Furthermore, their participation in religious activities is an indicator of poor performance, with their proportion of charity being merely one-tenth of the Korean Christians (Park Gwangseo: 398-399). Keeping this in view, the Buddhist Chongji Order has established a new forum to hold an annual dialogue on the roles and social obligations of lay Buddhists for the twenty-first century. In order to engage more lay adherents to the organization, the masters (Jaungsa) have clearly stressed that there lay no need to shave off the head for being a Buddhist, with all the things embedded in the heart (Maeum). In this changing scenario, one needs Buddhist teaching for everyday life (see an interview of Hwaryeong Ji Jeong 2006, Hwaryeong 2008: 84-87). Therefore, the first lay Buddhist Conference was held in Seoul in October 2007 on the theme “the Role of the Lay Buddhist in Contemporary Society” where the lay followers from USA., U.K., Italy, Australia, India, and Nepal delineated the prospect of social engagement. The first forum highlighted some crucial concerns over the modern developments in technology which has lent several social and behavioral problems to society, and accordingly charted Buddhist response towards such aberrations. Judith A. Wolfer (2007: 58-62), a lay Buddhist, has some reservations in regard to the ongoing engaged Buddhist movement, and she feels jeopardized in contemporary society and stresses on the socially engaged Buddhism by lay practitioners. The debate over the Eastern and Western Buddhist organizations and their mechanisms brought forth the pertinent queries for the Forum in order to render the Chongji Order acceptable for all lay Buddhists associated with the Seon Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Tibetan retreat, Vipassana and Theravada sects of South Asia. During the 2008 annual Forum’s conference, the organizers threw light on the application of engaged Buddhist practices in private organizations, management and professional services.

40 Remarkably, the Buddhist Forum was financially supported by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Korea. However major financial support came from regional branches of Daegu, Daejeon, Pohang, and Incheon. The second (2008), third (2009) and fourth (2010) Lay Buddhist Forum held successfully in Seoul.
works (Jeff Waistell 2008: 24-29). Considering such perspectives, the Order’s executives are working on a master plan to build the “World Buddhist Exchange Centre” in Seoul. The Order’s strong will and commitment to work with lay adherents seem to be first and foremost goal of Chongji Jong where the executives have laid much emphasis on systematic education for lay Buddhists (Kim Jong-in 2007: 20-21).

Conclusion

The dedication and sincerity of these organizations in promotion of social solidarity and religious tolerance is highly praiseworthy. Their working methodology, orientation, group-targeting and volunteer work have been made significant transformations in the realm of social work in general and within the monastic community in particular. Though, these two representative lay Buddhist organizations possess archaic prudence of the social engagement, they also welcome ideas of other religious and social groups for undertaking substantive steps towards society. These newly emerging organizations are successfully attracting attention of common people and becoming a role model for the Korean Buddhism. However, the fundamental component of monasticism rooted in society, which has been recognised by other monks and emphasised by Hwaryeong, leading Jeongsa (Master) of Chongji Jong, too during the interview.

The Buddhist Solidarity for Reform and Chongji Jong is mainly involved with Korean society but also enthusiastic to be active internationally. The Buddhist Solidarity for Reform differs from the others, in the sense that it provides a platform for dialogue in lay Buddhist society and functions as a moderator, thereby also promoting followers for charity work through provision of infrastructure and human resources. There are various training programs for youth along with an inter-religious dialogue platform. The configuration of BSR shows that it represents upper middle class, especially intellectual groups; thereby serving as a representative of minority group. The Chongji Jong is a lay

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41 For further discussion on the engaged Buddhism in organizational change and its application in the professionalism, further on the issue of dualism of Buddhism.

42 Kim Jong-in, a devoted lay follower and the Director of the Planning and Operational Committee for the Buddhist Forum, has raised a persuasive suggestion that “what can we do to overcome dualism in Buddhism, and further he states that “we must prepare an educational program for the systemic education of lay Buddhists since we are standing at a historical turning point.”

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Buddhist Order, centred on a specific set of followers. Since 2007, the organization has been holding an annual international conference on the role of lay Buddhist organization in contemporary world. Therefore, it has successfully turned the attention of lay Buddhists towards the Chongji Jong that lay isolated for a long time. In short, “this union has created a new and strong social presence in contemporary Korea that can facilitate more effective social action programs” (Anita Sharma 2006: 288). The Korean lay Buddhists had been confined to certain Buddhist practices such as prayers, chanting, worship and rituals without proper Buddhist textual and scripture education. Now the Buddhist organizations are raising such issues and demanding simplified textual education on Buddhism for lay followers. However, Korean lay Buddhist organizations are still lingering and far away from the grievances of common people.

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Exploring Parallels between Vedic and Shamanistic Culture

Ram, Nath Jha

Introduction

A period between two and half millennium B.C. to 500 B.C., in the world history and especially in the area of spiritual philosophical development, presents some common features; a few scholars brand it as an Axial Era. If we go through the history of Indian, Greek, Aztec and East Asian cultures (Chinese, Korean and Japanese cultures) we find that similar religio-spiritual philosophical developments were taken place around that period. It was being felt that every natural phenomenon was being presided over by some spiritual entity known as spirit, devata or god. We can find these theological thoughts in Korean shamanism, vedic theology of devata and presence of god in Greek and Aztec cultures, as similar view is expressed by Dr. Jan Carter Covell, “Shamanism as a term is applied today particularly to the early religion of the Tungusic people who once occupied a wide band of Asia from Turkey to the Pacific Ocean, stretching across all of Siberia, Magnolia, Manchuria, and Korea. Most of its priests or magicians use trance as a medium of communication with the multiple spirits. The religions of the North American, Indian, the Eskimo and many ethnic groups in Africa and Polynesia were also similar.” (Korea’s Cultural Roots, p.p. 23 ). As three gravitation laws of Newtown and relativity theory of Einstein revolutionize the scientific world and gives a boosts to the space sciences, likewise the discovery of sprits, devatas or gods behind natural forces or all things prepared the ground of the philosophy of a spiritual essence behind the physical world, as is evident from the Shamanism in Korea and Vedic philosophy in India.
We find that there are lots of similarities between Shamanistic culture of Korea and Vedic culture of India. Both of them believe in the spiritual essence of the world. Both of them believe that soul never dies. Both of them believe in the existence of other worldly spiritual kingdom where the dead ones reside. Both of them accept sun as good spirit that brings good luck to human beings. Both of them believe in worshiping of thousands of spirits that are supposed to dwell in every object of natural world, including rocks, trees, mountains, streams etc. as well as celestial bodies. Both of them recognise that the environment and humanity are integrally related and so on.

My paper will be exploring the deeply underlying cultural ideas in Vedic philosophy which have resemblance with those of Korean Shamanistic thoughts and practices. To understand two cultures deeply is possible only when comparative study of the thinkers from two major lands, thinking on the same mental wave length, is taken up. It is also helpful in the sense that each side of them will serve as a perspective for the other through their understandings, because a great culture can only be thoroughly understood in the perspective of another great culture.

**Animation or spiritualization of the whole surrounding world:**

In general, Shamanism expresses a philosophy of life that holds all beings – human, animal or plant – to be qualitatively equivalent. All phenomena of nature including human beings, plants, animals, rocks, rain, thunder, lightning, stars and planets and even tools are animate imbued with a life essence or soul or, in case of human beings, more than one soul.

In modern physics, from the ‘probability-wave’ concept of Max Born has emerged a new speculation that photons and electrons may be ‘conscious’ or ‘organic’. The Copenhagen interpretation of quantum physics and the Everett-Wheeler interpretation pointed to the idea that the external universe is a creation of our mind. To quantum physicists the universe is slowly appearing as an ‘omnijective universe’, a combination of the subjective and objective.
Vedic culture also accepts this multifarious universe as conscious and full of life. The prayer and worship of deities in Vedic scriptures and the same in the form of practices in day to day activities of Indians prove above-mentioned view.

The difference between shamanism and Vedic thought is that; as per shamanism every entities and things of this universe are presided over by spirits and gods but in Vedic philosophy all the things are presided over by one singular consciousness and this gave the idea of unity in all beings. Whosoever believed in it is free from hatred and favour.

In 1899 Bose, a world acclaimed scientist, began a comparative study of the non-living like metals and the animals. Experimentally he found that metals become less sensitive if continuously used, but return to normal after a period of rest. To the surprise of scientists, the boundary line between the so called ‘living’ and ‘non-living’ became hard to ascertain. Scientists saw with wonder the similar curves of muscles and metals, when they are responding to the effect of fatigue, Stimulation, depression and poisonous drugs. Subsequently Bose found that plants also responded in the similar way like metals or muscles. In 1901, May 10, Bose demonstrated all his experiments in England and concluded with these words: ‘I have shown this evening autographic records of the history of stress and strain in the living and non-living. How similar are the writings! So similar indeed that you cannot keep one apart from the other. Among such phenomena; how can we draw a line of demarcation and say, here the physical ends, and there physiological begins? Such absolute barriers do not exist. It was when I came upon the mute witness of these self made records, and perceived on them one of a pervading unity that bears within it all things. It was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago. “They who see but one, in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth – unto none else, unto none else.”

Belief in mutual all-embracing connections in nature including the universe:

Everything is subordinated to the same general rules; human society is a part of the universe and has the same qualities as the whole cosmic world. Therefore, activity of the gods and spirits who dwell in the cosmos can influence everyday life of the people and deeds of humans.

In modern physics it is an experimented fact that there is no concept of separate and independent part in this interconnected universe as opposed of Newtonian physics that believes in a mechanical universe composed of fundamental building blocks. Fritzof Capra, a celebrated author of *The Tao of Physics* declares,

“This is how quantum physics shows that we cannot decompose the world into independently existing elementary units. As we shift our attention from macroscopic objects to atoms and subatomic particles, nature does not show us any isolated building blocks, but rather appears as a complex web of relationships between the various parts of a unified whole.” (The Web of Life, p.30)

Hence an individual is bound to be influenced by external agency as expressed by modern physicist David Bohm,

“The movement of a single particle is connected with the entire universe and, therefore, the movement of any particle is a Holomovement.”

Einstein also agrees with the above-mentioned view:

“Einstein believed, as did Spinoza, that a person’s actions were just as determined as that of a billiard ball, planet, or star. ‘Human beings in their thinking, feeling and acting are not free but are as causally bound as the star in their motions,’ Einstein declared in a statement to a Spinoza Society in 1932.”

The interconnections amongst all the phenomena is the basic principle of Vedic culture, for so called animate and inanimate entities are the manifestations of same reality:

“O Dhananjaya! There is nothing different from me; everything is interconnected on me as pearls are interconnected on thread.” Gita VII.7
Though shamanism believes interconnections amongst all beings because of common character of gods and spirits presiding over every beings individualistically, but like Indian thought they could not come up to discover a universal consciousness projecting the multiplicity of the world and looking as apportioned thereof.

A man doesn’t distinguish himself from the surrounding world:

Shamanistic world-view assumes no human superiority over the rest of nature. People, like other life forms, exist within and depend upon nature and goodwill of the spirits and gods. In ecological worldview shallow ecology is anthropocentric or human-centred. It views humans as above or outside of nature, as the source of all value and ascribes only instrumental or ‘use’ value to nature. Deep ecology does not separate humans or anything else from the natural environment. It does see the world not as a collection of isolated objects but as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent.

Vedic seers perceived interdependence of all animate and inanimate objects which they called rt or the great cosmic order. To live in harmony with rt is considered to be the greatest achievement that leads to great happiness, but to go against it would result in disharmony and misery.

The interdependence is articulated in a famous verse of the Bhagavadgita, the representative text of Vedic philosophy and culture:

‘From food come forth living beings, from rain food is produced, from sacrifice rain, and sacrifice is born of action.’

We clearly see here a cycle of mutuality and reciprocity between the human, the natural and the supernatural realms.

Srikrisna’s exposition to Arjuna in the following verse is eye-opening:

‘He - who does not follow this ever-changing natural cycle, leads a sinful life, gets involved in sensuous pleasure - lives in vain, O Arjuna!’
Clearly, according to the Lord, dire consequences will follow for those who break this natural cycle. We are dependent on food, food comes from rain, rain comes from heavens, and heavens smile on us when we lead lives which are sanctified and virtuous. But if we only indulge ourselves, without any responsibility to other forms of life or the cosmic order of righteousness, we are in danger.

The cosmos is close to a man and accessible for regular visits by persons who possess the special qualities (the shamans). The cosmos is firmly interlinked with the everyday needs of people. The well-being of the humans and fecundity of the animals depend on the deities (spirits) residing in the other worlds. Therefore religious activity of a society is predominantly cosmic-oriented.

**Concept of various worlds**

The belief in three cosmic zones (sky, earth and underworld), gods and manes (spirits of ancestors) is common in both traditions. The adherents of both the cultures propitiate such divinities for spiritual help while undertaking any work worldly or otherworldly. The Bhagavadgita (III.11-12) says:

> You nourish the gods and let those gods nourish you. Nourishing each other will lead you to attain highest goal.

and

> The gods will give you the coveted enjoyable things, because they are pleased by sacrifices. He is certainly a thief who enjoys what have been given by them without offering to them.

The thought of various worlds like that of gods (devaloka) and manes (spirits – pitrloka)) is common between shamanism and Vedic philosophy. As per Vedic culture those who perform rites they go to pitrloka or the world of spirits and those who enlighten themselves for knowledge they go to devaloka or the world of gods.

The difference between shamanism and Vedic thought is that there is journey beyond devaloka in Vedic tradition. The aspirant can further refine themselves in knowledge and
subsequently by perfecting themselves can merge ultimately in Brahman whereas shaman
remains confined to the worlds of spirits and gods.

A man is close to the world of the gods and spirits. The cosmic spheres outside the
‘middle world’ are inhabited only by the gods and spirits and therefore constitute the sacred
space. The humans’ closeness to the cosmos is their closeness to the sacred powers of the
universe. This closeness manifests itself in a belief that a man can possess the combined
qualities of both humans and spirits and join the world of supernatural beings.

Becoming a shaman takes place in the world of spirit, in the celestial spheres where the
different spirits (that later help a shaman in his activity) live. The philosophical thought
behind this notion which did not separate humans from the nature admitted also that a
human being can cross the boundary between people and mighty gods.

Through religious rites, shamanism believes, one can ascend to the higher regions of
gods and spirits. Vedic tradition also believes likewise. Vedic people believe that through
the performance of the sacrifice like *asvamedha* etc. one can win the higher world of gods.
The *asvamedha* sacrifice is not only in literal sense of sacrificing the horse, but ‘horse’ here
stands for faculties of knowledge viz. senses which are the representation of various gods
i.e. sun, moon, air, water and fire; when these senses are controlled from the worldly objects
and put towards gods, one is uplifted to the region of gods and subsequently on maturity of
this practice results into the merger in the One Ultimate. Individuality thereafter seems as
deception. Only the Ultimate Consciousness seems prevalent everywhere.

Here, the horse is an important element in both the traditions. It is a symbol of energy as
well as it has also the capacity to take a person to the worlds of gods and spirits. Cow has
also the similar importance in Vedic culture. Cow is supposed to be essential at the time of
leaving this world. It is believed that it takes that person to the world of gods or spirits as per
his actions performed in his lifetime. According to the Rigveda horse is the first animate
creation while Aitareya Upanisad accepts cow and horse as the first two creations of this
universe.
Vedic and Shamanistic religions go beyond Social Contradictions

Religion is a form of social awareness depending upon a particular world-view. The world-view of shamanism does not know social contradictions. The shamanistic religio-philosophical thought is even directed, outside of human society, to the natural environment including unearthly realms. Shamanism …..is in a very real sense an ecological belief system.


The presence of spiritual consciousness in all beings establishes a common link between them, because consciousness is aware of others. The intense faith of this commonness of spirituality establishes an intuitive link among beings. This is possible by meditation or trance. This view of shamanism is quite familiar in Vedic tradition.

The above-mentioned thought remained prevalent for a few centuries and disappeared from many countries being overpowered by later religious movements and ultimately by the Newtonian scientific thought. It is something strange as is echoed in the lines of Ikabal:

\[ \text{Yunana misra roma saba mita gaye jahan se} \]
\[ \text{Kya bata hai ki hasti mitati nahin hamari} \]

because It is still preserved and utilised in India and which gives it the extraordinary power to resist all the movements of the order of lower range.

Conclusion

In fact, the idea of godhood viz. the pervasiveness and prevalence of universal consciousness amongst all beings and things of this universe is the extraordinary message conveyed by the nature as blessing through our ancestors, but many of the countries could not understand it and the message was lost.
India utilised it and took the Ultimate Reality not only as the creator but manifesting itself in the form of multifarious world. It was the recognition of this force which gave India a unique special power to bear many political shocks and turmoil. And it is because of this that India is recognised as the spiritual guru of the whole world.

In 19th century the above-mentioned thought emerged once again in the form of ecology and subsequently in the second half of 20th century as deep ecology. It was developed by scientists as well as philosophers as opposed of Cartesian and Newtonian thought which proposed and established a mechanistic world view and has been less beneficial and more detrimental for the society and environment.

It is fascinating to see that twentieth-century science, which originated in the Cartesian split and in the mechanistic world view, and which indeed only became possible of such a view, now overcomes this fragmentation and leads back to the idea of unity expressed in the early Greek and Eastern philosophies (Capra, *The Tao of Physics*, p28).

The above-mentioned conclusion gives us message to follow the path established by Isopanisad as

‘Whatever moves on the earth should be pervaded by the Supreme Reality. Use minimum with detachment for a hundred years. This act will not cling to you.’

(Isopanisad I & II)

and coined by deep ecologist as ‘Sustainable Society’ by defining ‘A sustainable society is one that satisfies its needs without diminishing the prospects of future generation.’
Contemporary scholarship has argued that King Chongjo (1776-1800) was one of the two greatest monarchs in the history of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910). The king was also called as the greatest Neo-Confucian scholar of his time (Kim 1999, p. 41), the model of leadership (Chong 2009, p. 11), a scholar-monarch (Chong 2009, p. 19), a reform-minded ruler (Yu 2001), a ruler of literary and military accomplishments (Park 2009, p. 198), the king of Renaissance in Choson Korea (Kim 2009, p. 37), and a Machiavellian statesman (Pak 2000), etc. In addition, his time was also expressed in various ways: the period of Korean Renaissance (Kim 1998, p. 18; Chong 1991, p. 231); the golden age in the later Choson Dynasty (Kim 2002, p. 125); the heyday of *Sirhak* (Practical Learning) (Kim 2009, p. 149); the age of the political and cultural restoration in the later Choson Dynasty (Sin 2009, p. 116); the most active period during the Choson Dynasty (Kim 1998, p. 13), and the period of the military restoration (Park 2009, p. 202). The original purpose of this article was to examine the relationship between King Chongjo's Buddhist view and his statecraft in eighteenth-century Confucian Korea. However, this paper will focus on the former because while conducting this research, I found that the latter needed to remain for further research.

King Chongjo wanted to become a real Confucian ruler. In such a context he took the anti-Buddhist policy in his early career, but it was not materialized into action. Rather, the king favoured Buddhism in his later career and even believed in it (Pu 2003, pp. 48-49). However, Korean history (Chong 2009, p. 11) and Korean Buddhism in the later Choson Dynasty have remained a marginalized field of study. In addition, King Chongjo's view of Buddhism has remained almost an unexplored topic of research.

This paper is isosed of two sections: Section One will examine how King Chongjo
understood Buddhism, focus will be on the issues of Buddhism vs. Confucianism, Buddhism by reign, Buddhist efficacy by region, Buddhist texts and terms, and Buddhist thought; and Section Two will analyze the king’s Buddhist view, primarily in comparison with what the Buddha actually taught, including the Four Noble Truths.

The methodology of this research is text-critic. Scholars of research on the Choson Dynasty have used historical sources as their primary materials and they include *Choson wangjo sillok* (Veritable Records of the Choson Dynasty), *Ilsong nok* (Personal Royal Diaries), *Sungjongwon ilgi* (Diary of the Royal Secretariat), and *Pibyonsa tungnok* (Records of the Border Defense Council). Research on King Chongjo and his period is not an exception in this regard. However, these historical sources have limits to understand the king’s learning and thought (Kim 1998, pp. 18-19). *Chongjo och’al ch’op* (Collected Letters of King Chongjo) was discovered in recent years and it contributed a lot to broadening scholarly horizons on the king and his time (Yu 2009, p. 4). However, no Buddhist terms emerge in this work. King Chongjo was the only monarch of Choson Korea who left a voluminous collection of literary works entitled *Hongjae chonso* (Collected Works of Hongjae [King Chongjo], hereafter HGCS) (Chong 2009, p. 15). The HGCS is a basic source for research on thought and culture during the reign of King Chongjo (Kim 1998, pp. 15-18). In addition, *Chongjo sillok* (Veritable Records of King Chongjo, hereafter, CJSL), part of the *Veritable Records of the Choson Dynasty*, is one of the most significant sources for the study of the period of King Chongjo. Therefore, the HGCS and the CJSL will be used as primary materials in this paper.

**I. Buddhist Views of King Chongjo**

An examination of his understanding of Buddhism in comparison with Neo-Confucianism, his comprehension of Buddhism by reign and region, and his acknowledgement of Buddhist texts, terms, and thought will clarify how King Chongjo understood Buddhism.
1. Buddhism vs. Neo-Confucianism

King Chongjo's understanding of the relationship between Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism or Learning of Nature and Principle (Songnihak) was of three types: (1) The king viewed Confucianism as orthodoxy and Buddhism as heterodoxy; (2) He understood that Confucianism and Buddhism were similar in essence; and (3) He argued that Confucianism and Buddhism were the same.

(1) Buddhism as Heterodoxy

King Chongjo showed deep interest in Neo-Confucianism from his princeship (Kim 1998, p. 10), primarily focusing on Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) teaching. In contrast, the king did not deny that Buddhism was heterodoxy in the beginning of his reign (Kim 1999, p. 42). He rejected heterodoxy following the tradition, which argued that Buddhist monks transgressed moral laws leaving behind their parents.

In his early career, King Chongjo viewed Confucianism in terms of righteousness (uiri), right contemplation (chujong), rites (yehak), humaneness (inui), dissimilarities between mind and nature, and gradual achievement (chomo) while seeing Buddhism from the perspective of a false soul (horyong), empty meditation (hojong), no humaneness, private desire (sayok), nature as awareness (chigak) and as mind, and sudden enlightenment (tono). King Chongjo also viewed Buddhism as heterodoxy in terms of principle, mind, meditation, self-restraint (kukki), restoration of propriety (pongnye), and a soul.

Confucian scholars during the Choson period criticized Buddhism based on their firm faith in principle (Pu 2000, p. 10). King Chongjo was not exceptional in this regard. He recognised that the principle of Buddhism looked similar to that of Confucianism, but the two were immensely different from each other. In particular, he stated, "Confucianism is different from Buddhism: While the former is based on principle, the latter values a false soul that is empty, nihilistic, and futile," "In general, Taoism and Buddhism feign truth, but they obfuscate people in four ways: While it is called mysterious enlightenment (yonggak) in our Confucianism, it is named complete
enlightenment (won’gak) in Buddhism... It is also called the nature of true mind in the former, whereas it is named manifesting the mind (myongsim) while seeing the nature (kyonsong)”. According to these quotations, it is certain that King Chongjo viewed that Confucianism was superior to Buddhism: For him, Confucianism emphasised righteousness and substantial principle while Buddhism was the teaching of emptiness and nihilism. King Chongjo also said that Confucian contemplation referred to contemplation with principle (chujong) while Buddhist counterpart meant empty contemplation. The king also distinguished Confucian sitting in contemplation (chongjwa) from Buddhist meditation in the same context.

King Chongjo criticized the lack of ethics in Buddhism. While having argued that Buddhism recognised neither good nor bad, he regarded Buddhism as heterodoxy. In terms of propriety, the king also viewed Confucianism and Buddhism as different. According to him, Confucianism emphasised both self-constraint and the restoration of propriety, whereas Buddhism stressed only self-constraint to the neglect of the restoration of propriety.

Neo-Confucian scholars of Choson Korea did not sanction Buddhism on the grounds that it talked about afterlife. According to them, death was none other than the dispersion of material force (ki). In addition, most of them did not believe in the existence of a divine being who could control the fortune of human beings. Rather, they criticized Buddhist believers' desire for a blessing depending on the Buddha's miraculous power and argued that their desire was selfish and the root of evil (Pu 2000, pp. 9-10). King Chongjo was not exceptional in this regard. He did not admit the existence of a soul or a divine being as a substantial entity. In addition, he emphasised not to attach to the notion of a divine being (Pu 2003, p. 54).

King Chongjo strongly recommended the promotion of Confucianism as an antidote to heterodoxy. The king also argued that unlike China with commodious territory, the small territory of Korea made heterodoxy flourish. He eventually ordered to burn heterodox books preserved in the government offices. However, it does not mean that the king strictly prohibited Buddhism because he also ordered not to burn Buddhist books owned by individuals (Pu 2003, p. 52). In the similar context, the king criticized an ancient Chinese example that Buddhist monks were massacred.
In short, the existence of principle was the most significant criterion for King Chongjo to distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy. In this context, the king viewed Confucianism, Confucian contemplation, and Confucian ethics as orthodoxy while Buddhism, Buddhist contemplation, and Buddhist ethics as heterodoxy.

(2) Similarities between Confucianism and Buddhism

King Chongjo also argued that the two teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism shared similarities in many aspects.

The king said that Confucianism, Buddhism, and even Taoism were not different in essence. He also maintained similarities between Confucianism and Buddhism and said that Confucian literary gems were tantamount to Buddhist hymns. He also argued, "The learning of mind in our Confucianism is very similar to that of nature in Buddhism... Therefore, Confucian scholars should study Buddhism." Confucian scholars in general objurgated the Buddhist sūtra of "the observation of mind in study of mind" (isim kwansim) around that Buddhists understood mind from a dualistic way. King Chongjo argued that mind could be divided into two, i.e., secular mind (insim) and moral mind (tosim), siding with the Buddhist understanding of mind. In addition, the Confucian theses on the essential nature of existence, i.e., the idea that an essence immanent in nature was not different from a Buddhist counterpart. He also said that Confucianism and Buddhism shared a similarity in emphasis on the idea of nature and the Buddhist teaching. He also stressed that parentaLa ranftude dsncribsim (Parentalail Granftude, herafter aTPUK) was not different from filial piety in Confucianism.

In sum, King Chongjo viewed that Confucianism and Buddhism were not different in essence and emphasis on mind and filial piety.

(3) Favour for Buddhism
In the latter period of his reign, King Chongjo said, "Confucian scholars regarded Taoism and Buddhism as heterodoxy not because of their origin but because of corrupt practices of their followers in later times," "The corruption of Chinese Buddhism was not due to the Buddha's mistake but due to the fault of the Chinese," "[The Buddha was a man of compassion], however, his followers in later times were not like him... Their mind disported out of reality... They compared the body to an impassionate object, thus causing criticism by Confucian scholars who viewed it as dry wood and burnt ashes. However, such criticism was not brought about by our Confucian scholars but by monks in later times." King Chongjo also lamented that he could not see the sentient beings of great mind during his time. Therefore, the king did not reject the Buddha or Buddhism itself. What he criticized was corrupted monks in later times and he missed the lack of true monks during his time.

King Chongjo castigated extravagance in such Buddhist events as the Lantern Festival." Nevertheless, he recognised the sociopolitical role of monks and said, "Buddhism is heterodoxy. However, it is sometimes beneficial to the people and the state. If there are neither temples nor monks in isolated areas where government administration is difficult to reach, who else can protect them?"

Therefore, what King Chongjo criticized was not the Buddha or Buddhism itself... corrupted monks and practices of Buddhism i monks and pra In addition, the king admits In ae sociopolitical of monks tmonfcertain degree.

2. King Chongjo's Understanding of Buddhism

An examination of King Chongjo's association with Buddhism in terms of reign, region, texts, terms, and thought indicates that the king had deep interest in miraculous efficacy of Buddhism and the concept of filial piety.

(1) Understanding of Buddhism by Reign

In the early period of his reign, King Chongjo appears not to have been interested in Buddhism. He said, "I was ignorant of the teaching of the Buddha in my earlier career." At that time, the king expressed his view of Buddhism in comparison with Confucianism
and regarded Buddhism as heterodoxy. However, his Buddhist view changed in his late career. In fact, many of his works related to Buddhism were the products of later days in his life. For example, a record of 1790 indicates, "I did not know about Buddhism in my previous days," implying that he had a certain level of knowledge about Buddhism in his later reign.

(2) Efficacy of Buddhism by Region

King Chongjo contended that efficacy of Buddhism differed from place to place. He said, "In general, Sakyamuni's teaching was good for the Western region [India], but it was not the case in China. Therefore, it had to be rejected in China... [This is because] the Western region... was the land of purity and bliss, but China was not."

(3) Buddhist Texts and Terms

Buddhist canonical texts with which King Chongjo was associated include Chang ahan jing (Longer Agama Sutra), Qishi yinpen jing (Sutra of the Origin of the Universe), Fahua jing (Lotus Sutra), Huayan jing (Flower Garland Sutra), Duoluoni zaji (Miscellaneous Collection of True Words), and the TPUK.

In addition, King Chongjo was associated with such Buddhist terms as Four Noble Truths, dependent origination, three actions, three realms, thirty-three heavens, Tuṣita Heaven, bodhi, ten wholesome actions, Buddha-nature, continence, seven greatness, ten stages, Virocana Buddha, Amitayus Buddha, dharma body, meditation, precepts, and wisdom.

(4) Buddhist Thought

King Chongjo understood the Buddha as a man of compassion and Buddhism as the religion of compassion. He emphasised the concepts of the wheel-turning sacred king, which is an ideal king in Buddhism, miraculous efficacy, filial piety, and material donation. The king also comprehended Buddhist precepts in terms of situation ethics and
criticized the theory of sudden enlightenment.

1) Compassion

King Chongjo said, "Sakyamuni is called sami, which means a man of rest and compassion (sikcha)," thus admitting the Buddha as a man of compassion. In addition, he emphasised, "Hyujong [1520-1604], Great Master Mt. West [Sosan taesa], will be qualified for matching the meaning of peaceful rest... He saved the state and the king raising monks' militia in national crisis," having a high opinion of the military role of monks.

2) Idea of Wheel-turning Sacred King

In 1795, King Chongjo composed "Hwasan Yongjusa PongPul kibok ke" (Song of Invoking a Blessing upon Worshipping the Buddha at Yongju Monastery on Mt. Hwa." In it, he quoted passages about the king of golden wheel from the Longer Agama Sutra, which say, "The King of Golden Wheel was born into the royal family and received Buddhist precepts. When he ascended the palace, his subjects supported him," implying that King Chongjo dreamt of being a wheel-turning sacred king.

3) Emphasis on Miraculous Efficacy

King Chongjo emphasised miraculous efficacy of Buddhism time and again. He believed that ascending to the throne of Yi Songgye (1335-1408), founder of the Choson Dynasty, was due to such miraculous efficacy of Buddhism (Pu 2003, p. 56). The king also said, "Buddhism emerged last among the Three Teachings, including Confucianism and Taoism. However, miraculous efficacy is most prominent with Buddhism. Although Confucian scholars would not lean on it, I often cannot help but believe it," "Two queens of Inmok [1584-1632] and Inwon [1687-1757] began plating the dharma lectern [of Great Master Muhak (1327-1405)] and my mother followed suit, totalling three times until the year of musin [1788]... The numeral three is used in Buddhism to explain causal relations... In the year of kyongsul [1790], i.e., three years after that, my Crown Prince was born. It was my great pleasure. This means that the Buddha with divine eyes responded to our sincerity and his true mind was tacitly manifested... How can I not
believe miraculous efficacy of Buddhism?,' and "Heaven and earth will respond with pleasure to the Buddha's miraculous power."

In his "Anbyon Solbongsan Sogwangsan Pi" (Epitaph at Sogwang Monastery in Anbyon), King Chongjo also said that utmost sincerity would often bring about miraculous efficacy and he believed it (Pu 2003, p. 56). In his record of 1796, the king said that efficacy of a Buddhist hymn in the TPUK was much greater than amulets distributed by the Office of Auspicious Clouds (Soun'gwan) for protection from disasters on the fifth day of the fifth month (Tano) and the final day of the twelfth month. Accordingly, he ordered it to be posted in public.

King Chongjo also constructed Yongju Monastery in 1790 for the solace of the soul of his ill-fated father, Prince Sado [1735-62], and believed that sincere prayer at the monaster would fulfill his wishes.

4) Emphasis on Material Donation

King Chongjo said, "The state is in charge of divine beings and the people. The king [as the ruler of the state] is the model whom they follow and his donation to a Buddhist pagoda will guarantee the peaceful era," thus emphasizing material donation for the stability of the state.

5) Emphasis on Filial Piety

King Chongjo established Yongju Monastery to repay the love of his parents. In addition, the king ordered to publish the TPUK there while evaluating its contents highly in leading the people to the paradise.

6) Emphasis on Situation Ethics

King Chongjo asked, "If a butcher who subsists on slaughter believes in Buddhism, how could we criticize him for breaking the precept of no killing?," thus interpreting Buddhist precepts in terms of situation ethics. He also said, "The three paths that all have to thread [samdo] (the path of illusion, the path of action, and the resultant path of suffering) or the six ways of sentient existence [yukto] are none other than the dregs of Buddhist doctrinal teachings. Nevertheless, people have conflicted over this teaching and
it has been highly flourishing in spite of increased criticism," thus negating the theory of transmigration.

7) Pedagogy
King Chongjo demonstrated that the Buddha and other saints emphasised gradual development in learning. In this context, he rejected the theory of sudden enlightenment in Zen Buddhism.

King Chongjo's Buddhist views were examined in terms of reign, region, Buddhist texts related to him, Buddhist terms and thought with which he was associated. He viewed that Buddhism was not good for the Chinese, whose state was not yet civilized. This was probably applied to Choson Korea of his time. The king was aware of important Buddhist doctrine, including the Four Noble Truths and the Theory of Dependent Origination. He also understood Buddhism as a religion of compassion and the Buddha as a man of compassion. Putting an emphasis on the idea of the wheel-turning sacred king, miraculous efficacy of Buddhism, filial piety, and material donation, he interpreted Buddhist ethics in terms of situation ethics and criticized the theory of transmigration and sudden enlightenment in Zen Buddhism. In addition, "Buddhism" and "Zen" are the two major Buddhist terms that are recorded in CJSL, each of which has the frequency of ten and twenty eight, respectively, suggesting that King Chongjo showed particular interest in Zen Buddhism. Then, how can we evaluate King Chongjo's Buddhist views?

III. Analysis of King Chongjo's Buddhist Views
Scholars have debated about what the Buddha actually taught, but they usually agree that there are certain basic teachings, which include the Four Noble Truths, the Theory of Dependent Origination, the Three Attributes of Existence, the Theory of Twelve Abodes of Sensation, and the Five Aggregates. The Buddhist circles in contemporary Korea add the Middle Way and Six Perfections to these. In particular, both Buddhist scholars and practitioners have regarded the Four Noble Truths as the most significant teaching of the Buddha. However, after the death of the Buddha, the nature of Buddhism has changed
over time and space: Buddhism has served in Asian countries, including Choson Korea, as a religion for this- and other-worldly benefit depending on the Buddha’s miraculous power. However, the Buddha rejected religions for invoking a blessing depending on other-power and occult arts. Understanding of Buddhism in general refers to being aware of characteristic thought of Buddhism (Ko 1995, p. 20; Kim 2006, p. 393). Therefore, King Chongjo's comprehension of Buddhism will be a matter of whether or not he was aware of the basic teachings of the Buddha.

1. Understanding of Buddhism by Region

King Chongjo regarded India as a pure land and China as an impure land. In such a context, his view of Buddhist efficacy by region was different. However, this understanding of his lacked concrete evidence both in texts and in history.

2. Buddhist Canonical Texts and Terms

The Longer Agama Sutra, the Sutra of the Origin of the Universe, the Lotus Sutra, the Flower Garland Sutra, the Miscellaneous Collections of True Words, and the TPUK were the Buddhist canonical texts with which King Chongjo was associated.

The major contents of the Longer Agama Sutra are the Four Noble Truths and the Theory of Dependent Origination (Chon 1996, p. 1363a). However, what King Chongjo was interestd in this text was about the role of the king of golden wheel, suggesting that he attempted to emphasize his absolute power in the Buddhist fashion (Kim 1999, p. 45).

The contents of the Sutra of the Origin of the Universe include the symbolic expression of the shape of the universe (Chon 1996, p. 196a). However, the universe as a substantial entity is not recognised in earlier Buddhism and its cosmology or epistemology is characterized by the Theory of Twelve Abodes of Sensation, which means that there is nothing without perception.

The Lotus Sutra and the Flower Garland Sutra were among the most popular Buddhist texts in Korean history. The essence of the Lotus Sutra is "Three into One" and the "Omnipresence of Buddhas." The former means that diverse teachings of the Buddha
are converged into one truth to attain enlightenment. The latter is a product of wishful intention of Buddhist followers. The *Lotus Sutra* was the most popular Buddhist text during the Choson Dynasty and the mandatory text for Buddhist memorial rituals, including *ch'ondojae*. King Sejong (1418-50) and King Sejo (1455-68) also showed deep interest in this text for making merit. King Chongjo was also interested in this text in the same context. *The Flower Garland Sutra* is the canonical text that manifested the contents of the Buddha's enlightenment, which include the Four Noble Truths and training stages for bodhisattvas (Chon 1996, p. 263a-b). Buddhists were in particular interested in the "Chapter of the Ten Stages" (*Shiti pin*) of this scripture (Chong 1989, p. 360). However, it is unknown on which part of this scripture King Chongjo put a special emphasis. Monarchs during the Choson period were in general interested in Buddhist texts not because of doctrine but because of invoking a blessing. Therefore, King Chongjo's interest in the *Flower Garland Sutra* was probably not an exception in this regard. The *Miscellaneous Collection of True Words* is not a doctrinal text, but a collection of incantations (Chon 1996, p. 234a). The *TPUK* emphasizes that parental gratitude is deep and wide (Chon 1996, p. 573a). However, this text is an apocryphal text and is not much concerned with the basic teachings of the Buddha.

Buddhist terms with which King Chongjo was associated include the Three Learnings (precepts, meditation, and wisdom), and the Four Noble Truths, dependent origination, three acts (physical act, verbal act, and mental act), three realms (realm of desire, realm of form, and realm of formlessness), ten stages of cultivation, and meditation.

Buddhist texts that attracted special attention from King Chongjo were the Mahayana Buddhist texts that emphasised, in particular, miraculous efficacy. It is also highly doubtful of whether the king understood the contents of Buddhist texts and terms correctly.

### 3. Buddhist Thought

King Chongjo understood Buddhist ethics as situation ethics, which is appropriate. However, it is problematic that the king viewed the Buddha as a man of compassion and
the essence of Buddhism as compassion and emphasised miraculous efficacy and material donation. First of all, the Buddha was more than a moralist. He was a great teacher who put an emphasis on the correct recognition of existence and how to live rationally. In addition, the essence of the Buddha's teaching is not compassion but Four Noble Truths. Miraculous efficacy and material donation emphasised by King Chongjo are also far from what the Buddha actually taught. The Buddha rejected working miracles and what counts most in Buddhist donation is not material donation but the giving of teaching.

An examination of the Buddhist view of Hong Taeyong (1731-83) is of help to understand that of King Chongjo. In youth, Hong Taeyong had deep interest in Buddhism and read Buddhist texts, including Lengyan jing (Book of Sublime Ceylon) and Yuanjue jing (Book of Perfect Enlightenment). Hong also said, "The notion of mind in Buddhist texts is beneficial to awakening enlightenment." Hong participated in royal lectures and discussed learning with the eldest son of the Crown Prince, King Chongjo in later years (Kim 2009: 147). They also debated on Buddhist influences on eminent scholars, including Zhu Xi. In particular, King Chongjo became interested in Buddhist texts through such discourse and set a high value on monks' respect for them. In addition, the king debated with his subjects on the issues of mind and nature and principle and material force in a royal lecture of 1795. In that scholarly meeting, Hong argued no separation between principle and material force (Kim 2009, p. 155) sided with Buddhism and King Chongjo probably followed Hong's argument who took a practical attitude toward Buddhism (Kim 1999, pp. 40-41).

However, King Chongjo was in general not interested in Buddhist doctrine. He was probably unaware of such important Buddhist teachings as the Theory of Twelve Abodes of Sensation and the Three Attributes of Existence. In addition, no records indicate that he was exposed to such Buddhist philosophy as the teachings Middle Way School and the Conscio tness-only School, the two axes of Mahayana Buddhist thought. This is more illogical from the fact that his comprehensiveness in Buddhism was based on the bibliophobic and iconoclastic nature. In fact, Confucian school and understanding in Buddhism during Choson Korea was primarily based on Neo-Confucianism. Focus as th Zen Buddhism, no
tnes's recognition. In the Buddhist context, inemptiness was incorrigible by (Kim 1999, p. 2; Yun 2000). King Chongjo claimed himself to be a Neo-Confucian scholar-monarch. Therefore, it is highly probable that the king had limits in his understanding of Buddhism.

Conclusion

This paper examined the Buddhist views of King Chongjo, one of the two greatest kings during the Choson Dynasty, in eighteenth-century Confucian Korea. His Buddhist views were analyzed in comparison with what the Buddha actually taught, which includes the Four Noble Truths. King Chongjo viewed Confucianism as orthodoxy and Buddhism as heterodoxy in his earlier career and the existence of principle was the most significant criterion for him to distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy. However, the king took a lenient attitude toward Buddhism in his later career, primarily focusing on Zen Buddhism. He viewed that Confucianism and Buddhism were not different in essence and emphasis on mind and filial piety. In addition, what he criticized was not the Buddha or Buddhism itself but corrupted monks in later times and he admitted the sociopolitical of monks to a certain degree. King Chongjo was aware of some Buddhist terms and doctrine, in particular, in relation to those of Neo-Confucianism. However, he was in general more interested in Buddhist efficacy and material donation than in doctrine. Kings of the Choson Dynasty, including King Chongjo, were scholar-rulers and basically Neo-Confucian scholars (Pu 2003, p. 54). In addition, King Chongjo was a typical Machiavellian monarch who accepted expediencies (Chong 2009, pp. 11-13). It is undeniable that the king depended on Buddhism in his late years. However, he interpreted Buddhist teachings at his discretion and accepted Buddhism as a religion for his selfish blessing (Yi Kiyong 1993, p. 215, recited from Pu 2003, p. 57). Then, what was the relationship between his Buddhist views and statecraft during his reign? This topic remains for further research.
Glossary

"Anbyon Solbongsan Sogwangsa Pi" 安邊雪峰山釋王寺碑
ch'ondojae 遷度齋
Chang ahan jing 長阿含經
chomo 漸悟
Chongjo 정조
Chongjo och'al ch'op 正祖御札帖
Chongjo sillok 正祖實錄
chongiwa 靜坐
Choson 朝鮮
Choson wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄
chujong 主靜
Duoluoni zaji 陀羅尼雜集
Fahua jing 法華經
hochong 虛靜
Hong Taeyong 洪大容
Hongjae chonso 弘齋全書
horyong 虛靈
Huayan jing 華嚴經
"Hwasan Yongjusa Pong Pul kibok ke" 花山龍珠寺奉佛祈福偈
Hyujong 休靜
i 理
Ilsong nok 日省錄
Inmok 仁穆[王后]
insim 人心
inui 仁義
Inwon 仁元[王后]
Tae Pumo unjung kyong 大父母恩重經
Tamhon so 湛軒書
Tano 端午
tono 頓悟
tosim 道心
uiri 義理
ychak 道學
Yi Songgye 李成桂
yonggak 靈覺
Yongjusa 龍珠寺
Yuanjue jing 圓覺經
yukto 六道
Zhu Xi 朱熹

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Section Three: History
Japanese Colonial Anthropology and Its Descendants

Harajiri, Hideki

Introduction: Themes of Korean Studies for Overcoming Japanese Colonialism

I published an article critical of Japanese colonial anthropology of Korea ten years ago (Harajiri 2000). That article included an analysis of a network community of Cheju islanders which pointed to the limitations of and the lack of methodology in Japanese colonial anthropology. In this current paper, I extend the criticism into the post-1945 period, criticizing the methodologies of Japanese colonial anthropology and presenting an alternative methodology for anthropological studies of Korean society.

At the outset, I wish to review my earlier contribution criticizing the methods of Japanese colonial anthropology because other Japanese anthropologists did not attempt a critical review of the previous generation of anthropologists or of their own generation. It is necessary to discuss the following four points:

(1) Concrete description and analysis of the political characteristics of Japanese anthropology and ethnology;

(2) Critical analysis of the methodological and ideological background of Japanese colonial anthropology;

(3) Discussion of a new perspective which overcomes and transcends colonial anthropology;


It is necessary to understand these four points in order to proceed to the next stage, the renovation of Japanese anthropology. Although Japanese anthropology did not reflect upon the colonialist attitude after World War II, such reflection should be undertaken by anthropologists around the world. Japanese anthropologists today need
self-reflection so to improve the ethics and methodological frameworks of Korean studies.

In the colonial period, cultural diffusionism derived from German ethnology\(^1\) and structural functionalism\(^2\) were important frameworks among Japanese anthropological specialists. I have written of these two theories and their use by Japanese anthropologists who were active in the colonial period:

Considering these two approaches associated with colonialism, although (1) cultural diffusionism was not related to actual colonial management, (2) structural functionalism was deeply embedded in colonial management because it informed reports on the present situation based on the anthropological ‘ethnographic present.’ However, both (1) and (2) created the image of Koreans as ‘the other’ and political meanings which gave birth to the view of ‘Japanese and Koreans of the same origin’ (that is, Koreans must be offspring of Japanese in the ancient past), to Japanese racial superiority, and to Korean racial inferiority in terms of historical origins which required the Koreans to be civilized by the Japanese. These quasi-academic discourses characterized Japanese colonial anthropology. In terms of structural functionalism, ‘ethnographic present’ means reality and Korean images as facts in ethnography. And since structural functionalism has been the main paradigm among Japanese anthropologists engaged in Korean studies to the present day, without considering the methodological underpinning, their studies have shown Korean facts based upon their methodology, or functionalism, as reality from their perspective. These created Korean images have been associated with those described in the colonial period\(^3\) (Harajiri 2000:154-155).

Akiba Takashi, a functionalist anthropologist during the Japanese colonial period, developed a hypothesis regarding Korean traditional society founded upon the double

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\(^1\) Yoda has used diffusionism in her research for many years. Her book, Yoda 1985, explains the historicity of this approach.

\(^2\) Nakane ed. 1973 is the classic book in Japanese anthropology based on functionalism. This approach remains popular in Japan (Sugiymama and Sakurai eds. 1990).

\(^3\) The Korean image as “the other” for “Japanese” is described by Nam 2002. Japanese as a superior race is discussed by Sakano 2005.
structure model. He associated one structure with Confucianism and the other with shamanism. This hypothesis became the “reality” imagined by Japanese anthropologists after the war. Japanese anthropologists who have researched Korean traditional society mainly have focused on patrilineal groups based on Confucianism or on Korean shamanism. As they have followed Akiba’s hypothesis, their principal research interests have been limited to these two topics. I criticized this basic approach for research on Korean society and called for practical fieldwork founded on a holistic anthropological approach. I identified six necessary themes:

- reflective self-understanding while conducting fieldwork;
- knowledge of and perspectives on invisible historical processes;
- grasp of the culture and society not as things but as representations;
- perspectives on data from both micro- and macro-holistic relational viewpoints;
- feedback procedures of field data to local people;
- and sympathetic sensibility for accepting local behaviors and attitudes.

(Harajiri 2000:156-157)

I also discussed köndang (a term in the Cheju Island), or kindred relations, and association in one village member in this article. These relations are the basic core among village members.⁴ Before my discussion of köndang, no other anthropologists had examined this concept and this human relationship.⁵ Yet, all Cheju islanders know this concept and human relations. Since most Japanese anthropologists have focused on patrilineal groups, kindred relationships have been outside their view and awareness. Their research interests have excluded an anthropological holistic approach and practical fieldwork. In other words, anthropological images of Koreans that were introduced during the colonial period have been maintained. Thus, this is colonial anthropology. I wrote further, “Some anthropological data information pointed out that Korean kinship relations were changing because of the urbanization of Korean society. But this information is not ethnographic data related to the earlier Korean society. We have to

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⁵ Kim treated köndang in his dissertation submitted in South Korea in 1994 (Kim 1994).
know actual Korean relations and the society in the past based upon ethnographic data. We must criticize colonial Korean images.” (Harajiri 2000:159).6

Following upon this criticism, I have conducted fieldwork in Cheju islander communities in Japan and on Cheju island. And I have analyzed the network community of Cheju islanders. “From the view point of one Cheju islander, this human bond means, (1) attachment to his/her home island, (2) mutual interest through maintaining this bond, (3) maintaining his/her symbolic small cosmos of his/her village, (4) maintaining family and kindred ties through village associations, (5) maintaining same-age groups in the village, and (6) maintaining transportation systems between the village and village communities of other places.” (Harajiri 2000:161) Cheju islanders have maintained family, kindred, and village relations outside their villages for surviving in urban settings such as Osaka and Tokyo. The network communities of Cheju islanders have maintained their pre-modern ties during the modern period. Among these ties, same-age grouping, called “kapchang,” is well known among Cheju islanders. It is the basic organization of Cheju villages.

Having discussed my earlier research on Japanese anthropological colonialism, I will introduce the next sections. Section 1, “Cheju Communities,” discusses characteristics of pre-modern and modern Cheju communities based upon my research. Fundamental structures of Cheju communities are village people, kapchang or the same-age group, and köndang, or kindred. These structures have been maintained both in their villages and in their communities in Japan. They are the base of the network community of Cheju islanders.

Section 2, “Comparative Research on Cheju Island and Iki Island,” presents comparisons of Cheju and Iki island. From maritime perspectives focusing on the East China Sea, both islands share cultures although historical documents are silent as to inter-island communication. My ethnographic data on the cultures of both islands shows that the three fundamental structures of Cheju communities are found in Iki. Further, same-age groups are also found in North Chŏlla Province and South Chŏlla Province, in the southwestern corner of the Korean Peninsula.

6Urbanization and changes in kinship relations are discussed in Shima and Asakura eds. 1998.
Section 3, “A Case Study of Chindo,” primarily discusses same-age groups in Chindo, an island in South Cholla Province. A representative Japanese anthropologist of Korean studies, Itō Abito, has researched Chindo for many years. But he did not know the word kapchang and the system of kapchang in a Chindo village. His case study means that postwar Japanese anthropology of South Korea has succeeded to the basic ideas on Korean studies formed during the Japanese colonial period.

In the “Conclusion,” through critical consideration of Japanese anthropological Korean studies of the period since 1945, we must accept Japanese colonial anthropological discourses. I present methodologies for overcoming the colonial legacy and a reform measure for our anthropological Korean studies. Scholars of Korean society may become conscious of the influences of Japanese colonialism.

1. Cheju Communities

I have developed my research on Cheju island over the past decade and longer (Harajiri 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2006). When I began my research on Cheju islanders in Japan in the 1990’s, my first research project focused on Konai-ri, Bopwan-ni, and Choch’n-ni villages in Cheju. These three villages had the largest number of Cheju people in Japan. After long stays in these three coastal villages, I visited and stayed at other coastal villages on the island. I also went to Tsushima island, Iki, and islands in the Goto archipelago off the western coast of Kyushu, because Cheju women divers were sent to these islands for fishing activities in the 1930’s. I visited almost all of the coastal villages in Cheju. Most of the Cheju population in Japan came from the coastal areas. And the population of the coastal areas was larger than that of the inner areas. Further, most interior villages suffered greatly during the 4.3 incident in 1948, in which at least 80,000 Cheju islanders died. It was difficult to research traditional Cheju culture and society in the interior areas. I also went to other Japanese islands near Cheju in order to research the history of Cheju women divers in these islands.

Through this research I found three fundamental structures of Cheju communities: village people, kapchang, and köndang. Villages in Cheju island, identified as “ri,” are administrative entities. However, the village identity shared by village people is based
on face to face communication among them. This communication has been shared by
natural village people. Although several natural villages were abolished through
administrative means, Cheju villagers have maintained their identity on their village. \(^7\)
Their identity system is not changeable, and it incorporates the administrative system
within it. Some natural villages have been incorporated within another administrative
village. From the perspective of Cheju islanders, this new village becomes a natural
village. The concept of the boundary between villagers and non-villagers is clear
because their village identity is solid.\(^8\)

As noted above, *kapchang* are same-age groups. Today in Cheju this has the same
meaning as the alumni association of the same school (such as primary or secondary
schools). But before the establishment of public school education on the island, the
same-age group had been meaningful among members of the village. For example,
members of the same-age group of a chief mourner at his family funeral had to assist
him at the memorial service. Membership in a same-age group is maintained *köndang*
until one’s death. And the age of a same-age group is counted by the lunar calendar.
The most intimate membership, with the exception of kindred relatives in villages, is the
same-age group. Although the same-age males do not compose an associate relationship
but rather compose a group, the same-age women form a personal associate relationship.
That is, *kapchang* is basically the grouping of men.

As noted above, *köndang* is the kindred members.\(^9\) But *köndang* members are
mostly from the same village because inter-village marriages were not common before
the beginning of relocation to Japan after the beginning of Japanese colonial rule in

\(^7\) For example, Hado-ri is one village at present. But the coastal areas are divided into seven places.
Coastal areas have been important for collecting seaweed to be used for fertilizer. This divide may mean
that each place had been one village. And natural villages differed from administrative villages. Each
village has its own history. But the concept *ri*, or village, is unchangeable and has continued into the
present.

\(^8\) The concept of “village member” is shared by Cheju and Iki islanders. Although this concept is solid,
actual village boundaries are mutable. Uchiyama 2010 points out that a Japanese village has several
communities and associations within it (Uchiyama 2010: 70-73). And these associations and communities
interact with other villages. The concept of “village member” does not stand for actual relations of
villagers. These circumstances thus can be shared by both Cheju and Iki islanders.

\(^9\) In Japan, *shinseki* means kindred. Japanese in general regard *shinseki* as relatives and inside members.
But *ie* means male-descent members although a wife becomes a member of husband’s *ie* upon marriage.
In spite of the male-descent line, most Japanese do not care about remote male-line ancestors over four
generations. Male-descent groups or clan are not constituted in Japan. *Shinseki* or kindred members are
relatives for Japanese. That is, kindred constitute Japanese actual relatives as *köndang* do in Cheju.
Intra-village marriage had been a kind of rule among Cheju islanders (Harajiri 1998b, Harajiri 2000, Shin 1995). After 1910, a large number of Cheju islanders relocated to Japan. This caused inter-village marriage because of the contact with people from other villages. In the island village, members did not have to contact a member of another village. In some cases, though, marriage with an individual residing in the next village was found. Members of the next village members were known people or were sometimes regarded as quasi-village members. And relocation to the next village sometimes happened. However, inter-village communication in general was limited within the yangban class, or the landowners. These people had their own island-wide networking for marriage and other communication.

In Japan, Cheju islanders were called by Japanese as “Chōsenjin,” or Koreans. But Cheju islanders were discriminated against by both Japanese and homeland Koreans (that is, Koreans from the peninsula). Cheju islanders created an association with the island in order to protect themselves. And this created a Cheju island identity (Harajiri 1998a). Although intra-village marriage was encouraged, inter-village marriage was not disliked. Cheju islanders developed several sub-dialects in addition to the common dialect, which could not be understood by homeland Koreans. This also helped to create a Cheju identity. Cheju islanders used pre-modern ideas, groupings, and associations, and developed a Cheju identity and new forms of human relations in order to survive in the modern, colonial period.

However, village identity was not changeable. Kindred membership also enhanced this village identity. For example, among village members, elderly members have been called samchung, which literally means the brothers or sisters of the father or the brothers or sisters of the mother. But this samchung refers only to elderly members in the village (Shin 1995). This fictitious expression is derived from kindred usage. Village members are fictitious kindred members.

This identity formed their network community definitely arranged by pre-modern village lives of Cheju islanders. They have maintained pre-modern village lives in their urban lives in Osaka and Tokyo. The same-age group and the kindred have been maintained until now in Cheju and in the Cheju community of Japan. Every Cheju islander knows the same-age group and the kindred.
2. Comparative Research on Cheju and Iki Islands

Since I have come to know about and understand Cheju island culture and society, I have studied other islands close to Cheju. These are Tsushima, Iki, and islands in the Goto archipelago. Although historical documents which can explain inter-island relations in the pre-modern period are few, communication among the islands was evident.10 Oral and folk literature in these maritime locations suggests the inter-island history. Japanese and South Korean scholars have focused on Tsushima in order to interpret international communication between Japan and Korea.11 For these scholars, modern nation-states have been the precondition. From their perspectives, Tsushima had exhibited an in-between character for Japan and Korea. From my inter-islands perspective, however, Tsushima does not have enough rice fields or farms for economic survival. This condition does not compare to Cheju island. And Iki islanders have enough rice fields and farms for economic survival. Cheju island is volcanic, but it too has enough farmland for the islanders’ survival. We have to seriously consider ecological conditions in order to understand inter-islands communication.

Since Cheju is a volcanic island, rice cultivation has not been popular. The island’s soil is not rich because of its volcanic origins. And farm cultivation has required fertilizer. Seaweed had been used before the use of chemical fertilizer. But seaweed has also been used as a fertilizer in Iki island and other islands. Iki is not a volcanic island, but needed seaweed fertilizer because of the increase of agricultural yield. However, the ecological conditions of Cheju island as a volcano differ from those of Iki. In particular, Cheju did not have an organised water supply system for agricultural cultivation. In spite of such difference in the two islands’ land conditions, both Cheju and Iki have the same background. That is, they share the Tsushima current. Because of this current, both islanders eat White saddled reef fish (Chromis rotatus notatus; in Iki called botaccho, in Cheju chari). Residents of Fukuoka, in northern Kyushu, do not eat

10 Studies of maritime interaction by Japanese historians have received much attention in Japan in recent years (Momoki 2008). Their research highlights active communication in the seas west of the main islands of Japan.
11 Masuda ed. 1994 is a good example.
all of this fish because the city is distant from this current. Cheju and Iki islanders eat all of this fish, however, because the bones of this fish caught near Cheju and Iki are softer than those in fish caught near Fukuoka. The bones soften due to the warm current. Further, the methods for cooking this fish are similar in Cheju and Iki. Thus it is important to also research ocean currents and sea breezes in studying the maritime world. These natural conditions influence inter-island communication.

However, in addition to natural or ecological conditions, historical conditions should be researched, too. The community based on culture is historically constituted. Cheju had been governed by the Chosŏn government (1392-1910) before the Japanese annexation in 1910. Cheju natural villages were maintained during the Chosŏn period. Although the Chosŏn government suppressed Buddhism and Cheju folk animistic or shamanistic religion, Cheju islanders maintained their religious traditions. For example, there are many tang in Cheju. Every village has had a ponhyang-dang, or an animistic shrine of a shamanistic, animistic or Buddhist shin, or god, worshiped by villagers. This syncretic worship system has integrated shamanism and animism. The tang in Cheju had the same cultural and social role as the odo in Iki. Both the tang and the odo have been the animistic and shamanistic centre of villages on these islands. The shinbang has been the performer and controller of shamanism in each Cheju village. The religious role of shinbang has not changed. In Iki, there was an ichijo, or a shaman, but this individual disappeared some sixty years ago (Orikuchi 1955).12 The role of the ichijo has been succeeded by the honin. Although there was at least one shaman in an Iki village in the past, today the number of shaman on the island has decreased. But the demand of villagers for shamanistic intervention is satisfied by honin. The religious structure in both islands has not changed.

During the Edo period (1603-1868) in Japan, Iki island was controlled by Matsuura domain. This domain drastically intervened in the domestic lives of Iki islanders. One of these interventions was the chiwari system, which prohibited grouping village people (Yamaguchi 1934:1). But Matsuura domain left its religious activities on the island.

12 Ichijo, like the shinbang in Cheju, lived in each village of Iki. The role passed in the mother-daughter line that had performed the Yuriwaka legend, which was the Iki island rebirth myth. This point is shared by shinbang because they perform the Cheju birth myth. NOTE: “Foundation myth” might be a better phrase than “birth myth” for the creation of land, such as Cheju island or the Japanese islands.
The domain maintained deep relationships with Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines for its administration of the island. However, the islanders’ animistic or shamanistic religious activities did not concern the domain.

My research data on fishing village of Katsumoto indicate that people in this village could not or did not have to participate in shrine or temple activities which concerned Matsuura domain. The islanders saw to their own religious needs. For example, when building a fishing ship, the spirit of this ship, or funadama, was brought by a carpenter of that ship. This carpenter performed the role of shrine priest. This role continues today. A Shinto priest from the Shomo-gu shrine in this village has never participated in this activity. And a temple in this village, Noman-ji, has no gravestones of fishermen. Their gravestones are located in other places. Both shrine and temple were not religious centres for the islanders. They maintained their own religious activities. They have also maintained an autonomous religious group called nebutsu-ko. Although islanders participate in the religious activities of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines today, they have maintained their autonomous religious system.13

The continuing religious structure of Cheju and Iki islands reflects the islanders’ occupations of fishing and agriculture. In order to maintain and develop their occupations, they have to maintain their community human relations and lives. From a pre-modern perspective, their religious lives are inter-connected with their community relations.

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13 These field data on Iki differ from those presented in earlier Japanese anthropological studies (Namihira 1979, 1984). Yoshida Teigo, who taught at Kyushu University and the University of Tokyo, organised a research group for studying Katsumoto during the 1960’s and 1970’s. This group carried out fieldwork only in Katsumoto and did not study other villages on the island. This group did not have comparative and historical perspectives. Namihira, who was a member of this group, published several articles focused on religions of Katsumoto. Members of this group did not know that this village had been dominated by yushika, or children of former elite members of the whale catching association, or kujiragumi. Their language usage as “Katsumoto natives” could not interpret the social relations in Katsumoto. They failed to interpret power relations there. Although Namihira describes “Katsumoto-ura natives” as deep believers in the Shomo-gu shrine (Namihira 1984:58), fishermen and their families as animists and shamanists believe in many gods. Historically, the villagers have organised their religious groups, the nebutsu-ko. The base of this nebutsu-ko is the odo. Both shrine and temple, Noman-ji, in Katsumoto were politically organised by former elites of the kujiragumi and Matsuura domain. They had been excluded from both religious organizations and established their own. Namihira’s basic idea is derived not only from ahistorical functionalism but also from Japanese nationalism (Namihira 1984:146-147). In spite of the modern establishment of the Japanese nation-state, for Namihira the Japanese culture based on the nation-state had to be found in Iki culture. The multiplicities of Japanese culture in pre-modern times were neglected.
lives. In other words, religious activities are not only for religion but also for the maintenance of community.

Returning to the discussion of grouping in villages, same-age groups had an important role in both Cheju and Iki.\textsuperscript{14} Although today in Iki, same-age groups are not visible, until some fifty years ago, this grouping was maintained (Yamaguchi 1937). Same-age groups had been called doshi (the same term for same-age group members in Okinawa\textsuperscript{15}), hobei (the same usage in the Izu Peninsula\textsuperscript{16}), chingu (or “friends” in the two Koreas). These words stood for the same meaning or the same-age group. In Iki these words mean “intimate friends.” Iki island is located in the centre between the Korean Peninsula, Okinawa, and the Izu Peninsula. Although their words or languages were different, these locations must share the culture of the same-age group. For this reason, these different words stand for the same meaning in Iki.

When we examine coastal places in the East China Sea maritime area, we can discern the distribution of same-age grouping from Taiwan\textsuperscript{17} to Cheju and Japanese islands.\textsuperscript{18} However, Japanese specialists in Korean studies have not reported data on

\textsuperscript{14} This paper discusses the same-age group in Korea. Since from East China Sea maritime perspectives, same-age groups are found in Japanese islands and in Cheju, examples in the Korean Peninsula should be studied. This paper can contribute to the discussion of maritime cultures of East China Sea. At the tenth annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Korean Culture and Society (October 24, 2009), Nomura Shin-ichi responded to my presentation. Before the meeting, he asked Korean professors whether or not North and South Ch’olla Provinces have the kapchang system. Each of them replied, “Yes.” According to their reply, kapchang has the same meaning as tonggap in Seoul. And in a North and South Ch’olla Provinces village, kapchang members form an important group. All of the participants at the meeting who study South Ch’olla Province did not know the word kapchang and the system of kapchang.

\textsuperscript{15} The doshi, which is actually dōshi in standard Japanese and duski in standard Okinawan, or doshigwa means friends or intimate friends in contemporary Okinawa. There have been multiple language usages of young men age grouping because of the age grade system (Hirayama 1988). The age group of young men has had multiple names. But among/in this group each member has called each other doshi. Both doshi in Okinawa and kapchang in Cheju help and support the chief mourner as doshi or kapchang members today.

\textsuperscript{16} The pronunciation as hobei in the Izu Peninsula differs slightly from the pronunciation hobei in Iki.

\textsuperscript{17} Ami tribe has been well known because of their same-age groups. A recent publication on Ami tribe is Sō 2000.

\textsuperscript{18} Young men groups as same-age group have been researched by Japanese folklorists. There are two patterns to same-age groups in Japan: life-long membership and age-bound membership. The latter means that, for example, men over the age of thirty-five have to leave the group. The kapchang in Cheju island and North and South Ch’olla Provinces, and doshi in Iki island are examples of the former case. Figure 1 by Seki contains both cases. Hirayama 1984 interprets meanings of age groups and same-age groups. And Obayashi 1984 interprets the age-grade system. Yamaguchi 1937 interprets the age-grade system based on same-age groups. Yamaguchi left a draft on the age-grade system in Iki. This draft is now in the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture. There are several examples of the naming of same-age groups. And there have been same-age groups in the coastal areas of Japanese islands.
same-age groups in Korea. As Korea was colonized by Japan, anthropological Korean studies were led by Japanese scholars from the inception of such research in Korea. Since, from Japanese colonialists’ perspective, Korea was a Confucian and shamanistic nation, same-age groups associated with the culture of the Japanese nation or East China Sea maritime areas were not a concern. This basic idea refers to another, the isolated national culture of Korea.

When I met Korean professors from South Cholla Province, they pointed out that they have the same-age group system in that region. This group too is called kapchang, the same term used in Cheju. Both in Cheju and in North Cholla Province and South Cholla Province, kapchang is an important system of villages yet to be mentioned by other Japanese anthropologists.

3. A Case Study of Chindo

There have been many anthropological Korean studies by Japanese since the colonial period. Japanese colonialists needed the data on Korean folk culture and society in order to dominate Koreans. After the end of World War II in 1945, Korean studies by Japanese resumed. Itō Abito, now a retired professor of the University of Tokyo, is representative among postwar Japanese anthropologists. He was the first Japanese anthropologist to conduct fieldwork in South Korea; he focused primarily, as noted above, on Chindo, an island in South Cholla Province. As many young anthropologists have followed Itō, research and fieldwork on Chindo became popular among Japanese specialists of Korean studies. Itō published a book on Chindo folk culture in 1999. This book edited and summarized not only his study of Chindo, but also studies on the island’s culture and society by other Japanese and Korean anthropologists. Since Itō and other Japanese anthropologists who have studied Chindo do not know the word kapchang and the role of kapchang in a Chindo village, their anthropological fieldwork is not based in the holistic approach. All anthropologists interested in human relations in a village must notice kapchang through their fieldwork. All members in a village know
this word and the system to which it refers.19 I will interpret reasons why they could not through a critical reading of Itō’s ethnography of Chindo.

The table of contents of Itō’s 1999 book is as follows:

1. Geography and History of Chindo
   (1) Geography and History of Chindo
   (2) Village and the Local Society

2. Fengshui (P’ungsu) Geography – Sŏdang - Kye
   (1) Fengshui
   (2) Sŏdang
   (3) Kye: Public Kye in a Village
       “Village Kye”
   (4) Kye: Optional Partipatory Kye

3. New Year Events and Folk Beliefs
   (1) New Year Events
   (2) Folk Beliefs: Home Guardian gods
   (3) Folk Beliefs: Around Mountains
   (4) Folk Beliefs: Megi and Pangbŏp
   (5) Folk Beliefs: A Man Reciting Buddhist Sutras

4. Chindo Folk Cultures
   (1) Use of Unglazed Earthenware
   (2) Folk Cultures and Cultural Heritages

5. Village Lives and Their Changes
   (1) Village Lives and Their Changes

19 Itō’s basic idea derives from Government-General of Korea 1926. The Japanese colonial government published many books on Korean society and culture. Since we cannot find kapchang in these books, the concept of same-age group cannot be shared among postwar Japanese anthropologists. Contemporary Japanese anthropology relies upon colonial-period scholarship.
This table of contents does not resemble that of Malinowski’s *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). Malinowski’s first ethnographic monograph on the Trobriand Islands stemmed from the anthropological holistic approach. Since Trobriand communities are culturally and socially integrated, only through this approach could he could interpret Trobriand cultures and discern cultural meanings of the *kula*. Itō does not interpret how Chindo people organize their community and how their cosmology works for it. He describes Confucianism, shamanism, animism, Taoism, folk beliefs and other aspects of their culture, but he does not integrate these beliefs. Chindo people have multiple cultural aspects, and sometimes become Confucians or shamanist at another time or animist, or Taoist without integration if we follow Itō. Without integration, human culture can not exist.

British social anthropologists in the past focused on kinship system in primitive societies. This kinship system was generally integrated by clan. Korea had been regarded as a clan society based on Confucianism. Itō denied this proposition partially. Although Korean society is much influenced by Confucianism, he emphasised mutual loan financing associations, or *kye*, in a village. For Itō, the *kye* is another human association. But Itō’s ahistorical perspective permits the modern character of *kye*. He thought that *kye* had been mutual loan financing association until the present. Functionalists can not interpret the historical formation process of cultures. However, the cash economy historically came to Korea during modern times. According to Itō, “Funds through *kye* have been associated with the private loan market and supported the system of this market. During the Japanese colonial period, the *kye* were watched by colonial authorities because of colonial financial policies. After 1945, South Korean administrative organizations have researched the social conditions of *kye*. During my stay in a village in 1972, there were several kinds of *kye*: for public projects of the

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20 The number of ethnography published by Japanese anthropologists has been scarce since 1945 in Japan. Izumi Seiichi’s book *Saishū-tō* (Cheju-do) was based on his bachelor’s thesis for Keijō Imperial University, in colonial Korea, and published in 1966. Izumi’s ethnography was based on the holistic approach. Although Masuda (Masada 1994) influenced his writing, the book was excellent. Bachelor of Arts theses in Japan today do not compare. I discuss fieldwork, fieldwork ethics, and the holistic approach in Harajiri 2006b: 21-28.

21 The functionalist approach was common among sociologists and anthropologists in the 1970’s, and remains popular today. Kakisaki et al eds. 2008 is one example. This book examines China, South Korea, and Japan in terms of functionalism as applied by Ariga Kizaemon, a famous sociologist of agricultural villages (Kakisaki 2008:3-5)
village, for cooperative work and use of machines for agriculture and fishing, for
moneymaking and finances, for religious rituals such as marriage or funeral ceremonies,
for friendship, and in gender-based groups, age-based groups, and kinship groups. A
village was covered with many kye.” (Itō 1999:46) Most of these kye referred to the
economic interests of a village’s people. Villagers organised these kye based on modern
economic ideas. Kye had been mainly maintained as mutual aid associations until the
beginning of modern times. But Itō did not analyze the pre-modern cosmological
aspects of a village. The relationships among kye, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism,
shamanism, and animism are unclear. Without cosmological integration, Chindo people
live a schizophrenic life from Itō’s description and analysis.

Itō also discusses the kapkye. The kapkye is organised by same-age men. Because
of the Confucianist idea of older-younger relationships among men, the kapkye provides
an egalitarian relationship. (Itō 1999:60) Since Itō did not notice kapchang in Chindo,
he regarded kapkye as optional associations. But Chindo islanders regard the kapchang
as a life-long group. Although kapkye is sometimes not bound by village members and
includes other village members, a kapkye is a kapchang-based kye. That is, kapchang
members in a village can be associated with kapchang of other villages. Although his
purpose for presenting kye was to criticize Confucian-based kinship, Itō’s interpretation
of kapkye was based on Confucianism. His contradictory and illogical interpretation
could not escape from Confucian ideas. In other words, ideas from Japanese colonial
anthropology survived in his writings.

Itō defends his fieldwork as follows. His fieldwork has been disturbed by Korean
professors and yangban. In their views, the legitimate Korean culture is based on
Confucianism. And anthropologists must avoid sangnom, or the commoners’ culture.
Itō recognised that commoners were not Confucians and had kindred relations. But Itō
could not research them because of the interference of Korean professors and yangban
(Itō 2000:320-321). However, Chindo is not organised through yangban villages, but
rather by commoners. Itō’s self-justification has no effect on his fieldwork on Chindo.

Itō’s fieldwork is not based on a holistic approach. But his approach is obvious
among Japanese anthropologists of Korean studies. Other Japanese anthropologists too
have focused on their own interest and have not formed a holistic approach. When I
conduct fieldwork in a traditional village, organizations, human relations, religions, and other concerns are research targets. We must consider how these targets are interconnected and integrated by a cosmology. Although Itō partly describes animistic or shamanistic faiths, we cannot know how Confucianism and other religions are interconnected and integrated.

However, Itō offers several interesting points from East China Sea maritime perspectives. Mutual loan financing associations have developed in Iki and Cheju islands, too. In Iki and elsewhere in Japan this is called mujin or tanomoshi-ko. In Japan, these associations derived from ko, or folk religious associations. And these associations have formed folk religious groups. Each member of these religious groups shares not only a faith but also group solidarity. Faith is not just an individual value, but a collective identity which enables the enhancement of group solidarity. Religious faith based on animistic cosmology cannot be separated from a collective group identity. But we do not know whether or not Korean kye derived from religious associations because Korean modern kye have not been sufficiently researched from historical perspectives.

A man reciting Buddhist sutras in Chindo is equivalent to a sendachi in Iki. Both men are not professionals, they are laymen. I compared the Cheju tang with the Iki odō as follows, “From historical perspectives, odō have had several laymen religious performers: becoming a honin or shaman because of his or her oracle; becoming a honin from a gathering believer in odō; becoming a fortune-teller from a gathering believer; and becoming a chanter of Buddhist sutras at a believer’s funeral (burial services) because of his good chanting. There are two cases in Iki of religious performers. One is the case of being a layman shaman, similar to a sinbang, or the Cheju shaman who manage the tang in a village. The second case is the absence of a shaman in the odō at Katsumoto-ura, in Iki.” (Harajiri 2006:154) Although Iki, Cheju, and Chindo share animistic cosmology and the shaman performs the role of regulator, the Chindo case means that religious performers have a rigid role unlike those in Iki. And Cheju sinbang have the same kind of rigid role.
Conclusion

Japanese anthropologists of Korean studies have not discussed methodologies of Korean studies or Japanese colonial anthropology. Rather, they have been interested primarily in their own research.22 This closed attitude comes partly from the education system for anthropology in Japan. Graduate students in the humanities and social sciences in general did not have to write PhD dissertation to gain a researcher or professor post until about twenty years ago. Since Japanese students did not have to write a dissertation, they did not write ethnography. After they gained a professor post, they tended to concentrate on their focused and subtle research. This system fostered the inability of achieving a holistic approach and of engaging in a methodological discussion.

However, Japanese anthropologists of Korean studies have been influenced not only by other anthropologists and researchers of other disciplines, but also by methodologies and discussions occurring in other countries. Colonial anthropology, self-reflexivity, methodological discussions, and methodology all have been important topics for them. And they have had to consider deeply what Korean culture is and what Korean society is. Although Japanese scholars in the humanities and social sciences tend to depend on academic research from western countries, anthropological research in Korean studies seems to be unusual in this regard. Paradigm shifts in Japanese anthropology of Korean studies have not occurred in the past forty years. The number of western anthropologists of Korean studies is small, too.

I will conclude by suggesting methods for overcoming this problem and a proposal for reforming our anthropological Korean studies: holistic approaches, fieldwork experience in Japanese rural communities, and reading and discussion of the history of anthropology. When I teach the course on ethnographic fieldwork and participate in this course, I stay in the field site with students for one week. I recommend to all of the students that they should have several perspectives and use a holistic approach although each student has a specific research topic. Group-based research has several

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22 Recent publications on Cheju (Amino 2003, 2005, 2007) describe only religious aspects of the island. The relationship between religion and society is neglected.
perspectives and fieldwork practice for each member. Cooperative fieldwork by all
members can encourage holistic approaches.

Without fieldwork experiences in Japan, anthropology students and researchers of
Korean studies cannot readily identify general characteristics of Asian and East Asian
societies or of “traditional societies.” Korean specialists in Japan tend to know only
Korean society or culture. They do not have comparative perspectives between Korea
and Japan in their fieldwork experiences, and do not have maritime perspectives shaped
by the East China Sea. Fieldwork experience in Japanese rural societies is needed for
anthropological specialists of Korean studies in Japan. When we study the social
sciences, the history of the discipline should also be studied. Anthropology students
must study the history of anthropology. By doing so, they will gain basic ideas on the
praxis of anthropology.

From my East China Sea perspectives, native cosmology is integrated by animism. The
And shamanism supports this system. Japanese colonial ideas, or the dual structure of
Korea, may be profitably examined from such a perspective.

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23 Uchiyama proposes an alternative view of “animism” in Japan (Uchiyama 2010). Since animism
derives from Tylor’s evolutionary anthropology, this idea is not coincided with the interpretation of
Japanese cultures. He presents the concept of natural worship for our understanding of Japanese religious
cultures. His ideas can also apply to the study of East China Sea maritime cultures.
Appendix

Figure 1. Distribution of Types of Youngster Set in Japan
Map 1. Important Places in Japan
Bibliography

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The survival of Korean language in the radio broadcasting under the Japanese colonial rule

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Introduction

The Kyōngsōng Broadcast Station (hereafter, KBS) formally inaugurated regular broadcasting on February 16, 1927. Established in colonial Seoul, KBS’s call sign of ‘JODK’ signified its status as the fourth broadcasting station in the broadcasting network of the Japanese empire, Tokyo’s JOAK being the first station, Osaka’s JOBK the second, and Nagoya’s JOCK the third. Declared as having the “delicate and important mission of harmonizing the people of Japan and Korea, broadening their mutual understanding and helping them overcome every obstacle to come into a closer friendship with each other”, the broadcasting station was one of the modern institutions introduced by the colonial authority, as well as schools, railroad, telegraph and postal services.

As an auditory medium, however, radio broadcasting faced distinct challenges of colonial diglossia from the beginning, unlike other institutions. Japanese was used exclusively as the official language of the empire in other media in the colony, like the railway, telegraph and telephone, despite the diglossic situation where a majority of Koreans could not understand Japanese. Such exclusive use of Japanese could hardly be imagined for the auditory medium designed to reach a large audience, and introduction of Korean language in radio broadcasting was deemed inevitable. Consequently, radio broadcasting in Korean language began from the initial stage and continued uninterruptedly until liberation. This continuance of Korean language broadcast provided the basis for the argument that broadcasting during the colonial period, although it had

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24 “Shadan hōjin Keijō Hosōkyoku no kaikyokusiki,” Chōsa Jihō (Feb. 1927): 27. The passage is part of a congratulatory message read by Ikuta Seizaburō 生田三郎, director of the department of home affairs, on behalf of Saitō Makoto 斎藤真, the Governor-General of Korea.
been introduced by the colonial authority, should be recognized as part of the history of Korean broadcasting.

In those days, broadcasting using both the language of the empire and that of the colony was very unusual. Most radio broadcasting stations in European colonies used the language of the empire, since broadcasting was intended for European settlers. For instance, broadcasting in the French Algeria was targeted at audiences in urban centers and their vicinities where French settlers were concentrated. In fact, the Kwantung Leased Territory Broadcasting Station (JQAK), established in Dalian 大連 that Japanese leased after the Russo-Japanese war, used only Japanese for Japanese settlers on districts along the Southern Manchurian Railroad during the early stages of broadcasting, which preceded the opening of the KBS. However, broadcasting in colonial Korea used a mixture of empire’s language and colony’s language from the start, due to the policy of the colonial authority that sought to “harmonize the people of Japan and Korea.”

However, broadcasting in two languages was not as simple as it seemed. Under diglossic situation with hierarchical coexistence of two or more languages, there were constant questionings of Korean language broadcast and Korean as the broadcast language throughout the colonial period. The language of the colony transmitted through the imperial medium of radio was multi-layered by nature. This article examines the broadcasting system during the colonial period, especially in relation to the issue of broadcast language, focusing on the various aspects of colonial radio broadcasting and the Korean language as a medium of broadcasting.

Mixed Broadcasting, Alternate-day Broadcasting and Separate Broadcasting

Before the opening of the KBS, the broadcasting station sent its staff to Japan to collect data on broadcasting programming and consulted the Government-General of Korea (hereafter, GGK) before it finalized the program schedule. According to the schedule, morning time consisted of weather forecast and business reports starting from quoting

the prices of basic commodities. Daytime entertainment programs were broadcast during
the lunchtime. Afternoon program consisted of business reports and public lectures given
in Japanese that continued until 4 p.m. Children’s programs were scheduled from 6 to 7
p.m. In the golden hours from 7 to 9:30 p.m. lectures, music, public notice and weather
forecast were scheduled.

The programming copied the programming of JOAK, except it was ‘mixed
broadcasting’ using both Japanese and Korean. Programs like news, weather forecast,
cooking, commodity prices and time signals were provided in both languages
simultaneously by Japanese and Korean announcers, whereas ‘various lectures’ and
business reports like ‘stocks and commodities’ were reported only in Japanese. Perfect
fluency of both languages was required of Korean announcers, who had to read Japanese
scripts and report in Korean as the camera rolled. Business reports were broadcast only
in Japanese without having to be repeated in Korean, since most Korean audience of the
program were capable of understanding Japanese.

Behind this ‘mixed programming’ was the idea that “mutual broadcasting of
thoughts and arts will contribute to the harmony and cultural mixture of Japan and
Korea.”26 One Japanese program manager of KBS was very enthusiastic about offering a
choice selection of ethnic Korean music to the Japanese audience.27 Programming under
the unique system of mixed broadcasting required considerable deliberation to satisfy
both Korean and Japanese audiences. Programming of the special radio program, ‘100th
Anniversary of Ibsen, the Great Playwright’ on May 23, 1927 reveals an aspect of such
efforts. Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Norwegian playwright
Henrik Ibsen, the program consisted of lectures on his works and radio dramas based on
his representative works, broadcast in a careful mixture of Japanese and Korean
languages. Korean novelist Sim Taesŏp 沈大燮 (well known by his pen name Sim Hun
沈熏) gave a daytime lecture titled ‘the Life of Ibsen,’ and Fujii Akio 藤井秋夫, a
professor of Keijō Imperial University 京城帝國大學 gave the evening lecture ‘Ibsen,

Moriya Norio 守守守守 had been the chairman of the founding committee of KBS.
27 Raţio no Nihon 4, no. 4 (1927): 69.
the Great Playwright.’ Nighttime entertainment program consisted of two parts. First, a Korean team of ‘Radio-drama Association,’ organised by Choe Sung’il and Yi Kyōngsŏn, performed the third act of A Doll’s House. Then it was followed by Ghosts, performed in Japanese by ‘Kingyōkai’ (Friday Club’), a Japanese radio-drama association.

The ‘mixed broadcasting’ created some controversy over the proportion of programs aired in each language. Initially, KBS wanted to schedule Japanese and Korean programs in the ratio of 3 to 1, reflecting the nationality proportion of the radio listeners. However, met with the “strong opposition by all major Korean newspapers,” it settled for the ratio of 3 to 2. Nighttime entertainment program was mechanically divided into 5 sections, 3 of them assigned to Japanese programs and 2 to Korean programs. On the surface, KBS representatives put forward the principle of equal coverage of Japanese and Korean programs. According to some of them, programs like Korean music or yadam (historical romance) were intended only for Korean audience, but Western music programs or sports could be enjoyed by Koreans as well, even if it was broadcast in Japanese. In reality, however, most programs were provided in Japanese, with occasional Korean programs in between, such as daytime lecture series in Korean. During the early stages, radio programs were organized intermittently, instead of continuously throughout the day. Daily airtime between the 9:30 a.m. morning weather forecast and daily sign-off at 9:30 p.m. was about 6 and a half hours, with only an hour or so assigned to programs using Korean only. As a result, Korean audience in the early period were confined to those who could understand Japanese, mostly merchants and industrialists, bankers/salary men, and public officials. Financial ability to pay for the receiver and monthly listener fee might have played a part in determining the audience

28 Radio no Nihon 5, no. 1 (1927): 72. At the time of KBS’s opening, there were 1023 Japanese audience and 254 Korean audience, the proportion being roughly 4 to 1.
30 According to the 1932 statistics, Korean audience was predominantly merchants and industrialists (51.8%), followed by bankers/salary men (12.7%) and public officials (8.3%). This contrasts with the composition of Japanese audience of which public officials make up 30.4%, followed by merchants and industrialists (26.7%) and bankers/salary men (20.2%). Kim Sŏn’g’o, “Kyōngsŏng pangsŏng uŏ sŏngjang kwajŏng e kwanhan Yŏn’gu,” (PhD diss., Kwangwoon University, 2007): 144.
base. More crucially, however, most radio programs themselves were ‘pies in the sky’ for most Korean people in the first place.

Nevertheless, Japanese audience had a lot of complaints. Technically, radio waves transmitted from Japan could reach the receivers in Korea. But Japanese listeners in Korea had to put up with the inconvenience of listening to the performances of second-rate entertainers in Korea, incomparable to the top performers in Tokyo or Osaka, while paying listener’s fee twice as high as that of naichi 内地 (metropole). Their complaints about ‘mixed broadcasting’ only grew, having no choice but to listen to occasional broadcasts in Korean, of which they haven’t had the slightest knowledge or interest.

If radio broadcasting is dedicated to the cultivation of culture, it had better collect fees affordable to the general public. Current fee of 2 yens is too expensive. If this continues, ordinary people will never be able to benefit from radio broadcasting. It is utterly pointless for naichi people (Japanese) to listen to Korean broadcasts which they cannot understand. Why not introduce more programs that use Japanese and Korean separately and reduce the fee at once? I hereby plead with the likeminded fans.

The situation was no less uncomfortable for Korean listeners. The KBS tried to find a way out of low audience ratings that continued since it began broadcasting by conducting postcard survey of audience preferences as a reference to the programming. But complaints about broadcasting programming from both sides showed no sign of abatement. In less than half a year since its opening, KBS changed its broadcasting format. So-called ‘Japanese and Korean alternate-day broadcasting 内鮮隔日放送’ was adopted for the entertainment programs, scheduling Japanese-language broadcast and Korean-language broadcast on alternate days. In other words, “on the first day, Korean-language programs will be broadcast in succession all day long, and Japanese-language programs will begin only after all the Korean programs had been aired. The next day, Japanese-language broadcasts will go first, all the way to news and announcements, and

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31 At the time, radio broadcast from Tokyo could be heard on inexpensive crystal sets. “Tonggyŏng ăi radio rŭl kwangŏkkii ro ch’ŏngch’wi,” Maeil sinbo, Mar. 25, 1928.
32 Kurisutaru Sei, “Fan no ryŏ Bun, taishūteki de nai,” Keijô Nippō, Apr. 29, 1927.
33 Rajio no Nihon 4, no.5 (1927): 75
then Korean programs will begin. This will enormously benefit the general audience.\textsuperscript{34} Soon after, from March 1929, two years after KBS’s opening, alternate-day broadcasting was switched to ‘separate broadcasting’. A separate schedule was arranged for Korean-language entertainment programs after 9:45 p.m., when all the daily programs had been aired, “in order to wipe out the great inconveniences to the general Korean fans caused by previous system of mixed broadcasting.”\textsuperscript{35} The decision came from various considerations. As broadcasting stations in Japanese \textit{naichi} began to install high power transmitting stations, an increasing number of Japanese listeners in Korea could directly receive radio signals from Japan. Sometimes, interference of radio signal caused disturbance to nighttime programs. Especially in Pusan \textit{釜山} area, where radio waves from Kumamoto \textit{熊本} or Hiroshima \textit{廣島} were strong enough to be heard through crystal sets, no one listened to the KBS anymore.\textsuperscript{36} Under such circumstances, KBS came up with the separate late-night broadcasting in Korean-language with the permission of the GGK. During the 4 years from March 1929 to the spring of 1933, Korean-language entertainment programs were aired only late at night.

From fall 1929, direct broadcasts from Japanese \textit{naichi} began to be relayed on a regular basis, further reducing the airtime of Korean-language programs. Before the coronation of the Japanese Showa Emperor, \textit{Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai} (Japan Broadcasting Corporation, hereafter NHK) constructed a nationwide broadcasting network connecting the entire Japan, enabling simultaneous broadcasting in wide area.\textsuperscript{37} Since the KBS began relay broadcasting from Japan, the number of Japanese listeners grew, but Korean listener base was further reduced. There was a growing dissatisfaction with KBS among Korean audience. Following passages are from an editorial in one of Korean newspapers, which had persistently been voicing complaints about the imbalance between Japanese and Korean broadcasting programs.

Radio did not come to wide use in Korean society, not because of Korean

\textsuperscript{34} “yǒnye pangsong sīgān kubun, naeṣōn yōnye t’aro pangsong hae,” \textit{Maeil sinbo}, July 13, 1927
\textsuperscript{35} “JODK esō pangsong sīgān t’aegaebyŏk,” \textit{Maeil sinbo}, Feb. 27, 1929.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Rajio no Nihon} 7, no.4 (1928): 68
\textsuperscript{37} Takeyama Akiko, \textit{Rajio no jidai: rajio wa chanoma no shuyaku datta} (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 2002), 116-120
degenerate society and culture, or its weak economy, but because of outrageous measures of broadcasting authorities.

Let me ask the authorities on KBS, how many among the daily programs are directly related to Korean society? Only an hour out of airtime throughout the day! Even that one hour starts only after 10 p.m. What is your excuse for this? It is true that Koreans today need to work day and night. However, to ask them to stay up late just to listen to the radio would be such a cold and despising reception.38

Above editorial of Maeil sinbo criticizes radio programs for the poor coverage of social issues related to Korea and for scheduling Korean-language programs late at night. The KBS tried to soothe the public discontent by defending the company’s position. Having to rely on listener fee for its operation, it had no choice but to spend more airtime to Japanese programs.39 Despite the excuse, Koreans continued to complain that “Koreans pay the same amount of listener fee as the Japanese, yet their listening time is only a third that of Japanese. For example, since entertainment programs start at 9:45 p.m. or 10:00 p.m., ordinary families can listen to only 30 minutes or so. 30 minutes of rubbish just before bedtime is not worth the monthly fee of 1 won. This is an excessive waste of money.”40

Introduced in the expectation of “contributing to the harmony and progress of both Japanese and Korean culture,”41 mixed broadcasting brought about the exact opposite. The situation did not improve by the attempt to satisfy both listener groups by separation of airtime. In the end, fundamental solution seemed possible only by adopting the format of “simultaneous broadcasting of Japanese and Korean separately,” which had been repeatedly requested by both Japanese and Korean listeners since the opening of the KBS. Thus came the system of ‘dual broadcasting,’ which was already being implemented by the NHK since the spring of 1931.

38 “Radio,” Maeil sinbo, Aug. 8, 1929.
40 Yun Paengnam, “Radio munsu wa i-jung pangsong,” Maeil sinbo, Jan. 8, 1933.
41 Shōwa 6-nen rajio nenkan, 180.
Introduction of Dual Broadcasting and the ‘Completion of Korean-only Broadcasting’

Constant conflicts over program preference among listeners were not a problem confined to colonial Korea. Conflicts over radio programs among Japanese audience had been perceived as a serious problem since the initial stages of broadcasting in Japan. For instance, in his speech titled “On Broadcasting Program,” aired in JOBK on August 19, 1932, Hiroe Kyōjō 広江恭造, the executive director of the NHK’s Kansai branch, expressed his opinion on conflicting demands of listeners that bemused broadcasting staffs: some listeners say “we don’t want market reports when there is a broadcast of a baseball game. JOBK favours business people and does not pay attention to our request.” On the other hand, some say “we are not happy with business reports becoming a nuisance whenever there is a baseball game. Economic issues are concerned with national prosperity. As avid listeners of economic programs, we deserve more prudent attention.” The system of dual broadcasting was invented in Japan for the purpose of accommodating such conflicting demands of the audience.42 However, original purpose of dual broadcasting was to provide rich educational contents through educational broadcasting. Began as semi-governmental organizations, NHK had a lot of restrictions on profit-making. Since commercials were not allowed, monthly listener fee was the major source of revenue, NHK had to assign entertainment programs to the golden hours in order to attract more listeners. This has invited criticism, mainly from intellectual circles, for turning the facility of civilization into a vulgar tool of entertainment. The idea of dual broadcasting came from the need to satisfy the demand for educational programs. Its main purpose was to strengthen the function of public education. For this reason, the stated purpose of NHK’s dual broadcasting was “to promote educational broadcasting focusing on subjects required in general and vocational education of secondary levels.”

There were some conflicts between the Ministry of Communications and Postal Services 運信省 and the Ministry of Education and Culture 文部省, in the process of the latter’s attempt to participate in the broadcasting business through educational broadcasting. As

a compromise, the Ministry of Communications and Postal Services continued to be in charge of overall supervision, with close collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture on educational broadcasting. Accordingly, main program of NHK Radio 2 consisted of lectures, with occasional special broadcasts, such as sporting events, that did not fit in the regular timetable.

Dual broadcasting system thus invented in Japan was adopted in colonial Korea under diglossic situation in the form of simultaneous broadcasting in two languages in two channels. The system of “assigning Radio 1 to Japanese-language broadcasting and Radio 2 to Korean-language broadcasting” was regarded as “unprecedented renewal of previous broadcasting system.” In the early stage of dual broadcasting, radio calisthenics and business reports were aired in Radio 1, but others like reports, educational and entertainment programs were simultaneously aired in respective languages.

Some entertainment programs were commonly aired in both channels, such as Western music program, in which language played relatively little part. Outdoor broadcast relay for sports used two microphones for Japanese and Korean announcers respectively. Dual broadcasting greatly reduced the burden for the broadcasting company, which had been walking a fine line between two groups of listeners. It was met with enthusiastic reactions from the listeners, who had to spend half the airtime listening to languages they did not even understand. Yi Hyegu spoke for the enormous pleasure of Korean listeners when he recalled, “it was as if one was freed from the pressure of sharing a room with an unwanted roommate,” and “tasting a bowl of glossy white rice after eating rice mixed with rocks.”

Yun Paengnam, who had been newly recruited as the section head of Radio 2 in charge of Korean language broadcast, interpreted the event in the context of “completion of Korean-only broadcasting”:

The new broadcasting system about to be introduced to the KBS, is ‘dual

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44 Chōsen Hōō Kyōkai, Shōwa 8-nendo hōkokusho (Keijō: Chōsen Hōō Kyōkai, 1934), 16.
45 Shōwa 9-nen rajio nenkan, 432.
46 Yi Hyegu, Mandang munch’ aerok (Han’guk kugak’ak’oe, 1970), 8-10.
broadcasting” in technical sense, but it amounts to the completion of Korean-only broadcasting in substance. (omission) The purpose is to satisfy all audience by delivering perfection to Japanese-language broadcasting as well as Korean-language broadcasting both in contents and airtime. Such is the essence of JODK’s recent introduction of dual broadcasting. Its significance and effectiveness surpass those of duality adopted in Tokyo or Taiwan.47

Korean broadcasting authorities had high hopes for the dual broadcasting system. Yun Paengnam expressed optimism that it would contribute to the creation of ‘family culture,’ and No Ch’angsŏng expected the role of radio to increase in promoting social education.48 These expectations were fulfilled to some degree. With the start of ‘Korean-only broadcasting,’ the number of Korean listeners grew rapidly, leading to improvement of Korean programs. Right before the dual broadcasting, total airtime was only 9 hours and 10 minutes including programs in Japanese. This was extended to a total of 15 hours and 5 minutes, and broadcast time for Korean language program was significantly increased to 6 hours and 20 minutes,49 which was almost tenfold increase from the previous average airtime of 45 minutes. As Korean language programs became richer in contents as well as time, new recruits for program managers and announcers were drastically increased. There was urgent need for developing new broadcasting contents to fill in the increased airtime. This was relatively easy for Radio 1, the Japanese-language channel, since its programming and production could be modeled after Japanese programs. In addition, many programs of Radio 1 were relayed from naichi, provided by the NHK free of charge. Except for the local news and lecture series on Korea, most entertainment programs were directly relayed from Tokyo or Osaka. It even aired the ‘nationwide news,’ which was a direct relay of the Japanese news program.

However, Radio 2, the Korean-language channel, had to develop most of the broadcasting contents from scratch, except for news programs supplied by Japanese news agency, without any reference to preexisting programs. In a way, the special

47 Yun Paengnam, “Radio munhwa wa ijung pangsong,” Maeil sinbo, Jan. 8-10, 1933.
48 No Ch’angsŏng, “Chŏsen to Hôsô Jigyô”
49 Chŏsen Hôsô Kyôkai, Shôwa 8-nendo hôkokusho, 16.
circumstance of colonial broadcasting created a task for Korean broadcasters of producing radio programs on their own for Korean listeners. As broadcasting in Korean language developed, however, differentiation and conflict of preferences began to emerge among Korean audience as well.

It is not an easy task to provide programs satisfactory to all the fans every single day. Korean society today is still in the ideological transition period. There is a noticeable difference of tastes even within a family. For example, middle-aged fans prefer traditional songs, but younger people prefer Western music or popular songs. It is impossible to provide an ideal program that can satisfy such a variety of preferences. (omitted) As for the Korean broadcasting, there is a great difference in regional preference. For example, southern provinces prefer Ch’anggŭckho 唱劇調 (P’ansori, or traditional Korean aria), while western provinces prefer Susimga 愁心歌 (Korean folk song).50

It was impossible to satisfy their preferences with one type of program. In order to accommodate the tastes of audiences of various regional, class and age background, airtime of entertainment programs had to be divided into thirty-minutes intervals. ‘Korean Language Courses’ program is one of the programs ambitiously launched under dual broadcasting system. For the two months starting from November 3, 1933, the program was scheduled three days a week (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) from 6:25 to 7 p.m. The program was pushed ahead enthusiastically by Kim Chŏngjin 金井鎭, the succeeding section head of Radio 2 after Yun Baengnam. The lecturer was Kwŏn Tŏkkyu 權恆奎, a teacher at Yangjŏng High School, with a mission to disseminate standard Korean language.51 ‘Standardization Movement of Korean Language’ was widespread among Korean intellectuals at the time. The Society for Korean Linguistics 朝鮮語研究會 (later 朝鮮語學會) played a key role in establishing ‘a draft for unified spelling system 맞춤법통일안,’ which was reflected in some textbooks. However, its contents were still to be disseminated among intellectuals, not to mention the general

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50 Kim Chŏngjin, “Chŏsenjin gawa no hōsō puro ni tsuite,” Chōsen oyobi Manshū 316 (1934), 79.
51 “Kyŏngsŏng pungsŏngguk hangil kangjwa,” Chosŏnjungang ilbo, Nov. 8, 1933.
public. From mid-1930s Japanese language course began to be broadcast on the Korean broadcasting channel, as part of mobilization effort of ‘promotion of national language in everyday use 國語常用 (Japanese monolingualism).’ In this respect, the significance of opening the ‘Korean Language Courses’ program in the initial stage of dual broadcasting is two-fold: for one thing, it shows the relative autonomy of radio broadcasting. At the same time it was a part of larger movement of ‘Standardization of Korean Language.’

According to recent studies on the subject, the draft for unified spelling system was a bargaining between the GGK and the Society for Korean Linguistics. There was the practical purpose of the Education and Management Bureau of the GGK to publish textbooks on the one hand and linguistic nationalism of the Society for Korean Linguistics to establish a standard for modern Korean on the other. Korean language course in radio broadcasting was the first attempt to establish a linkage between Korean language and ‘national unity.’ Of course, actual effect of the program can be questioned, considering that most radio listeners at that time were wealthy class and intellectuals. Michael Robinson’s discussion on the Korean language course in radio, finding its significance in serving the “agenda of standardizing the modern Korean vernacular and elevating its use in modern discourse” is relevant in this regard. Unfortunately, however, the Korean language course in radio did not last long, and it is hard to estimate its influence on intellectual society.

Another noticeable trend that developed around the same time was the emergence of interest in Korean language as the medium of broadcasting among the broadcasters. At first sight it seems unrelated to the spread of movement toward standardization of Korean language, but from a phono-linguistic perspective, it is related to the movement. For instance, Yi Sŏkhun 李石薰, a dramatist in charge of program schedule of Radio 2,

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raised questions about terminologies used in radio news since the beginning of dual broadcasting. He expressed his interest in the broadcast language as the following:

The other day, I met Mr. Ch’unwŏn 春園 of Chosŏn ilbo, who told me about many mistakes in the use of news terminology. (Because I am currently a member of the broadcasting team at the KBS). In particular, he pointed out how awkward it was to listen to the word-for-word translation in the news. I tried to give an excuse, but it was of no use. Why? If there was no time, why not hire more people to get it done? Or reform the system? Got no fund for that... Radio listeners will never understand such circumstances. They are paying for it, and they want a service worth the price!

Mr. Ch’unwŏn is always enormously interested in Korean language. What if Chosŏn ilbo, where he works, could first get rid of the shameful practice of word-for-word translation described above at once?

Until now, the mass only listened to what we provide rather passively. But they may not continue to do so in the future.

I hope that newspapers will compete in this area as well.

As a digression, the circulation of New Evening Journal is said to have increased remarkably since the famous journalist Brisbane joined the company. It is due to his daily article “To-day.” This shows the enormous power of writing in attracting the reader, which holds true in Korea as well as in America.54

Yun Paengnam, who had been the first section head of the KBS, spoke his opinion on the campaign to purify the Korean language at a discussion meeting organised by the journal Yadam. In late 1930s, Sim Usŏp 沈友燮, appointed as the third section head of the KBS Radio 2 was very concerned about this issue and known to have emphasised using proper Korean language to the announcers.55 Likewise, Yi Hyegu, who later served as a section head of the KBS Radio 2, constantly corrected the Korean pronunciation of young announcers. However, since the Sino-Japanese war broke out, there was increased political influence over radio broadcasting, which had so far been

55 Yi Hyegu, Mandang munch’ aerok, 28.
driven by cultural as well as political motives. Pressure for ‘use of Japanese’ increased, further reducing the scope for ‘linguistic nationalism’ of Korean-language broadcasting.

The Fate of Korean Language Broadcasting during the War

Since the dual broadcasting kicked off in 1933 by the Korea Broadcasting Association (hereafter, KBA), Korean language broadcasting has entered a golden age. However, airtime allowed for Korean language broadcasting was not always secured. When important relay from Japanese naichi coincided with important local relay in Korea, KBA’s local relay in Japanese was often broadcast on Radio 2. Furthermore, intervention of authorities in the GGK and the KBA became more conspicuous as the number of radio listeners increased and radio culture developed from an entirely new foreign culture to ordinary mass culture.

In the early days the KBA emphasised the balance between Japanese and Korean languages, and adequate coverage of entertainment, news and educational programs. Right after the beginning of dual broadcasting, it described its programming policy as considering audience preferences according to age, status and occupation. However, after Ugaki Kazushige was appointed as the Governor General in 1935, emphasis of radio programming shifted to the three policies of the GGK: cultivation of mind, agrarian improvement and women’s education. As a result, religious sermon and scripture reading were regularly broadcast, and important public lectures in Japanese were translated and broadcast in Korean language. ‘National (i.e. Japanese) language course’ was broadcast on radio. It should also be noted that intervention was strengthened even for entertainment programs, which had been given relative autonomy for the purpose of attracting Korean audience.

56 Shōwa 12-nen raijo nenkan, 255.  
57 Shōwa 11-nen raijo nenkan, 226.  
59 In Japan, the term ‘entertainment’ or ‘recreation’, used in the earlier stages, were substituted by ‘comfort’ in the mid-1930s. ‘Recreation’ should no longer be seen as a wasteful enjoyment. We shall develop its inherent human and social function until it is filled with ‘vitality’. Such redefinition
Comfort program is one of the major broadcasting programs. As a purification effort, it is seeking to drastically curtail inappropriate contents and invite more drama, novel and story into the program. This year, comfort program made a remarkable attempt of broadcasting newly discovered provincial folk songs.60

Following the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War, propaganda function of radio was strengthened, eroding the autonomy of Korean language broadcasting. On the grounds of complying with the national policy, some within Japanese naichi and the GGK made their cases for ‘unified broadcasting’ that would entail the consolidation of KBA into NHK.61 “Radio’s role as domestic propaganda machinery in time of peace should be reinforced in a national emergency, in addition to the important mission of external propaganda. To this end, local broadcasting network should undergo realignment and expansion to strengthen overall broadcasting capacity. Under present situation, significant improvement of Korean broadcasting system is inevitable. Hence, the national policy of unified broadcasting is called for.”62 Initially motivated by economic considerations, proponents of unified broadcasting policy were envisioning eventual absorption of Korean language broadcast. The perception that Radio 2 was not fulfilling its duty as a state-run broadcasting station under national emergency situation may have been a major factor.

For many Japanese, Korean language broadcasts were just as incomprehensible, alien language of the Other, as the Korean language itself. Under the dual broadcasting system, listeners who disliked Korean music were critical of separate Korean channel as well. From the beginning of dual broadcasting, there were voices disapproving the contents of Korean language broadcasting, especially those of entertainment programs. After entering into a state of war, radio broadcasting was criticized for its inefficiency as an instrument of war, and for its failure to broadcast important national affairs. For example, stemmed from a deliberate strategy to reevaluate its role in broadcasting. Takeyama Akiko, “Ian Hōšō,” in Kindai shomin seikatsu: yūgi, goraku, vol.8, eds. Minami Hiroshi (Tokyo: San’ichi Shobō, 1988) 508-509.

60 Shōwa 13-nen rajio nenkan, 279.
in 1938, a reader of *Keijō nippō* took issue with the broadcast programming of Radio 2, in a letter to the editor “Mudendai 無電台.” The reader believed in the cardinal importance of relay broadcasting the great ceremony at the Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社. Yet, only Radio 1 would suspend regular programming to relay broadcast the event, while Radio 2 went ahead with all the entertainment programs as if it was none of its business. Making an explanation for it, the KBA admitted the difficulty of relaying due to linguistic and financial constraints for Radio 2. In addition, it called Radio 1 ‘the nisen-ittai 內鮮一體 (oneness of Japan and Korea) broadcasting channel,’ on the ground that a significant number of Koreans are listening to Radio 1. That is, Korean listeners who can understand Japanese can obtain information from Radio 1.

After entering into a state of war, such defensive and explanatory attitude of KBA turn to an active advocacy of strengthening the role of Korean language broadcast, rejecting the discussions on unified broadcasting and abolition of Korean language broadcast. Especially, Haji Morisada 土師盛貞, then president of KBA, emphasised the vital necessity of Korean language broadcasting for the fulfillment of national mission in his speech broadcast on JODK radio. First, considering the fact that only 10% of Korean could understand Japanese, 90% of Koreans will not benefit from the social educational function of radio, if radio was broadcast only in Japanese. Second, the existence of Radio 2 facilitates, rather than contradicts, Japanese monolingualism. ‘National language courses’ in Korean language broadcast provides ‘cultural stimuli’ to Koreans who are living in the environment using only Korean, thereby enormously contributing to the dissemination of Japanese language. Finally, Korean language broadcast is essential to counter the Chinese demagogic broadcast in Korean transmitted from Nanjing (南京). It is impossible to ward off radio waves perfectly. Therefore, “it is necessary to control the public mind by proper broadcasting so that it will not be...”

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64 The lecture was titled ‘Overview of Broadcasting Business in Korea 興國放送事業概況’ and broadcast on Saturday June 4, 1938, in the lecture section ‘Basic Information on Radio.’ It was aired on Radio 1 from 7:30 to 8:00 p.m. and on Radio 2 from 8:00 to 8:30 p.m. with the translation of Sim Usōp, the section head of Radio 2. The lecture was published in pamphlets titled *Radio and Korea* (放送と朝鮮) along with the script of previous year’s lecture titled “Emergency Situation and Radio 興國放送緊急時” 
disturbed by demagogic broadcast in Korean.” For the same reason Chinese language broadcasting was newly introduced to Taiwanese radio broadcasting, which had been conducted in Japanese only, after the Sino-Japanese War broke out.65

On these grounds, ‘expansion of Radio 2’ was actively promoted, aimed at strengthening Korean language broadcasting by restructuring, facilities improvement and increasing Korean programs. First, in order to restructure the KBA organization, the second broadcasting section was raised as a separate department (the second broadcasting department). Second, in order to increase the listener base, especially in provincial cities where there had been many problems in daytime broadcasting, small scale stations were installed and dual broadcasting was expanded. In addition, ways to improve the supply of electricity were explored, to facilitate the sales of receivers. Finally, reform in Korean language programs and rationalization of Korean as broadcast language were proposed as specific plans for expanding Korean language broadcast. These two plans for expanding Korean language broadcast deserve further examination.

First, in order to reform broadcasting programs to attract more listeners, the GGK took the initiative in conducting ‘Korean listeners’ preference survey.’ 4000 questionnaires were distributed to the Korean listeners in order to find out audience ratings and preference for each categories: reports, educational programs, ‘comfort’ programs, live broadcasting, children’s programs. According to the survey result of preference for ‘comfort’ program, among the 2954 (74%) respondents 37.2% (11,091 people) preferred Korean music, followed by 30.3% (9,034 people) preferring entertainment drama, 19.0% (5,659 people) Japanese music and entertainment drama, 13.6% (4,057) Western music.66 According to one Korean newspaper article, “among a total of 9,289 respondents, the number of music fans were the greatest by a clear margin (close to 5,300 people), followed by drama, politics/economy, comic talks and radio calisthenics. The least numbers of listeners prefer language courses for Japanese, Chinese and English.”67 Even after the preference survey, Korean listeners continuously wrote

65  Haji Morisada, “Chōsen no hōō jigyō,”  Rajio to Chōsen (Keijō: Chōsen Hōō Kyōkai, 1938).
66  “Chōsenjin Chōshiha wa nani o kikuka, chōsen Sōtokufu Teishinkyoku no Chōsa,” Hōō 9, no.5 (1939): 17. It seems that the statistics came from putting together multiple choices of each broadcasting program.
67  “Rajio fan i sori, ehak kangjiwa nūn chōngmal sîlk’ o Chosŏnmak i chosso,” Tonga ilbo, Mar. 2, 1939.
anonymous letters to request for improvement of worn-out programs. The broadcasting station accommodated the results and took measures such as buying records and musical instruments, organizing an orchestra attached to the broadcasting station, for the music fans. It also increased the number of times of broadcasting Korean music and radio drama.68

On the other hand, the idea of rationalization of Korean as broadcast language came from the realization that “previous Korean broadcast language included so many literal translation and impractical words, so that uneducated populace could hardly understand it.”69

Korean language programs, especially those heard in Kyŏngsŏng and Pyŏngyang, have poor program contents, and use awkward Korean words most of which are direct translations from Radio 1, in many cases incomprehensible to ordinary people and the intonation is offensive to the ear. There is high public demand for reformation of Radio 2. Now they are working hard to make fundamental improvements in the programs in order to make Korean language broadcasts solid in contents and pleasant to the ear.70

In the passage above, Korean language broadcasts in question referred mainly to news reports or weather forecast. In colonial radio broadcasting, there were no news reporters and radio news were in principle supplied by Japanese news agencies like Dōmei Press or Jiji Press. Time is always in short supply for news broadcasts, but every news contents of colonial broadcasting had to go through GGK review before it could be broadcast. No time was left for announcers under ‘mixed broadcasting’ system to review the news scripts beforehand. In studio, they had to start reporting the news in Korean right after Japanese announcers passed on the Japanese news scripts to them. In addition, they had to finish the reports in time for the relay broadcasting scheduled right after the news. Therefore, “comprehension of the audience was not an issue. It was whether the announcers could agilely finish it right on time without faltering that mattered.”71 Weather forecasts were also broadcast under constant time

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68 “Ch’ŏnpyŏn illyul a’ p’uro nūn silsso,” Tonga ilbo, May 20, 1939.
70 “Chei Pangsong hwackch’ung munja,” Chosŏn ilbo, Feb. 14, 1938..
71 Yi Hyegu, Mandang munch’aerok, ..
pressure. “Weather reports were a kind of acrobatics. First stenographic notes are taken of what the observatory staff says. Then you run into the studio, keep an eye on the Japanese notes, and move your lips while translation goes on in your head. In your head Japanese and Korean ‘went this way and that’ in a chaotic jumble, and sometimes nonsense sentences like ‘fair weather and cloudy day will come and go 일기가 흐렸다리 개었다리 하겠습니까’ slipped out of my tongue.”

Even after dual broadcasting began, the problem of ‘word-for-word translation’ mentioned above continued. Literal translation was a problem in newspaper as well, but it had a more fundamental implication for radio, which was the only media that could deliver news to Koreans who could not read. From the point of view of broadcasting authorities, which put more emphasis on reports and educational broadcasting than entertainment, literal translation of national language (Japanese) was a serious problem. In order to provide solutions, first, news commentary program was separately scheduled. Second, translations of books like News Commentary and Current Affairs in Radio were broadcast in radio. Third, “since excellence in translation determines the effectiveness of news broadcasts, broadcasters strived to deliver alacritous and easy translation.” Colonial authority “eagerly pursued thorough perfection of news broadcast in light of its significance in broadcasting and its influence on public perception of current situation.” However, such purposes were turned into linguistic nationalism in the hands of Korean broadcasters under the slogan of ‘Korean language purification campaign.’

Since the second broadcasting department within the KBS (Korean language department) was separated from the first department (national language department) September last year, its internal organization was reinforced and its programs are being renovated. As was seen from the former purification campaign

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72 Ibid., 6.
75 Shōwa 16-nen rajio nenkan, 342.
of popular songs, at present ‘purification of Korean language’ and ‘dissemination’ of proper language through radio are under consideration, based on the realization of the influence of Korean broadcasting on use of Korean in general. Almost eight years have passed since Korean language broadcasting was established as an autonomous division in 1933. However, Korean language used by announcers and broadcasters in general have a lot of deficiencies in terms of nuance and even grammar. Complaints are pouring in from the listeners. Starting from within, a group of announcers began to study Korean language in the tentatively named committee for broadcasting technology research. Specific methods are still to be determined, but in general, there will be study meetings several times a month, for self criticism and lectures by invited language experts, with a view to using ‘proper and beautiful Korean language.’ At the same time, efforts are going on to take criticism from researchers of Korean language so that Korean broadcast language will become the highest standard for Korean language.77

The society for Korean linguistics applauded the attempts of broadcasting station, as they saw “improvement of language as a mark of cultural development.”78 This was how ‘Korean language purification campaign’ began, even under circumstances leading up to the forced closure of Chosŏn ilbo. Recollections like, “we were resolutely determined to study deep into the Korean language diametrically opposing the GGK’s policies directed toward annihilation of Korean language”79 show how the colonized appropriated the intention of the colonizer through Korean language purification campaign. Since then, Korean announcers continued to study Korean language and compiled the materials until the end of the war,80 priding themselves as having “the only chance of using and studying the mother tongue, allowed within Maeil sinbo 每日申報 (later 每日新報) and the broadcasting station.”81

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77 “Arimuda Chosŏnnal ūl, kyŏngsŏng pangsongguk chei pangsongbu esŏ sunhwa undong,” Chosŏn ilbo, Feb. 9, 1940.
78 “Siū o tı̊tæng, chosŏnhak oe ch’ŭk tan,” Chosŏn ilbo, Feb. 9, 1940
Conclusion

After entering into the state of war, Korean language broadcasting could exist only as a means to conduct efficient wartime mobilization. Especially after the outbreak of the Pacific War, not only news and educational broadcasting, but also entertainment programs were filled with contents serving national policies, such as encouragement of output, collaboration in the rear, encouragement of conscription. The term ‘announcer,’ considered as the enemy’s language, was replaced with the Japanese word ‘hōsōin 放送員.’ As a result, the identity of Korean as broadcast language was defined as an instrument of complete assimilation to the Japanese imperialism, in denial of its national identity. Korean language was regarded as a necessary evil of a transitory nature that will gradually disappear as ‘Japanese mono-lingualism’ is established.

As Marshall McLuhan said, “the medium is the message.” Actual messages of Korean radio broadcasting aside, the fact deserves special attention that Korean language radio programs were broadcast in colonial Korea every day for 20 years, with the aim of delivering ‘proper and easy Korean.’ Press capitalism is said to have contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe by creating the sense of belonging to the same ethnic linguistic community.82 And radio is said to have had certain influence on the ‘national unity’ in America by changing the perception of time and space.83 In this regard, the standardization of phonetic language by such a ubiquitous medium as the radio can be said to have greatly contributed to establishing the national identity in colonized Korea at the beginning of the 20th century when modernization process had started.

As a medium characterized by speedy transmission, universality, and immediacy,84 the role of radio broadcasting had been all the more emphasized by the colonial authority during the war. Korean language broadcasting underwent ‘expansion’ and ‘renovation,’ and in the process, innovation in the ‘instructive function’ was required of Korean language, which otherwise would gradually die out as a dialect of the Empire. This was a

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process whereby the auditory medium of national scale, aspiring to establish “the highest standard for Korean language” had contributed to the creation of linguistic identity and norms, opening up the possibility for Korean language, only a dialect in the imperial linguistic hierarchy, to develop into the modern language of a nation.

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Cracks of Imperialization: Family Genealogies (*Chokpo*) in Late Colonial Korea

Itagaki, Ryuta

**Introduction: Family Genealogies in the era of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng**

Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng (創氏改名) was one of the notorious policies by the Japanese Empire in Korea. It literally means “Creating ssi, or family name in Japanese style, and changing first name.” In short, Koreans were forced to change their names to a Japanese style. The policy started from February 1940 and continued until the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945. It was an irritating and humiliating system for Koreans at that time, and, since liberation, it has been considered a symbolic case of the misrule of the Japanese Empire.

For example, there was a famous movie titled “*Chokpo* (族譜),” or “Family Genealogy”, directed by Im Kwŏn-t’ak in 1978. The protagonists of the film were Tani who was a Japanese rank and file of the colonial government, Sŏl Chinyŏng, a big land owner in Suwŏn district, and his daughter, Oksun. In order to raise the rate of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng in this region, the colonial government targeted Sŏl Chinyŏng to change his name, and sent Tani to him. Sŏl Chinyŏng was a pro-Japanese who delivered a lot of rice to the Japanese Empire, but he could not accept the directive to change his name because he was a *Yangban*, or local gentry class, who had maintained his family genealogy for 700 years. Upon this, the colonial government put pressure on him by commandeering his family and the other ways. The harassments were so severe to endure that he finally registered Japanese names for his whole family. He committed suicide, leaving a note on the genealogy, which says: “Our family genealogy is discontinued because the Japanese government enforced Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. I am ashamed of this. I have to apologize to our descendants, and kill myself with the genealogy.”
This film is not merely fiction. Sŏl Chinyŏng was a real person. The original novel of this film was written by a Japanese writer, Kajiyama Toshiyuki in 1961. He was born in Korea as a son of a colonial officer. However, he did not see or hear about this episode before 1945. He got an idea for this novel reading a memoir in 1950 written by Kamata Sawaichirō who was once a brain of Ugaki Kazushige, the Governor-General of Korea (Kim & Sawada 1950). Kamata said that Sŏl Chinyŏng refused to change his family name because he thought his family genealogy was very precious. However, Kamata also did not experience this incident. He had heard the story from another local officer, and did not tell the historical fact precisely. According to Kim Yongdal, the late great historian of Korea in Japan, Sŏl Chinyŏng lived in Sunch’ang district (Kim Yongdal, 1997, pp.127-143). He was far from pro-Japanese, but was an anti-foreign Confucianist who had a career of participating in the anti-Japanese movement of the Righteous Army during the late 19th century. He refused to Ch’angssi-kaemŏng because he thought it would lead to the eradication of his descendants. However, his lineage group decided to make a new family name as “Tamagawa (玉川).” He grieved this decision, and committed suicide by throwing himself into a well. He left a poem titled “I swear not to change my family name (誓不革姓).” Although the confidential police record pointed out that this incident was a “very rare case,” it was a fact that there was a suicide incident caused by Ch’angssi-kaemŏng. However, we cannot find any description about family genealogy in these records.

This history raises an important question. Did Koreans have to abandon editing and publishing their family genealogies under the regime of Ch’angssi-kaemŏng? The answer is NO. Genealogies were published legally and openly even in late colonial Korea. The publication of genealogy itself was not a taboo under the strict censorship of the wartime regime. As I will tell you later, I have looked through more than 100

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1 To be precise, the novel “Zokuhi”(Family Geneology) first appeared on Hiroshima Bungaku (広島文学) in May 1952. Kajiyama revised it drastically, and published at Bungakukai (文学会) in September 1961. As for this novel, see Kawamura(2002). There is also an English translation from the University of Hawaii Press.

2 In his another book (Kamata 1950, pp.318-319), Kamata wrote that Sŏl Chinyŏng had said as following. “My grandfather always said that I must maintain the genealogy carefully, and I must not dishonor the family name. I would like to preserve our family name which has a well-ordered genealogy. Please understand my position.”

3 "朝朝朝放朝朝朝朝朝創創創創に關すす特特特特", Shisō Ihō (思地論), no. 23, 1940.
versions of *chokpo* published between 1940 and 1945. They were not part of private collections. Anyone can see them at the libraries. I will analyze the genealogies in the era of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng.

The scholars did not entirely disregard the fact that there were plenty of genealogies published in the first half of the 1940s. I first realized this fact when I read an article by a sociologist, Ch’oe Chaesŏk titled “Family Genealogies and the Lineage Group in Colonial Era” published in 1969 (Ch’oe 1969). He analyzed 1,568 sets of genealogies collected by the National Library of Korea. According to his research, 112 out of them were published between 1940 through 1945 (72 sets in 1940, 24 in 1941, 13 in 1942, and 3 in 1943). This article was famous among anthropologists and sociologists. Accordingly, it has been common sense that there were genealogies published during the 1940s for those who were interested in Korean kinship. However, scholars did not consider this fact in conjunction with the Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng policy. Part of the reason for this omission was because it was only since the 1990s when serious historical research on Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng began to be published (Miyata 1990; Miyata, Kim & Yang 1992; Kim Yŏngdal 1997; 2002). Still, they did not pay attention to the various versions of the genealogies in this era. I started to conduct intensive research at the National Library in Seoul and the Genealogy Library in Buch’eon. Only at that time did I realize that Mizuno Naoki, a Korean historian at Kyoto University, had been researching the same collection. We shared the photocopies of genealogies. After that, he published a compact book titled *Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng* in 2008. He analyzed a part of the genealogy collection and located them as “a survival strategy of lineage groups.” (Mizuno 2008, pp. 184-187) I almost agree with his conclusion. But the situation was more complex. I will analyze the various content and the characteristics of the genealogies in this era.

1. Family Name and Genealogy in the 1940s

Before taking up the main subject, I would like to confirm the status of genealogies during the era of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng.
The Japanese Empire did not change the Korean family system radically before 1940. Accordingly, family genealogies were continuously published under the strict press censorship of the colonial regime. More precisely, the number of permitted publications of genealogies increased until 1935. In 1912, the number was only 7 (Chōsensōtokuhu Keimukyoku 1934, p.59), but in 1935, it grew to 261 a year. Several causes explain this increase. As printing technology moved from wooden type to metallic type, the printing industry spread to the local level. Collecting information within the same lineage group became easier due to the development of the mail service and advancements in transportation. Table 1 shows the top-five number of publications classified by genres from 1920 until 1939. Genealogy occupied first place in the 1920s. In the first half of the 1930s, philosophy or literature took over first place, but in 1935 and 36, genealogy became top again. After 1937, it suddenly decreased. As a colonial officer predicted in 1938, “The publication of genealogies will sooner or later decline as civilization develops.” (Chōsensōtokuhu Keimukyoku 1938, p.56) Considering the prosperity of family genealogies in South Korea after Liberation, this social evolutionist’s point of view was entirely wrong. Rather, the decline of the private economy under the general mobilization during the wartime period, the shortage of goods caused by the controlled economy, and the radical assimilation policy under the “imperialization,” or Hwangminhwa (K), Kōminka (J) were the main causes. We can understand the continuation and decline of genealogy publishing in the 1940s as an extension of the trend in the 1930s.

Next, I will explain the status of genealogies in the era of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. Korean names consist of three elements, sŏng (姓), myŏng (名), and pongwan (本貫). Sŏng shows a patrilineal relationship, and myŏng corresponds to first name in the English-speaking world. Since patrilineal relationship never changed throughout one’s life, sŏng also never changed even if one marries. Pongwan is derived from the place name where the lineage group originated from. Koreans use to call the lineage group as “pongwan + sŏng.” For example, Kim whose pongwan is “Kimhae” is called “Kimhae-Kim-ssi”. If the pongwans are different, the lineage groups are different. For example, Kimhae-Kim-ssi and Kyŏngju-Kim-ssi are different groups. Usually Koreans do not use pongwan when they speak to one another. Accordingly, the Korean real name consists of
sŏng and myŏng. On the other hand, Japanese name consists of ssi (氏) and myŏng (名).

[Here I will use the Korean pronunciation of Chinese letters to avoid the confusion.] Ssi was a name of ka (家) which literally meant home, family, or household. As a legal categorization, ‘ka’ was a group whose members were registered in the same family registration form, or hojŏkbu (戸籍簿). In other words, one family registration form only had one ssi. Therefore, when a man or a woman married, either of them had to change his or her ssi.

“Ch’angssi” meant to add a new ‘ssi’ to Koreans. Ch’angssi was an obligation for all Koreans. There were two ways to create a new ‘ssi’: notified ch’angssi and statutory ch’angssi. For those who went to a public office and notified the new ‘ssi’ between February and August in 1940, that became their new family name. As a result of the various pressures by the colonial government, 80% of Koreans notified their new ‘ssi’ during this period. For the remaining 20%, the government enforced a transfer of their ‘sŏng’ to ‘ssi’. For example, if Mr. Kim and his wife Ms. Lee did not submit the form, the government automatically created their ‘ssi’ as ‘Kim’ for both. In this way, 100% of Koreans were forced to create their ‘ssi’. Meanwhile, “kaemyŏng,” meant to change their first name, functioned as a license system. Those who wanted to change their first name had to pay fee for registration.

There were two important points. First, sŏng was not changed nor abolished by ch’angssi. Their sŏng and pongwan remained in the public family registers. At least, colonial officers knew that a change or abolishment of sŏng would provoke a strong reaction in Korean society. The Government-General maintained that sŏng would not be changed and that this new law only permitted to creating a new ssi. As a result, Korean names came consist of four elements: ssi, pongwan, sŏng, and myŏng. For example, husband and wife had different sŏng and the same ssi. However, this fact should be considered with the second point. That is, the legal name changed from “sŏng myŏng” to “ssi myŏng.” When someone wrote his or her name on a form, he or she had to write the new “ssi myŏng.” This meant that sŏng and pongwan had been downgraded from a legal name to a customary name.

Kim Yŏngdal (1997, pp. 48-70) studied newspapers at that time, and provided interesting facts about the various Korean reactions to the new law. Two reactions are
important for this paper. First, there was opposition to Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng based on the understanding that it would change or abolish sŏng. The difference between ssi and sŏng was so subtle that they could hardly understand it. However, it was not totally a misunderstanding because “sŏng myŏng” had been altered to “ssi myŏng.” That was the reason why some people in Ch’ŏngju district regarded his genealogy as “scrap” and sold it for 1 yen. At least on the subjective level, it was true that there were many persons who recognised that their genealogies would become extinct. The other noteworthy phenomenon was that the lineage groups which had the same sŏng and pongwan decided to create the same ssi by mutual agreement. For example, Namwŏn-Yang-ssi (南原梁氏) residents in Seoul agreed that they would create a new ssi as “Yanagawa (梁川)” in a meeting, and advertized it to 80 thousand Yang-ssi members in the newspapers. The Government-General criticized such a collective ch’angssi, saying: “Those who do not know what ssi is do such an act. We cannot agree with that.” (Ch’ŏnsensŏtokufu Hŏmukyoku 1940, p. 21) A pamphlet written by an extra-governmental organization made a similar criticism: “It is wise to create your ssi by which you can easily make a distinction from other families. To make the same ssi within the same kinship is derived from the misunderstanding of the concept of ssi.” (Ryokki Nihon Kenkyūjo 1940, p. 117). Nevertheless, the government did not prohibit the collective ch’angssi. A legal scholar of family law, Ch’ŏng Kwang-hyŏn (1940, p. 97) said: “It seems that the collective creation of ssi through the meeting by a lineage group is a way to produce the Japanese style name on a mass scale.” That is to say, the colonial government which was enthusiastic to raise the rate of notified ch’angssi had no choice but to give tacit approval to the collective ch’angssi.

These two points are important to consider the genealogies in late colonial Korea. First, Ch’anssi-kaemyŏng gave Koreans uncertainty that they would not be able to trace their genealogy. Second, the collective actions by the lineage groups still continued in this era. These are the basic backgrounds of the following discussion.

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4 Keijō Nippō (京都時報), February 6, 1940.
5 Keijō Nippō, January 23, 1940.
2. Analysis of the Extant Family Genealogies

I have looked through the family genealogies published between 1940 and 1945. They all passed strict censorship of the colonial government. Most of them are located at the Classical Materials Room of the National Library of Korea in Seoul. The National Library was the former the Library of the Government-General of Korea where the majority of the books published in Korea were gathered. Unfortunately, we cannot find all of the publications now. For example, the number of the genealogies which passed censorship in the 1930s was 1,991. On the other hand, according to Ch’oe Chae-sŏk’s comprehensive research, the National Library had only 768 sets of genealogies of the same era. This means only 39% of the published genealogies exist at the library. I added some volumes collected by Genealogy Library, a private library in Buch’ŏn. Finally, I have read 128 sets of the genealogies from this era. I have to confess that this research is still ongoing. I could not see some volumes for some reasons, and partly miscopied. I will supply them in the near future.

First, let me show you the breakdown. As for the publication year, 74 sets were published in 1940, 27 in 1941, 19 in 1942, 5 in 1943, 2 in 1944, and 1 in 1945 (from January to August). There was sharp drop in numbers which showed the difficulty of the publication under the wartime control economy. There are 35 sŏngs in total. When I distinguish each sŏng by pongwan, the total becomes 79. I cannot find any deviation. Kimhae-Kim-ssi published 7 sets in this period, Chŏnju-Yi-ssi and Kyŏngju-Yi-ssi were both 6, and Milyang-Pak-ssi was 5. Zensho Eisuke (1935, pp. 132-149), a part-time investigator of the colonial government, disclosed the breakdown of the genealogies published between 1924 and 1933 by sŏng and pongwan. The top-four of them were also Kimhae-Kim-ssi, Milyang-Pak-ssi, Kyŏngju-Kim-ssi, and Chŏnju-Yi-ssi. This means that the tendency of the former period came to be reflected in the 1940s.

I can classify the genealogies of this period into 6 categories: (a) genealogies which have no traces of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng; (b) genealogies of which ch’angssi are reflected only in the colophon; (c) genealogies which have some descriptions about ch’angssi in the beginning or the end of the book; (d) genealogies in which ch’angssi is recorded, but
kaemyŏng is not; (e) genealogies which have the records of both ch’angssi and kaemyŏng; (f) the others.

(a) Genealogies which have no traces of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng

In fact, I could not find any traces of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng in the 85 genealogies out of 128. The proportion is 66% or nearly two-thirds. I will call such a case as “non-trace genealogy.” It is really a surprising matter. Right beside the enthusiastic campaign of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng by the Government-General, they published the genealogies in traditional style as if nothing had happened. How can we interpret this fact?

There was at least one obvious fact. It took a long time to publish a family genealogy. A rural sociologist, Suzuki Eitarō (1944, p.63) who walked around Korean villages in 1942 wrote in his book about genealogy as follows:

“When they start to edit the genealogy, some leaders of the lineage group set the headquarters in Seoul. Then, they send persons to all over Korea. They bring all the materials to Seoul, organize them, and finally print them. It costs an enormous amount of money: at least 10 yen for each family or 1 yen for each person.”

Zenshō (1943, p. 97) also wrote about the process of editing in another book as follows:

“When they agree to edit a new version of the genealogy in the meeting of the lineage group, they notify all the divisions of the kin. Then each division notifies each household. Each household sends a form including the information about each descendant’s relationship, date of birth and death, position in the public service, name of the daughter’s husband, name of the daughter’s son, and so on. Then, the persons in charge edit them strictly.”

As we can see from these citations, it took a long time to collect the information from the lineage members dispersed all over Korea (and East Asia), edit, proofread, and publish them in several volumes. It is not different even in contemporary Korea. I have observed the process of editing the family genealogies by some lineage groups. It takes several years since the agreement of the edit until publication. There might be many cases of drafts that had already begun when Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng started in 1940. In fact, the year of the forewords and afterwords of the genealogies which were published in 1940 were mostly from 1938 or 1939.
One of the important backgrounds of non-trace genealogies were, therefore, that the editors did not have enough time to reflect the new policy in their genealogies. The proportion of non-trace genealogies declined as time passed. It was 88% in 1940, 41% in 1941, and 21% in 1942. In addition, it seemed that the colonial government did not consider the influence of genealogies seriously unless there were “threatening” words in them. As for this, the above-mentioned Suzuki Eitaro (1944, p.55) described an interview with a farmer: “When I asked him whether he had a genealogy or not, he replied that he did not have one, but the head family had it. He also said that the richer branch families can buy the sets of genealogy. It costs about 100 yen for one set.” This farmer only had a small handwritten genealogy of which he extracted his direct ancestors’ information from a published genealogy. Colonial police also commented that “the range of the distribution is limited to small scale of the family members.”(Chōsensōtokuhu Keimukyoku 1938, p.57)

(b) Genealogies of which Ch’angssi are reflected only in the colophon
The next pattern was the case that the publisher’s name was written in Japanese style while there was no trace of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng in the remaining contents. I could find such a type 1 set in 1940, 5 in 1941, and 1 in 1942. For example, the publisher’s name of the Sunch’ón-Pak-ssi’s was “Kikawa (木川)” which was obviously ch’angssi (Fig. 1). However there was no trace of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng in the rest of the text. Publishers usually put the colophons at the last stage of the editing. So they could reflect the new policy only on the colophons. In fact, the genealogies of the pattern (a) might substantially include the pattern (b). As I have already explained, those who had not notified their new ssi were enforced to create their ssi borrowed from sŏng. In such cases, we cannot distinguish pattern (b) from (a). Therefore, we can combine (a) and (b) as the case that Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng was not reflected to the main body of the genealogy.

(c) Genealogies which have some descriptions about Ch’angssi in the beginning or the end of the book

6 木川木永,『順天天創天天』, Kohăng: 木川木永, 1941.
The first case which mentioned about Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng was Munhwa-Yu-ssi’s genealogy published in May 1940. In this case, there was no reference to Ch’anssi-kaemyŏng in main body of the book, but the following text in Korean was inserted at the end of the volume.

“Yu-ssi has many pongwan such as Munhwa, P’ungsan, Sŏnyŏng, Chŏnju, Chinju, and so on. They live in the whole country. With the recent Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng law, Yu-ssi decided to make new ssi collectively. On 18th day, the interested person of Yu-ssi gathered at Waesŏng-dae in Seoul. As a result of the discussion, Munwha-Yu-ssi decided to leave the letter ‘Yu (柳)’ as it had been, and to read it as ‘Yanagi.’ P’ungsan-Yu-ssi decided to create ssi as ‘Yanase (柳瀬),’ Sŏnyŏng-Yu-ssi as ‘Yanagawa (柳川),’ Sŏnsan-Yu-ssi as ‘Yanahara (柳原),’ and Chinju-Yu-ssi as ‘Yanamura (柳村).’”

In a word, the editor inserted a notification that Yu-ssi created new ssi so that they would be able to distinguish their pongwan by ssi. This is one of the cases of collective ch’angssi as I mentioned before.

Take another example of this pattern. Kimhae-Kim-ssi’s genealogy published in 1941 had a section of “Ch’angssi Appendix” at the beginning of the volume.

“Ch’angssi has started. The whole country follows this trend. It is impossible to disobey it (不能舛午). Now we revise the genealogy. Sŏng never changes, but ssi can be easily varied. Therefore, the descendants of Kim Maeng-sun, our ancestor who first came into the northern region as an officer, discussed within the lineage group, and decided to create ssi by using our pongwan [=“Kanaumi (金海)’]. However, we cannot still unite our ssi. Some people call them as “Kanamura (金村)” or “Kanai (金井),” but we have to change them in the future. While it is difficult to enumerate all variations of our ssi, we can roughly classify the information as follows: “Kanaumi (金海)” in Buryŏng district, “Kanaumi (金海)” or “Kanamura (金村)” in Kyŏngsŏn(鏡城) district, and “Kanaumi (金海)” or “Kanai (金井) in Kando district.

7 柳應烈 ed.,『広文柳創天天』, Anbyŏng: 柳應烈宅, 1940.
This citation is very interesting because the author states the reluctance to the new policy. We can also read the impatience that they could not unify their ssi disregarding the agreement in the meeting. In addition to these, “Ch’angssi List” in Naju-Ch’ông-ssi’s genealogy and “The Explanation of No-sŏng’s Ch’angssi” in No-ssi’s genealogy can be categorized in this type.

(d) Genealogies in which Ch’angssi is recorded, but Kaemyŏng is not

This is the most frequent pattern within the genealogies with Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. I could find 15 sets of this type. Among this type, Chŏnju-Yi-ssi’s genealogy published in August 1940 was the first case (Fig. 2). In this case, there is no mention about ch’angssi in the foreword, afterword, or legend. However, when someone created his ssi, the word “ch’angssi” was added next to his name. There is no information about what his ssi was. We can only know that he created ssi. This is the only case of such a style. I can locate this book as a transitional version. Nevertheless, the basic pattern of this type has already appeared in this volume. That is to say, ch’angssi is written as one of the elements of each person’s name. There were many types of name in the traditional society: “myŏng” which was the first name, “cha (字)” which was used in everyday life to avoid the real name, “yumyŏng (幼名)” which was a first name when he was a child, “ho (號)” which was a penname as a literary man, and so on. Genealogies recorded such names in the column beside each name, which was called ‘Bangchu (傍注)’, or a sidenote. “Ch’angssi” was added as a new element of each person’s name. This was the common style to record ‘ssi’.

There were roughly two ways to record ch’angssi. As an example of the first pattern, see the sample of Hamp’yŏng-Yi-ssi’s genealogy (Fig. 3). Yi Min-guk created his ‘ssi’ as “Riden (李田)”. But there was no sign that his son or grandson was also a ‘Riden’. It seems that the ‘ssi’ was only written as a sidenote to the head of the family (戸主) who established a new ‘ssi’, because the law gave the head of a family the authority to create

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9. 羅州丁氏家譜所ed.『羅州丁氏家譜』, 羅州丁氏家譜所 1941; 盧錫朝ed.『盧氏大同堂』, Kwangsan: 區士與政堂 1943.
10. 李康康 ed.,『全州李氏世譜』, Youngwan: 後記堂 1940.
11. 『咸平李氏譜』, introduction by 李珍應 c1942.
a ssi (Nagumo 1940, pp. 60-61). The legend of Dachüng-Yi-ssi’s genealogy proves this presumption. It says: “The name of ch’angssi is written only as a sidenote of each family head.”12 As for the second way, see a sample of Kumsong-Na-ssi’s genealogy (Fig. 4).13 In this type, information of the ssi was added to all the sidenotes of the persons who created the ssi. In this case, we can find the description of “Ssi is Ramoto (羅本)” in the sidenotes of both the father and the sons, except for the daughter of which only her husband’s full name was written.

In any case, it is noticeable that they did not radically change the format of the traditional style of genealogy. Ch’angssi was joined as a new element of the sidenotes. The letter size of ch’angssi was so small compared to the first name that I sometimes missed it when doing my research. It seems to me that the editors tried to record the information of patrilineal descent as precise as possible, including new information of the ssi.

(e) Genealogies which have the records of both ch’angssi and kaemyŏng
I have found 13 sets of this type. There were also two ways to record ch’angssi and kaemyŏng. The first type is to record the new first name for each individual, while ch’angssi was only written in the columns of the family head. The second type is to record new full name for each person. For a sample of the former type, see Tongnae-Chong-ssi’s genealogy (Fig. 5).14 Chŏng Hee-ok created new ssi as “Ikeyama (池山)” and his grandson Chŏng Kyŏng-hun changed his name to “Tadakazu (忠一)”. As for the latter type, see the sample of Kyŏngju-Kim-ssi’s genealogy (Fig. 6).15 Kim Pyŏng-hwan created ssi as “Kanahara (金原)”. His eldest son Ki-wan changed his name to “Kanahara Tadao (金原忠男)”, and Ki-wan’s eldest son also changed his name to “Kanahara Munetoshi (金原宗利)”. In any case, the common pattern was that the original first name was principal, and the new name was secondary and was written as a sidenote with small font. Needless to
say, in Korea, there has been a custom called tollim-cha which means to put a common letter to the same generation. In the above-mentioned case, the letter “hwan” was the tollim-cha of Kim Pyŏng-hwan’s generation, and “Ki” in his son’s generation. During the Chosŏn era, the norm of using tollim-cha in genealogies had gradually spread to Korean society. We can often find cases where the name in registration and the name in genealogy are different. Namely, for the editors of genealogies, the consistency in the order of the names was the one of the most important matters. Therefore, it was natural that the name which was fit to the order of the genealogy was written in the largest font, and that the new elements were printed in small font.

However, there was one exception, which was the genealogy of P’ap’yŏng-Yun-ssi in 1940.16 Fig. 7a shows that Yun Wŏn-hyŏk changed his name to “Hiranuma Hayashi (平沼林)” on March 15, 1940. His son’s name was written as “Mitsusuke (光祐)” in a large font, and “U-hyon” which was the “real name” was printed in small letters. The publication of this volume was led by Yun Wŏn-hyŏk who was a member of the local assembly of Kyŏnggi Prefecture. At that time, genealogies were usually written in classical Chinese, but this was the only case that the foreword was written in Japanese. There the author praised the assimilation policy of Japan and Korea and the new world order led by Japan. He also proudly reported that he created ssi as “Hiranuma (平沼)” and made a family crest. In this sense, this is a genealogy edited by a pro-Japanese. There was another unique element in this book, which was that it recorded women’s names. See Fig. 7b. Her name was written as “Hideko (秀子)” in a large font, while her real name “Chae-sun (再順)” was written in a small font. It was an irony that the only genealogy which had women’s names was edited by pro-Japanese. Anyway, this was really a peculiar case of genealogies from this period.

(f) The others

There were three exceptional genealogies which were interesting cases related to the difference of the name in genealogy and the name in registration.17 All of them did not

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16 李元赫 ed.,『坡平尹創坡金坡天天』c1940.
17 鄭東金 ed.,『東金鄭創族天』, 1941. 林龍勳 ed.,『羅州朴氏世譜』, 朴龍成家 1940. 林龍勳 ed.,『羅州林氏東里公派譜』, 永福 1941.
have a description of ch’angssi. Basically they can be classified as type (a). But strangely, we can find some descriptions which resemble to kaemyŏng. In Chinyang-Chŏng-ssi’s genealogy, the names in registration (‘籍名’) were recorded beside the genealogy names. Yŏju-Pak-ssi’s case is more complex. In some part, we can find Japanese style first names such as “Kentarō (賢太郎)”, “Eijirō (永次郎)”, “Eizaburō (榮三郎)” as their alias (Fig. 8a). We can also find the word “Kaemyŏng” (Fig. 8b). However, this name change was not to Japanese style name. ‘Jiyō (時葉)” or “Sŏkoku (相國)” were not such “Japanese” names. Instead, they fitted to tollim-cha. Naju-Im-ssi’s also included Japanese style names such as “Shigeo (繁雄)”, “Kazuo (一夫)”, and “Fumio(文雄)” as their alias (一名). It is reasonable to consider such records as reflections of the marginal custom before the Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng.

To sum up, two-thirds of the genealogies published during this period had no trace of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. The remaining one third of the genealogies had some information about it. Still, they did not radically change their format and basic idea. Ch’angssi or Kaemyŏng were recorded within the order of traditional style. In other words, the genealogies which reflected Chang’ssi-kaemyŏng were the books of reinterpretation of the new family system from the frame of patrilineal lineage.

3. Why They Made the Genealogies of Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng

Why did they compile the new genealogies which included Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng? It is difficult to answer this question fully, but I can partly answer by interpreting the words of the editors. There was not so much mention about the new policy in the genealogies. Nevertheless, I can say that almost all of the expressed words showed a sense of crisis or uncertainty about the situation that the family members created their ssi without any unification.

The foreword of the above mentioned Hamp’yŏng-Yi-ssi’s genealogy recorded the following comment:

18 op. cit.
After the last August 1940, everybody has obeyed the national policy of Ch’angssi. However, since there was no standard, every person made his own ssi. As a result, our family has had many names: Toyokawa, Hiraoka, Rien, Matsumura, Ōmoto, and so on. There is no consistency. [...] After several generations, our descendants will become estranged. Above all, the persons of the same sǒng will not be able to distinguish each other, and they can even become enemies. [...] So when we publish the genealogy, we will write ch’angssi as a sidenote of each name.

The author said that ch’angssi had to be recorded in order to make the descendants know themselves as members of the same family. Namyang-Hong-ssi pointed out the same problem.19

Recently, our lineage group had agreed to change the family name. Our family has no one ssi, and is not one group because of the dispersion. Each member cannot see the genealogy of the whole lineage group, and there is even no p’abo [genealogy edited in the small division of the lineage group]. In this situation, how will the descendants know their origin after a long time?

This citation shows that ch’angssi made them uncertain about the future and led them to compile the genealogy. We can find the same mentality in Ch’ŏnju-Yi-ssi’s genealogy.20

Recently, the traffic has becoming convenient and the life style has been diversifying. Some went south, some went north, some left their home, and some crossed the sea. Above all, the Ch’angssi law has been applied, which made one sǒng different from ssi. Even if the descendants like branches who have the same origin and the same roots meet somewhere, they will be alienated from one other. If they have different ssi, they will become strangers.

This paragraph shows that the motivations for editing the genealogy were the diaspora situation under colonialism and Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. Lastly, let us see the case of Kyŏngju-Kim-ssi. This was the only case that Ch’angssi reflected the title of the genealogy, “Genealogy of Kyŏngju-Kanabayashi-ssi (慶州金林氏世譜)”.21 The legend says:

19『南陽南創金天』南陽南創金天州, c1940.
20李永日 ed.,『全州李氏私派譜』蓬蓬堂, 1941.
21金東元 ed.,『慶州金林氏世譜』, Yonghŭng: 金東元, 1941.
In 1940, Ch’angssi was started, and we create our ssi as “Kanabayashi (金林)”. But some persons created as “Kanatani (金谷)”, and some made as “Takemura (竹邑)”. We recorded such ssi as a reference in order to make it easier to know in the future. They wanted to unify their ssi as “Kanabayashi”, but they could not. So they recorded various ssi for the future. The genealogy of Kimhae-Kim-ssi mentioned in type (c) was similar case as this.

In brief, the greatest common denominator of these discourses was that they tried to make new genealogies including new names in order to maintain the connection of the lineage group even if Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng would expand.

**Conclusion**

I will conclude by briefly summarizing this paper. Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng made new “ssi myŏng” a legal name, but preserved sŏng and pongwan as a customary name. Therefore, the Government-General could not deny easily the genealogies as a custom. It is in this context that genealogies were still being published in the late colonial era. I collected and analyzed 128 sets of family genealogies published between 1940 and 1945. Two third of them had no mention about Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. It was partly because it took a long time to publish genealogies. Police seemed to permit them unless the contents were ‘threatening’ because the range of the distribution was highly limited. There were various traces in the remaining one-third of the genealogies: genealogies which have some descriptions about ch’angssi in the beginning or the end of the volume, genealogies in which only ch’angssi is recorded, genealogies which have the records of both ch’angssi and kaemyŏng and so on. In any cases, ch’angssi and kaemyŏng were written as one of the elements of the sidenotes of each name in small font. The style of genealogies did not change radically by Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng. In other words, Ch’angssi-kaemyŏng was dependent on the order of the genealogical books. This reaction seemed to be a representation of a sense of crisis of the lineage groups that they wanted to maintain the connection of kin even if the names were changed.

However, such genealogies also became difficult to publish as the War proceeded and the imperialization became intensified. Such phenomena were the struggles of the
lineage groups which could only be seen in a relatively short period at the cracks of imperialization.

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### Table 1  Top-five Number of Publications Classified by Genres (1920-39)

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**Fig. 1 Colophon of Sunchŏn-Pak-ssi P'abo (1941)**
Fig. 2 Chŏnju-Yi-si Sebo (1940)

Fig. 2 Hamp'yŏng-Yi-si-bo (1942)
Fig. 4

Kùmsong Yi-ssi Chokpo (1942)
Fig. 5 Tongnae-Chŏng-si Hambuk-p'abo (1942)
<table>
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<td>元赫</td>
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<td>光祐</td>
<td>一女秀子</td>
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</table>

Fig. 7a P'ap'yong-Yun-ssi Chambonggon P'abo (c1940)

昭和十五年三月

子

昭和十五年三月

子

出

月十七日生鄭氏

日生

年辛酉三月十五

本名再順大正十

女

本名祐鉉

正七年戊午十二

壽鉉

號錦軒大

京城府花洞町六

一大成産業株式

二商会務取締役

昭和町

会洞

昭格町

當時住所職業如

姫松村

平沼林

Fig. 7b P'ap'yong-Yun-ssi Chambonggon P'abo (c1940)
Fig. 8a  Yöju-Pak-ssi Sebo (1940)

Fig. 8b  Yöju-Pak-ssi Sebo (1940)
Mutual Aid Culture in Contemporary Korea

As Kropotkin (1955) said in his famous book, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, human beings have, through the centuries, survived and progressed because of cooperation. Mutual aid is a concept developed by people the world over, the basic purpose of which is survival and prosperity. Mutual aid may also be considered as a type of economic activity, whose concept and practice differ from one locality to another. The modern Korean displays a “customized” form of the concept, which is distinct from other people or race.

First, contemporary Koreans give cash as a gift during wedding or funeral ceremonies\(^{22}\). In fact, giving cash as a gift in any ceremony is common in Korean society. Children who celebrate their first birthday or adults who celebrate their 60\(^{th}\) birthday are commonly presented with gifts of cash\(^{23}\). In contrast, this is seldom done in the West during birthdays or any other ceremony.

Moreover, in Korea, the amount given is fixed, depending on the closeness of the relationship between the giver and the recipient. For example, a hundred thousand won may be given to a close friend, and fifty thousand won to a mere acquaintance\(^{24}\). Sometimes, the amount given by a person in a ceremony is determined by the exact amount of money he previously received in a similar ceremony in the past. It is a kind of a money-based “reciprocity” practice.

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\(^{22}\) Weddings and funerals are the biggest events in a man’s life in Korea.

\(^{23}\) In general, the cash given is placed in an envelope, on which the letters “Puŭi 嘗儀” (in case of a funeral) or “Ch’uk Kyŏlhon 祝結婚” or “Ch’uk Hwahon 祝華婚” (in case of a wedding) are printed. If a person cannot attend a ceremony, he wires the cash or sends it by postal money order.

\(^{24}\) These figures are based on the standardized custom in 2010.
Second, Koreans collect or pool their money together to prepare for unexpected events, such as weddings and funerals. For example, *kye* 契, a traditional Korean community, collects money, which is sequentially distributed to its members. In Korea, there are now hundreds of companies, called *Sangjo companies* 相助會社, which, literally translated, means “mutual-aid” service companies.

In addition, there exist organizations, companies, firms, including universities, where personnel or employees are required to give to a mutual fund when they pay their taxes. It is an accepted practice in Korea, but foreigners who work in the country do not understand why such deductions are made on their salary. A member of one such organization who experiences any of the “prescribed” events may be given money out of the mutual fund. This may therefore be classified as a “redistribution” scheme or a type of private insurance.

Finally, most organizations, including government offices, give money as some type of special bonus, in addition to a standing wreath of flowers, to an employee when someone in his family weds or dies. It is not an impromptu compensation, but a strict rule adhered to by an organization, even by a Korean branch of a Western company.

It is a kind of benefit program or welfare system at work. We can even call it a fringe benefit outside one’s regular wage or “quasi-wage” in a capitalist system. As finance companies have better benefit programs than manufacturing companies, job seekers, such as college graduates, prefer the former to the latter.

The mutual aid is one of three forms, namely, money gift from individuals, society fund, or special bonus from an organization. The practice of mutual aid is hardly understood by foreigners living in modern-day Korea, now home to a growing number of expatriates.

To trace the history of this tradition, this paper attempts to study economic activities of traditional organizations, which help their members in case of death in the family.

Organizations and Documents: Mutual Aid in 19th-Century Korea

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25 To find the origins, history, and types of *kye*, the following references are recommended: Chōsen Sōtokufu (1926) and Kim (1992).

26 A renowned financial institution and multinational enterprise, which gives twenty million won to an employee when he dies and two million won if one of his children dies, etc.
The funeral was one of the most important events in traditional Korea, where the Confucian ideology prevailed on a nationwide scale. As the amount of money incurred in the conduct of the rituals in a funeral was surprisingly huge, ordinary people, even members of the Royal family, needed a great deal of money because these were generally unexpected expenses.

Therefore, people, including the elite group, or yangban, often gave cash or a portfolio of commodities to one another based on the idea that such an act will be reciprocated. In addition, there were similarly established systems and practices in most organizations, such as government offices, the procurement agencies for the Royal family, and merchants’ guilds. This was true both in Seoul, the capital city of the Chosŏn Dynasty, and in the countryside.

Accountants of those organizations kept books on expenditures relative to people who died or who experienced the death of family members. These documents included information regarding the mutual aid fund, which was called condolence money or commodity. This study was fortunate to have been able to examine them to inquire into the condolence culture of traditional Korea. Such documents even afforded us with a preview of the accounting methods used.

These documents are found at the Kyujanggak Institute of Seoul National University in Korea and at the Kawai Collection of Kyoto University in Japan. Mutual aid was inherent in any organization. That is, every organization in Chosŏn Korea existed to give mutual aid. This paper chose to study four kinds of documents from organizations in Seoul and in countryside as well. They include organizations from the both public and the private sectors for a comparative research in that particular period.

The first type of organization was the government office, typically located in Seoul, the capital of Chosŏn Korea. Every office of the central government gave its officials condolence money, aside from their salaries, from the upper echelons down to the junior-level management personnel, even rank-and-file employees. This is a regulation

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27 Recent studies have indicated the existence of a gift economy among the elite group yangban, who sent others gifts or money during special occasions, rituals, or ceremonies. In the mid-Chosŏn period, the volume of gift economy exceeded that of market exchange, and became smaller in amount in the course of time.
written in a well-known rule book, the Yukchŏn Chorye 六典條例, which, literally translated, means regulations of six ministries. In addition, there is Kyŏngjo Puji 京兆府誌, which contains the regulations for municipal employees of the city of Seoul. Both of them were published in the mid-19th century.

The second type of organization was the Royal procurement agency, which was called Ilsasagung 一司四宮, and included the Naesusa 內需司, Myŏnryegung 明禮宮, Sujingung 壽進宮, Ŭŭigung 於義宮, and Yongdonggung 龍洞宮. There were two kinds of procurement paths, the public and the private paths. These agencies were in charge of the private path of Royal procurement. In the archives of Kyujanggak Institute, there are massive account books of these agencies, including the expense accounts Ch'ahach'aek 上下冊. From these account books can be found such expressions as Puŭi 賞儀, Chaesang 喪家送, Ch’ibu 致賻, Shinsa Ryeha 身死例下, and so forth. These account books are from the late 18th century to the early 20th century.

The third type of organization was the Sijŏn 市廛, a licensed guild in Seoul (Ko, 2002, 2008; Miller, 2007; Sukawa, 2010). Documents from the Kawai Collection show that the Myŏnjujŏn 綿紬廛, a guild which dealt with domestic silk, procured them for government offices or Royal palaces. Among the Myŏnjujŏn documents, the account books of Hosangso 護喪所 are full of information on condolence activities of its members.

The last type of organization was the peddlers’ coalition in the countryside, known as the Pobusangdan 被負商團, whose existence was authorized by the government in the 1850s. The most important role of that coalition was mutual aid for unexpected events, like the death of an individual member. Condolence customs of peddlers are found in

28 Ch’aha 上下 is an expression of Idu吏讀, which was a notation system in traditional Korea. The pioneering analysis of these account books was done by Cho (2008).
29 For more detailed information about Myŏnjujŏn documents from the Kawai Collection of Kyŏng University in Japan, the following studies are recommended: Sukawa (2006) and Miller (2007).
30 See Park (1965) and Cho (2001) for general information on traditional peddlers’ guilds in Korean history.
31 Recently, Cho (2009) re-evaluated the functions of the coalition of peddlers in early modern-day Korea.
an edict, such as the *Puŭ Chŏlmok* 許儷節目. Such existing edicts were mostly issued in the Ch’ungch’ŏng province.  

Although these four kinds of organizations were introduced and analyzed, respectively, in previous studies, they were, however, never compared to each other. In the next section, this paper analyzes regulations quantitatively and qualitatively (from the documents mentioned above) to prove the prevalence of the culture of condolence money or commodity in the mid- to late 19th-century Chosŏn Korea. To do that, an electronic database of condolence information was kept based on data from those documents.

### Funeral Benefit Programs in Chosŏn Korea

**Government Offices**

Table 1, based on *Yukchŏn Chorye*, the regulation of *Hojo* 戶曹 (the Department of Treasury), shows detailed information on giving commodities as condolence “gifts”. The condolence items were paid in kind, in the form of cotton cloths, paper, candles, etc. In-kind condolence had both symbolic impact and actual effect. Moreover, the combination or variety of commodities depended on (1) whether the official was incumbent or not, (2) degree of kinship between the official and the dead person, and (3) whether the official belonged to the upper echelons of society or not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Former</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Relations</td>
<td>the employee oneself</td>
<td>parents and children and the employee oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Dead</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>their spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>tang-sang nang- tan- nang- tang nang- tang nang- (all)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32 Most data were reprinted into four volumes of *The Source Books of Pobusang* 褓負商資料集 by *Minsokwon* 民俗苑 in the 1990s.

33 The most detailed one is about *Chapmulbit* 雜物色; the others, about Kunjiagam 軍資監 and *Kwanghungch’ang* 廣興倉, were rather simple.

---

471
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item (unit)</th>
<th>p’an</th>
<th>ch’am’p’</th>
<th>ch’ŏng</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ch’on</th>
<th>ch’ŏng</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ch’an</th>
<th>ch’ung</th>
<th>ch’on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sŏ</td>
<td>an or</td>
<td>sang</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>sang</td>
<td>** sang</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Cloth (p’il)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Paper (kwon)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil Paper (kwon)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thick Whiter Paper (kwon)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six-yang Candle (ssang)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five-yang Candle (ssang)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-yang Candle (ssang)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixfold Oil Cover (pŏn)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourfold Oil Cover (pŏn)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw Hemp (kŭn)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass Cover (pu)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw Bag (nip)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Torch</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

472
Medium Torch

Reed Candle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reed Candle</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>707.553.9</td>
<td>394.2</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>160.3</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>83.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount***</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: *Hojön of Yukhôn Chorye.*

Note: Minor officials like *kyesa, sŏri* and *kojik* should be also paid when there was a funeral.

*If a child died under age, the employee would be given just half of the payment.

**If a child died under age, there would be no payment.

***The major conversion criteria into cash were originally based on the tribute prices appeared in *Yukhôn Chorye.* Rice price is on the basis of Cho(2008: 145) and prices of some minor items were based upon the data from *Ch’ahach’ae* of Royal procurement agencies.

Major facts found here are as follows: (1) there was a condolence regulation or practice for high-ranking officials in the case of their children’s death, which was a form of discrimination by stratification; (2) the order of discrimination, according to the degree of kinship, was, first, the official himself; second, his parents or spouse; and, finally, his children; (3) more commodities were given to an incumbent official than to a former official; and (4) there was a benefit program for minor officials, such as a *kyesa* 計士, *sŏri* 書吏, *kojik* 庫直, and so on.

Municipal employees were also paid condolence commodities, such as cotton cloths, candles, and so on, by stratification (Table 2). However, the medium of payment was often substituted with cash, which, “officially”, had to be of the same value as the commodities. For example, two *yang* 両, may be given instead of one *p’il* 匹 of cotton cloth. The reason for this practice can be inferred in the following description: “There is
not enough cotton cloth, but there are many cases of payment. Therefore, we didn’t pay even by the end of three years’ funeral, which is severely discourteous” (Kyŏngjo Puji).

In addition, since 1834, there was a reduction in the amount of condolence payment, down to just a third of the original amount, because of a possible financial deficit experienced by the city government of Seoul.

Table 2. Benefit Program for Funeral in Hansŏngbu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Cotton Cloth (p’il, high-quality)</th>
<th>Four-yang Candle (ssang)</th>
<th>Cotton Candle (pyŏng)</th>
<th>Medium Torch (tong)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1824*</td>
<td>tangsang</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(14.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(0.9)</td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td>(1.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nangch’ŏng</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(9.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(0.6)</td>
<td>(2.1)</td>
<td>(0.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834**</td>
<td>tangsang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(0.6)</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nangch’ŏng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0.6)</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The edict of Ryebang 礼房 in Kyŏngjo Puji..

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are the substitute cash (yang) for each commodity.

*In case of the death of employee oneself, his parents and his wife.

**If the employee was incumbent, he would be paid for the death of one of his family; otherwise, he would be paid only when he died.

It can thus be deduced, based on comparisons made between the Hojo and the Seoul government, that there was no consistent rule on condolence payments, indicating that these payments were made by each office independently, and that such system was not centralized. It also shows that the central government was more solvent than the local governments.

Royal Procurement Agencies
An edict was issued in 1853, which ordered that in the event of a court lady’s death, fifteen yang in cash, one sŏk of rice, one p’il of cotton cloth, and two p’il of hemp cloth, should be paid.34

More empirical information may be drawn from the Ch’ahach’ae of each agency or institution. In the case of Myôngryegung, condolence payment was two p’il of cotton cloth for each member, including naegwan 内官, ch’abi 差備, kojik 庫直, noja 奴子, bija 婢子, and so forth.35 This kind of payment or practice was made without any significant change until the Kabo reform 甲午改革 in 1894. Even until the abolition of this agency, from 1894 to 1907, a fixed amount of cash (eight yang), instead of cotton cloth, continued to be paid. In short, there was no discrimination by stratification and, for a long time, there was no significant change in the practice.

Such was the case of Naesusa. As shown in Table 3, in the death of two changbŏn 長番內官, eighty years apart, there was no change or modification in the practice, only the use of cash as payment instead of commodities, which depended entirely on the condition of the total stock of commodities. The same is true for the Sujingung, in the case of court ladies and servants.

**Table 3.** Actual Amount of Commodities Paid for Funeral in Case of changbŏn naegwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item (Unit)</th>
<th>1795*</th>
<th>1878**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice (sŏk)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+4***</td>
<td>2 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Cloth (p’il)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+10</td>
<td>5 (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp Cloth (p’il)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+10</td>
<td>5 (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash (yang)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+50</td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soybean (sŏk)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

34 “宮內人恤典錢十五兩米一石木一疋布二疋自今為始定式上下事” from Vol. Chu 宇 of Sujingung tūnguk 進宮謄錄.
35 In some cases, forms of portfolio payment, which consisted of rice, cotton cloth, hemp cloth, and coins, were made.
Yellow Corvina ( sok ) 20 20 (24)
Crude Honey ( kūn ) 2† 2 (3.6)
Shiitake Mushroom ( tu ) 1 1† (2)
Official Seaweed ( kūn ) 40 40† (40)
Plain Flour ( tu ) 5 5 (7.5)
Salt ( sŏk ) 1 1 (30)
Pine Resin ( kūn ) 5† 5† (15)

Total Amount ( yang converted) ? (523.1)

Source: Naesusa Kakpang Ch’ahach’aek.

Note:
*Hyŏngbang
**Hobang
***Plus sign means additional payment in a particular case 別例下. † Paid by substitute cash. The numbers in parenthesis are the substitute cash (yang) for each commodity from the prices used in Table 1.

Licensed Guilds in Seoul

The account book of Hosangso Sangyongch’ae k 護喪所上用冊 details actual payments of condolence money to members of the Myŏnjujŏn guild, especially for the position of Shipchwa 十坐. Based on a reconstruction of condolence regulations in Table 4, the change in the amount paid is shown. There was a sudden increase of an additional amount equivalent to half the original amount paid in the 1880s although the financial crisis hit the guild.

Table 4. Reconstruction of Benefit Program in Myŏnjujŏn (Unit: yang)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1865-77</th>
<th>1878-86</th>
<th>1887</th>
<th>1888-1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36乙丑三月十九日 全十坐珣己喪賢貳拾玖兩貳戔伍分上用印 大房(印)” was a common expression. In this example, 全珣己 was the name of guild member who held the position of 十坐.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Family Relations of the Dead

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1883</th>
<th>1892</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Member Oneself</td>
<td>29.25</td>
<td>43.85</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Wife of a Member</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Hosangso Sangyongch’aek.*

Note: *Others include parents, uncles, and cousins.

Additionally, the amount of money paid when a member died was the same as when his wife dies, whereas the amount paid when other relatives die was just 15% of that amount. The same was true in government offices, with a slight difference in the amount paid.

*Peddlers’ Coalitions in the Countryside*

There were four classes of peddlers’ guilds, namely, *chŏpchang* 接長, *kongwon* 公員, *chipsa* 執事, and *tongmong* 童蒙. Table 5 shows differences between these classes; there was barely any difference between positions. The amount of money paid to members in each ceremony did not change until the 1880s37. After the 1890s, there was a slight, observable change.

Table 5. Regulations of Funeral Expenses in case of Peddlers’ coalition in *Yesan* and *Tŏksan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1883</th>
<th>1892</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pansu</em></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yŏngwi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chŏpchang</em></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Of course, this practice was affected by the fact that local peddlers’ coalitions copied each other’s edicts. Therefore, it may be said that the regulations were not actual but symbolic, and may be traced to the practice of Confucianism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average (Chŏpch'ang)</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ponbanggongwon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosugongwon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongsagongwon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punsŏgongwon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average (Chipsa)</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4.9</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adaebang</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agongwon</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ajipsa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ahansan</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Average (Tongmong)   | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3.9|

Source: Ch’osangshi Pu’ichon Maryŏn’gi, each year.
This feature of the benefit program was common in local merchants’ coalitions, as in the Coalition of Oil Sellers in Andong county of Kyŏngsang province in 1891. The edict of this coalition decrees that ten yang should be paid to chŏpchang, four yang to kongwon, three yang to chipsa, and two yang to the rest.

Characteristics of Organizations

**Difference between Public and Private Organizations**

Merchants’ guilds in Seoul and in the countryside paid only money (coins), whereas both government offices and Royal procurement agencies gave their employees a portfolio of commodities and money. The composition of a portfolio became more elaborate as the position got higher. In a private organization, the benefit program was simpler.

A public organization covered more occasions, and included other family members aside from one’s immediate family. Among merchants’ organizations, Sijŏn in Seoul gave a member condolence money when his wife dies, whereas peddlers’ organizations in the countryside did not. Likewise, benefit programs of the central government were more comprehensive than those of local governments.

Table 6 illustrates a variety of characteristics deduced from the analysis above.

**Table 6. Comparison of Benefit Programs by Types of Organization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organization</th>
<th>Government Offices</th>
<th>Royal Procurement Agencies</th>
<th>Merchant Guilds in Seoul</th>
<th>Peddlers’ Coalitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Composition of Payment</td>
<td>Portfolio (of Commodities)</td>
<td>Cash only</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Payment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38 Puŭi Chŏlmok 睽儀節目 in Andong Changnae Yusang Wannun 安東掌內油商完文 of Kyujanggak Institute contains records of funeral regulations and expenses.

39 According to Park (2003), portfolio payment for mutual aid of tonggye 洞契 in the countryside evolved and became simpler with time.
**Coverage of**

**Family**
- Comprehensive
- Limited

**Status of Incumbency**
- Incumbent or Former
- Incumbent only

**Degree of Stratification**
- Strong
- Weak

**Long-term Change**
- Rigid
- Varying

**Sector of Organization**
- Public
- Private

**Stability of Organization**
- Stable
- Unstable

**Economic System**
- Redistribution
- Market Economy

Source: See the text.

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**The Real Effect of Payment**

In general, there was not a long-term change or fluctuation in the amount of money paid by organizations in 19th-century Korea. This corresponds to the long-term rigidity in tribute prices in Chosŏn Korea. Consequently, economic behaviors of organizations were thus based upon the same principle as in the management of the state’s finances. Considering that there was a sharp increase in the amount paid on a nationwide scale since the mid-19th century, there arises the question of the effectiveness of the mutual aid in an organization. The question, of course, focuses on the regulations, and not on the actual payment.

Therefore, payment may not be made and, even if there was actual payment of condolence money, the same may be considered useless. However, it mobilized members politically and, therefore, in a sense, helpful.

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40 Lee and Cho (2008) explained the system and the trend in tribute prices during the Chosŏn Dynasty.
The regulations for funeral expenses of members were merely formal or symbolic rather than helpful as a vehicle of social insurance. There was no community-like organization, which acted as a social safety net. The fact that even merchants followed the Confucian ideology as the yangban did gives us an overview of how organizations in the past were run. Benefit programs for funeral ceremonies benefited the organization more than its members. The amount and the method of payment sometimes depended on the financial standing of an organization.

Long-term rigidity, as in the case of Sijŏn, may change, depending on the characteristics of a particular organization. Whereas Sijŏn was just like every other merchants’ guild (as in medieval Europe), Sijŏn in the late 19th century was comprised of merchants as well as non-merchants. Non-merchants were rent-seekers, who were eager to find a “fountain of fortune” or the “right to accumulate capital”. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that only Sijŏn, among the other organizations, kept an individual account book for funeral expenses. However, the cycle of change was short-lived and was over in ten years’ time.

**Concluding Remarks: Path Dependence of Mutual Aid**

This paper presents characteristics of the condolence culture in pre-modern Korea. Most of the data were taken from historical documents, such as archives from the Kyujanggak Institute and the Kawai Collection. This paper shows the similarities and differences among and between organizations during the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Cho (2009) asserted that the basic function of a traditional peddlers’ guild was to provide mutual aid for its members. This paper pointed out weaknesses in such a system or practice. The economic situation in the past cannot be understood by studying the present. The condolence system in Chosŏn Korea was of a non-economic or cultural aspect rather than economic or rational.

Although there are similarities between past and present practices, such as the existence of stratification and the practice of giving money as a grant to members, there are, however, major differences. In the past, public organizations had a portfolio of
commodities, whereas private organizations gave cash. At present, both public and private organizations give cash.

In 1973, the Simplified Family Rite Standards 家庭儀禮準則 was signed into law by president Chŏng-Hŭi Park 朴正熙. However, Koreans are still burdened by the tradition of giving money during such occasions as wedding and funerals. Indeed, Confucianism is still prevalent in modern-day Korea.

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Section Four: Language and Linguistics
**Interpretation of Embedded Tense in Korean**

Park, Duk-Soo

**Introduction**

In Korean, there are some sentences where embedded tense in coordinate and subordinate clauses (hereafter conjunctive clauses) is marked by no tense (marked by Ø in the data\(^4\)) and the interpretation of this null tense can be anaphoric to the matrix tense, while both embedded and matrix clauses may have an overt tense marking.

Compare the tense marking differences between (1a/b) and (1a’/b’):

(1) a. na-nun ecey cip-eey ka-Ø-se cenyek-ul mek-Ø-ko ilccik ca-ss-ta.

   I-Top yesterday home-to go-Ø-and then dinner-Acc eat-Ø-and early
   sleep-Past-Decl

   ‘Yesterday, I went home, ate dinner, and went to bed early.’

\(^4\) The Yale Romanisation system is used for the transcription of Korean data, and the following abbreviations are used to label the linguistic terms in the data:

- Acc: Accusative particle
- Appr: Appreceptive sentence-type suffix
- Conj: Conjecture suffix
- Decl: Declarative sentence-type suffix
- Imp: Imperative sentence-type suffix
- Indc: Indicative mood suffix
- Inds: Indirect speech ender
- Inf: Infinitive suffix
- Nom: Nominative particle
- Past: Past tense suffix
- Perf: Perfective aspect suffix
- PerfRL: Perfective relativiser
- Prog: Progressive
- ProgRL: Progressive relativiser
- ProsRL: Prospective relativiser
- Q: Question marker, interrogative sentence-type suffix
- RL: Relativiser
- SH: Subject honorific suffix
- Susp: Suspective suffix
- Top: Topic particle
- Trnf: Transferative suffix
- Voli: Volition suffix
a'. Mary-nun ilpon-ey ka-ss\textsuperscript{42}-ko John-un mikwuk-ey ka-ss-ta.
Mary-Top Japan-to go-Past-and John-Top US-to go-Past-Decl
‘Mary went to Japan and John went to the United States.’

b. wuli-nun nolay-lul pwulu-Ø-myense kel-ess-ta.
we-Top song-Acc sing-Ø-while walk-Past-Decl
‘We walked while we were singing.’

b’. Mary-nun cenyek-ul mek-ess-unyense an mek-ess-ta-ko ha-n-ta
Mary-Top dinner-Acc eat-Past-although not eat-Past-Decl-Inds do-Indc-Decl
‘Mary says that she didn’t have dinner although she did.’

The theory which describes this phenomenon comprehensively, along with other tense and aspect characterizations in Korean, is proposed by Shin (1988). Proposing homophonous suffixes of \textit{–ess}, ‘the perfective aspect’ and ‘the past tense’, Shin (1988) describes the tense and aspect phenomena in Korean across five fields: (a) conjunctive clauses; (b) adnominal clauses, which include relative clauses and noun complements; (c) verbal complements; (d) quotative clauses; and (e) nominal or nominalised clauses. This paper, however, only deals with some residual issues related to tense and aspect in conjunctive and adnominal clauses: (i) For conjunctive clauses, I will show many pairs of homophonic suffixes which support Shin’s claim for the temporal feature as a triggering factor for the embedded null tense. Contrary to this claim, however, there is an exceptional case – i.e., the non-temporal suffix \textit{–ese} ‘because, since’, which does not allow an overt tense marking; (ii) In adnominal clauses, the relativisers \textit{–un}, \textit{–nun}, and \textit{–ul} should be treated as complementisers which indicate perfective, progressive and prospective aspects, respectively, rather than the traditional treatment as past, present and future tenses. In this way, we describe and explain the fact more adequately.

\textbf{1. Tense in Conjunctive Clauses}

\textsuperscript{42} Note that this non-sequential \textit{–ko} may or may not co-occur with the overt past tense \textit{–ess} for the same meaning, so Mary-nun ilpon-ey ka-Ø-ko John-un mikwuk-ey ka-ss-ta. ‘Mary went to Japan and John went to the United States.’ is also possible.
For conjunctive clauses, Shin (1988, p. 107) maintains that the temporal feature of conjunctive suffix triggers the null tense phenomenon in embedded clauses. For example, if a conjunctive suffix is temporal ([+temporal]), like –ese, –ko1 and –umyense 1 of (1a) and (1b), the embedded tense should be null and its interpretation is **anaphoric** to the tense in a matrix clause, as this null tense is co-indexed with the matrix tense. Shin (1988, p. 80) defines the temporal feature as having a sequential or overlapping time relationship between the conjunctive (embedded) event time and the matrix event time. On the other hand, when a conjunctive suffix is non-temporal ([-temporal]) like –ko 2 and –umyense 2 as in (1a’) and (1b’), the embedded tense may freely take the overt past tense marker, and the interpretation of tense is **deictic**, or free from the structure.

The temporal conjunctive suffixes include –ese ‘and then’, –ko 1 ‘and’, –kose ‘and then’, –ulyeko ‘in order to’, –tolok ‘so that’, –taka 43 while, and then’, –umyense 1 ‘while’ and –ca(macac) ‘as soon as’. Non-temporal suffixes include –ko 2 ‘and’, –ciman ‘but’, –una ‘but’, –kenman ‘even though’, –nikka ‘because’, and –umyense 2 ‘although’ (Shin 1988, p. 80). Notice that there are two pairs of homophonic suffixes, one temporal and the other non-temporal. The first pair of –ko 1 and –ko 2 is exemplified in (1a) and (1a’) and the second pair of –umyense 1 and –umyense 2 in (1b) and (1b’). Here, the suffixes with the number 1 are temporal, and the ones with number 2 are non-temporal suffixes.

Notice that Shin (1988) somehow overlooks another homophonic suffix –ese ‘because, since’, which does not fit into her theory. Although the causal –ese ‘because, since’ is non-temporal, it does not co-occur with the overt past tense –ess. Historically the causal usage of –ese ‘because, since’ has been derived from the sequential –ese ‘and then’. However, despite the semantic shift from temporal to non-temporal, the tense marking behaviour of the causal –ese is still identical to the temporal one. Compare (2b/c/d) with (2a) below:

(2) a. na-nun eeceysam-ey cip-ey ilccik ka-Ø-se, ca-ss-i-ta.

43 Shin (1988, p. 64, 81) states that –taka is the only temporal suffix, which optionally allows –ess as the perfective aspect, but not as the past tense: e.g., John-i cip-ey kass-Ø-taka o-ass-ta. ‘John had gone home and came back.’ vs. John-i cip-ey ka-Ø-taka o-ass-ta. ‘John returned on the way home.’ John-i cip-ey ka-ss-Ø-taka o-Ø-n-ta. ‘lit., John has gone home and is coming back.’ As tense is the only obligatory element which can be anaphoric, this distinction between the perfective aspect and the past tense handles the data well. See Ibid., pp. 172-3 for a detailed description.
I. Top last night-at home-to early go-Ø-and then sleep-Past-Decl
‘Last night, I went home early and slept.’

b. hongsu-ka na-Øi-se, suhwak-i napp-ass-ta.
   flood-Nom occur-Ø-because harvest-Nom bad-Past-Decl
   ‘Because a/the flood occurred, the harvest was bad.’

c. nemwu manhi mek-Øi-e, paythal-i na-ss-ta.
   too much eat-Ø-because stomach-ache-Nom occur-Past-Decl
   ‘Because I ate too much, I had a stomach-ache.’

d. cwuk-un mek-Øi-keyss-e, nay-ka mantul-Øi-keyss-e, o-ass-ta.
   porridge-Top eat-Ø-Conj-because I-Nom make-Inf come-Past-Decl
   ‘Because I guessed that you might eat porridge, I made and brought it.’

e. mom-i nemwu aph-Øi-ase cwuk-Øi-keyss-e, chim mac-Øi-keyss-e, o-ass-eyo.
   body-Nom too much hurt die-Ø-Conj-because, acupuncture get-Ø-to come-Past-Decl
   ‘Because my body ached so much like hell, I came to get an acupuncture treatment.
(lit., My body ached so much that I guessed that I might die, so …)’

The –ese in (2a) is a temporal (sequential) suffix, whereas –ese in (2b/c/d/e) is non-temporal (causal). It is interesting to find that in the expressions like (2d/e) the causal –ese may take the conjecture modal –keyss, while it does not allow the past tense –ess.

Notice that when a conjunctive suffix does not take the overt past tense marker –ess, it is very unlikely that it allows the modal suffix –keyss. In fact, Sohn (1999, p. 239) shows that no conjunctive suffix takes both the past tense –ess and/or the modal suffix –keyss.

The following table (7) rearranges Sohn’s data with some minor modifications: My modifications are four more pairs of homophonous suffixes: Taking into account data like (2d/e), the causal –ese seems to be the only one which allows the modal suffix –

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44 Notice that the null tense phenomenon like this is classified as a verbal complement in Shin (1988, pp. 245-50). The verbal complement cases involve the so-called infinitive –e/a, the gerundive –ko, the resultative –key, the suspensive –ci, the desiderative –ko, and the conditional –umyen: E.g., –e pesta ‘try to …’, –e pelita ‘end up doing …’ –e issa ‘be in the state of …’, –ko issa ‘be …ing (progressive)’, –key hata ‘let someone do …’, –ci anhta ‘does not …(negation)’ –ko siphta ‘want to …’ No overt tense form is allowed in verbal complement clauses, while –eya ‘if only’ and –umyen ‘if’ allow the perfective suffix –ess (Ibid., pp. 245-6).
keyss, while not taking the past tense marker –ess. Obviously we need a distinction between the temporal (sequential) –ese 1 ‘and then’ and the non-temporal (causal) –ese 2 ‘because, since’. Likewise, I also divided –uni(kka), –nuntey and –kilo 45 into three pairs of homophonic suffixes: three temporal suffixes of –uni(kka) 1 ‘when, as’, –nuntey 1 ‘while …’, and –kilo 1 ‘decide to …’ and three non-temporal ones of –uni(kka) 2 ‘because, since’, –nuntey 2 ‘… but’, and –kilo 2 ‘even if …’. Notice that only non-temporal suffixes take the past tense –ess as well as the conjecture or intention modal suffix –keyss, while temporal ones do not. Compare temporal –ni(kka) 1 in (3) and non-temporal –nikka 2 in (4):

(3) a. cip-ey ka-Ø-uni(kka) amwu-to eps-ess-ta.
   home-to go-Ø-as nobody-even does not exist-Past-Decl
   ‘I went home, but nobody was there. (lit., When I went home, there was no one.)’

   b. cip-ey ka-ss-uni(kka) amwu-to eps-ess-ta.
   home-to go-Past-as nobody-even does not exist-Past-Decl
   ‘I went home, but nobody was there.’

   c. cip-ey ka-keyss-uni(kka) ...
   home-to go-Voli-as/when
   ‘When someone may go home …’

   d. cip-ey ka-ss-keyss-uni(kka) ...
   home-to go-Past-Conj-as/when
   ‘When someone might have gone…’

   John-Nom home-to go-because worry-Susp don’t-SH-Decl
   ‘Because John is going home, please do not worry.’

   ‘Because John went home, please do not worry.’

   ‘Since John may go home, please do not worry.’

45 –kilo is not from Sohn (1999, p. 239). In the framework of Shin (1988), –kilo hata may be treated as a nominalised construction in a verbal complement.
  ‘Since John might have gone home, please do not worry.’

The examples in (5) and (6) are for –nuntey and –kilo, respectively. (5a) and (6a) show that the temporal –nuntey 1 ‘while’ and –kilo 1 ‘decide to …’ don’t allow the past tense –ess and/or the modal –keyss, while non-temporal suffixes –nuntey 2 ‘but’ and –kilo 2 ‘even if …’ in (5b-d) and (6b-d) do:

(5)  
(a) `ecespam-ey ca-Ø-nuntey cenhwa-ka o-ass-ta.
  last night-at sleep-while telephone-Nom come-Past-Decl
  ‘Last night, a phone call came while I was sleeping.’
  `ca-ss*-nuntey
  ca-keyss*-nuntey
  ca-ss-keyss*-nuntey`

(b) `ecespam-ey manhi ca-ss-nuntey acikto collip-ta.
  last night-at much sleep-Past-but yet sleepy-Decl
  ‘Last night, I slept a lot but I am still sleepy.’

c. `onulpam-ey manhi ca-keyss-nuntey...
  tonight-at much sleep-Conj-
  ‘Tonight, I guess I can sleep a lot …’

d. `ecespam-ey manhi ca-ss-keyss-nuntey ...
  ‘I guess that last night you slept a lot …’

(6)  
(a) `wuli-nun nayil tena-Ø-kilo hay-ss-ta.
  we-Top tomorrow leave-decide to-Past-Decl
  ‘We decided to leave tomorrow.’
  `tena-ss*-kilo
  tena-keyss*-kilo
  tena-ss-keyss*-kilo`

(b) `ku-ka kapekaki tena-ss-kilo kulemyen an twe-yo.
  he-Nom suddenly leave-Past-even if like that-if not do-Decl
  ‘You shouldn’t do that even if he left suddenly.’

c. `… tena-keyss-kilo ...
  ‘… even if he might leave …’
d. ... *tena-ss-*keyss-*kilo* ...

‘... even if he might have left ...’

(7) Conjunctive suffixes with –*ess* and –*keyss*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+<em>keyss</em></th>
<th>-<em>ess</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–<em>ciman</em> 'but, although'</td>
<td>–<em>ese</em> 2 ‘because, since (causal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>ketun</em> 'provided that, if (provisional)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>kilo</em> 2 ‘even if ...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>ko</em> 2 ‘and (non-sequential)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>muney</em> 2 ‘but (background information provider)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>taka</em> ‘and then (transerative)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>umyen</em> ‘if, when (conditional)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>umyense</em> 2 ‘while ... yet, although’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>una</em> ‘but, although (adversative)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>uni(kka)</em> 2 ‘because, since, so’ (causal)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>telato</em> 46 ‘even though’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>eto</em> 6 ‘although, but’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>tunci</em> 6 ‘whether, or’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-<em>keyss</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–<em>e(se)</em> 1 ‘and then (sequential)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>key</em> ‘(in a way) so that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>kilo</em> 1 ‘decide to ...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>ko</em> 1 ‘and (sequential)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>ko(se)</em> ‘and then’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>nula(ke)</em> ‘as a result of ...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–<em>nulamyen</em> ‘while doing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 Sohn (1999, p. 239) puts these three suffixes of –*telato*, –*eto* and –*tunci* under [+*ess*, –*keyss*], but to me these three suffixes may take the modal suffix –*keyss*, as in *mek-(ess)*-keyss-telato or *mek-(ess)*-keyss-eto ‘although you may (might) be able to eat’, and *mek-keyss-tunci* ‘(I wonder) if you can eat’. If you accept these expressions, then there will be no member for [+*ess*, –*keyss*].
As shown in the above table (7), we identified six pairs of homophonic suffixes which generally support Shin’s claim that if a suffix is temporal in terms of meaning, its embedded tense should be null and the interpretation of the null tense is anaphoric to the matrix tense. Once again, there is one exceptional case, i.e., the non-temporal –ese which does not co-occur with the overt past tense –ess.

3. The Perfect Aspect vs. The Past Tense

According to Sohn (1999, p. 363), the suffix -ess has historically been derived from the resultative –e issta ‘be in the state of . . .’, denoting a resultative state when it occurs with ‘resultative’ verbs such as talmta ‘take after’, ipita ‘wear’, and nulkta ‘get old’. In these cases, doubling of –ess is needed to indicate past tense (see (8c)). The following (8) copies Sohn’s examples:

(8) a. hyeng-un apeci-lul talm-ass-e.
       brother Top father Acc resemble-Past47-Decl
       ‘My brother takes after my father.’

b. ne coh-un os ip-ess-kwun-a.

47 In (8), I use Sohn’s labels. Sohn (1999) calls this –ess the past tense.
you good-RL dress wear-Past-Appr-Decl
‘You are wearing a beautiful dress!’

I-Top young-Past-RL when mother-Acc resemble-Past-Past-Decl
‘When I was young, I took after my mother.’

As shown below, there are more cases where the suffix –ess, identical to the past tense marker in form, denotes present and future status. As in the English translation, the meaning of all the sentences in (9) is in present tense with descriptive (or adjectival) connotation. Adopting Shin (1988)’s theory, I call the –ess in (9) ‘perfect aspect’, followed by the non-past (marked by no tense):

(9) a. kkoch-i hwalccak phi-ess-Ø-ney.
flower-Nom fully bloom-Perf-Nonpast-Appr
‘Flowers have fully bloomed!’

b. mwun-i yel-li-ess-Ø-ta.
door-Nom open-Pass-Perf-Nonpast-Decl
‘The door is open.’

c. mwun-i tat-hi-ess-Ø-ney.
door-Nom close-Pass-Perf-Nonpast-Appr
‘The door is closed!’

d. wuli pwumonim-un nulk-usi-ess-Ø-ta.
our parents-Top get old-SH-Perf-Nonpast-Decl
‘My parents are old.’

e. sinlang-i sinpwu-pota celm-ess-Ø-ney.
groom-Nom bride than young-Perf-Nonpast-Appr
‘The groom is younger than the bride!’

f. wuli manwula-nun ankyeng-ul ss-ess-Ø-ta.
my wife-Top glasses-Acc wear-Perf-Nonpast-Decl
‘My wife wears glasses.’

g. kukes cal pwuth-ess-Ø-ni?
that thing well stick-Perf-Nonpast-Q
‘Is that well attached?’
h. _tal-i tt-ess-Ø-ney._
   moon-Nom rise-Perf-Nonpast-Appr
   ‘The moon has risen.’

i. _umsik-i manhi nam-ass-Ø-ni?_
   Food-Nom much remain-Perf-Nonpast-Q
   ‘Is there much food left?’

j. _na-n icey cwuk-ess-Ø-ney._
   I-Top now die-Perf-Nonpast-Appr
   ‘Now, I am in big trouble. (lit., Now, I am dead.)’

Furthermore, _-ess_ in (10) denotes future (marked by no tense) perfect. In the conditional clause of an optative sentence like (11) the _-ess_ form is also used rather than the non-past (zero) form.

(10) a. _ne-n nayil cwuk-ess-Ø-ta._
   You-Top tomorrow die-Perf-Nonpast-Decl
   ‘You are in big trouble tomorrow.’

b. _nayil cip-ey ka-ss-Ø-taka wa-Ø-la._
   tomorrow home-to go-Perf-Nonpast-Trnf come-Imp
   ‘Tomorrow, you go home and come back.’

(11) a. _hankwuk-ey ka-l su iss-ess-umyen coh-keyss-ta._
   Korea-to go-ProsRL possibility exist-Perf-if good-Conj-Decl
   ‘It would be nice if I could go to Korea.’

b. _ton-i manh-ass-umyen coh-keyss-ta._
   money-Nom much-Perf-if good-Conj-Decl
   ‘It would be nice if I had lots of money.’

Also when there is no overt subject noun like (12a), due to this perfective/adjective meaning of the perfective aspect _-ess_, the speaker ‘I’ is excluded as a possible subject, whereas a past perfect sentence like (12b), which expresses one’s past experience, the speaker ‘I’ is the most likely subject.

(12) a. _Hawaii-ey ka-ss-eyo._
   Hawaii-to go-Perf-Decl
   ‘S/he has gone to Hawaii.’
4. Adnominal Clauses

4.1 Relative Clauses

Making the distinction between the perfective aspect and the past tense and with the dual
(i.e., anaphoric and deictic) interpretations of null tense, Shin (1988, pp. 222-37)
describes the tense phenomenon in relative clauses and noun complements very well. In
the following data, an anaphoric interpretation of a null tense in a relative clause is
indicated by the co-reference with the matrix tense by the subscript $i$, and a deictic
interpretation by the subscript $j$. Note that deictic interpretations are always non-past
(present or future).

(13) a. Mary-nun [John-i $\varepsilon$ ilk-$O_j$-$\varepsilon$-$un^{48}$] chayk-ul ilk-$\varepsilon$-$ta$.
    Mary-Top John-Nom read-PerfRL book-Acc read-Past-Decl
    ‘Mary read the book that John had read (past perfect).’
    ‘Mary read the book that John has read (present perfect).’

b. Mary-nun [John-i $\varepsilon$ ilk-$O_j$-$\varepsilon$-nun] chayk-ul ilk-$\varepsilon$-$ta$.
    -ProgRL
    ‘Mary read the book that John was reading (past progressive).’
    ‘Mary read the book that John is reading (present progressive).’

c. Mary-nun [John-i $\varepsilon$ ilk-$O_j$-$\varepsilon$-$ul^{49}$] chayk-ul ilk-$\varepsilon$-$ta$.
    -ProsRL
    ‘Mary read the book that John would read (in the past).’
    ‘Mary read the book that John may/will read (in the future).’

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48 In Shin (1988, p. 220), –un is represented as –ESS-N for descriptive purposes, with some evidence in
support of the assumed origin –ess-nun.

49 The overt past tense form with the prospective relativiser –ess-ul is also possible with the meaning of
conjecture: e.g., Mary-nun [John-i $\varepsilon$ ilk-$O_j$-$\varepsilon$-$ul$] chay-ul ilk-$\varepsilon$-$ta$. ‘Mary read the book John might
have read.’ See more similar examples in noun complements in (15).
Shin (1988, p. 218) states that the classical practice of treating the three sets of relativisers –un, –nun, and –ul as the complementisers that indicate past, present, and the future time reference is not only an oversimplification, but a misinterpretation in several aspects: (i) The so-called past complementiser –un can be the perfective (see (13a)); (ii) the so-called present complementiser –nun may refer to the present or the past according to the matrix tense (see (13b)) or the definite future as in nayil ka-nun salam ‘a/the person who is going tomorrow’; and (iii) the so-called future complementiser –ul is not a future marker but a predictive or prospective modal as in cikum ka-l salam ‘the person who may be going now’, or Mary-nun ecey ikl-ul chayk-ul onul ilk-ess-ta. ‘Today Mary read the book, which she was supposed to read yesterday’.

I agree with Shin in this matter, and I call these three relativisers –un, –nun, and –ul perfective, progressive and prospective complementisers, respectively. This not only describes the dual interpretations of tense in relative clauses well, but also sheds light on why Korean adjectives do not co-occur with –nun. Adjectives cannot be progressive (e.g., in English, Someone is beautifulling/bigging/talling is inconceivable too). The perfective relativiser –un yields present tense descriptive meaning with adjectives, and this parallels what the perfective aspect –ess does for some resultative verbs. (See the data (8) and (9).) This also explains why some other forms do not exist in Korean. For example, the lack of -ko iss-un (progressive–perfective relativiser) and iss-un tongan (exist–perfective relativiser while (duration)) can be well explained by the conflict of contradictory concepts between progressiveness and perfectiveness, and perfectiveness and the duration of time, respectively. (See (17a) and (20a) for this point.)

4.2 Noun Complements

The structure of noun complements is identical to that of relative clauses in Korean, and tense in noun complements is similar to that of relative clauses, except that certain bound nouns are fixed with one or more relativisers. Ko (1989, p. 438) classifies three groups of idiomatic expressions, according to the relativiser they take. The following table replicates Ko’s data:
Note that here, similar to relative clauses, the majority of idiomatic expressions with the prospective –ul may freely take the past tense –ess, generally with the meaning of

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50 A classification like this seems to be too strict since some expressions, except the ones with the perfective relativiser -un, take more than one relativiser. For example, tongan ‘while (duration)’; mwulye ‘about time’ and kyengwu(ey) ‘if …’ may take both –nun and –ul; and –cwul/kes-ul alta/moluta can take all three relativisers.
conjecture: e.g., cal hay-ss-ul cwul a-n-ta. ‘I know (you) did it well.’; cal hay-ss-ul li-ka epsta. ‘There is no way he did it well.’; ku-ka hay-ss-ul svu isssta. ‘It is possible that he did it.’; ku-ka hay-ss-ul kyengwu(ey) ‘if he did it’; ku-ka hay-ss-ul thek-i epsta. ‘There is no way he did it.’

Now I will investigate some cases with the bound nouns swu and cwul as in –ul swu issta/epsta ‘be able/unable to …’, –ul cwul alta/moluta51 ‘know/don’t know how to …’ or ‘know/don’t know the fact that …’, and with the temporal nouns ttay or cek-ey ‘when’, mwulyep-ey ‘about time’ or tongan ‘while (duration).

(15)  a. hankwuk-ey ka-Øi-l swu iss-Øi-eyo.
   Korea-to go-ProsRL possibility exist-Decl
   ‘(I) am able to go to Korea.’
   b. hankwuk-ey ka-Øi-l swu iss-essi-eyo.
   ‘(I) was able to go to Korea.’
   c. hankwuk-ey ka-Øi-l swu iss-Øi-ul ke-ye.
   ‘(I) will be able to go to Korea.’

As shown in (15), the interpretation of the null tense in –ul swu issta/epsta is always anaphoric to the matrix tense, while that of cwul/kes-ul alta/moluta can be either anaphoric or deictic as in (16):

(16)  a. na-n swuyengha-Øi/j-l cwul moll-assi-eyo.
   I-Top swim-ProsRL how to don’t know-Past-Decl
   ‘I didn’t know how to swim.’
   ‘I didn’t know (the fact that) we would swim.’
   b. na-n ney-ka mikwuk-ey ka-Øi/j-n cwul/kes-ul moll-assi-e.
   I-Top you-Nom US-to go-PerfRL the fact don’t know-Past-Decl
   ‘I didn’t know that you had/have gone to the United States.’
   c. na-n ney-ka mikwuk-ey ka-Øi/j-nun cwul/kes-ul moll-assi-e.
   ‘I didn’t know that you were/are going to the United States.’
   d. na-n ney-ka mikwuk-ey ka-Øi/l cwul/kes-ul moll-assi-e.
   ‘I didn’t know that you would go to the United States (in the past).’

51 Note that this can be another pair of homophonous expressions which exhibit different tense phenomena. The overt past tense or all three relativisers can be used only with the meaning of ‘know/don’t know the fact …’, not with the meaning of ‘know/don’t know how to …’. See (16) for this point.
‘I didn’t know that you will go to Korea (in the future).’
The dual tense interpretations of all the sentences in (16) are possible since the null tense in a relative clause is optionally co-indexed with the matrix tense (Shin 1988, pp. 238-41). When a tense in a relative clause is co-indexed with the matrix tense it is anaphoric, but it is deictic when it is not co-indexed with the matrix tense. Note here in (16) the anaphoric interpretation of tense is past like the matrix tense, while a deictic interpretation is always non-past (present or future). Consider the following more expressions of cwul moluta ‘do not know the fact that …’:

(17) a. na-n ney-ka po-ko iss-Øi/j-un* cwul moll-assi-e.
    I-Top you-Nom watch-Prog PerfRL not know-Past-Decl
    ‘I didn’t know you were watching.’
b. na-n ney-ka po-ko iss-Øi/j-nun cwul moll-assi-e.
    I-Top you-Nom watch-Prog-ProgRL not know-Past-Decl
    ‘I didn’t know you are/were watching.’
c. na-n ney-ka po-ko iss-Øi/j-ul cwul moll-assi-e.
    I-Top you-Nom watch-Prog-ProsRL not know-Past-Decl
    ‘I didn’t know you will/would be watching.’

Notice that in (17a) po-ko iss-un is not acceptable. The ungrammaticality of (17a) is due to the conflict of progressiveness and perfectiveness. On the other hand, a simple verb like kata ‘to go’ is not restricted in this way. Compare (16b) with (17a) for this point.

4.3 Temporal Phrases

Temporal phrases in Korean also have a structure identical to relative clauses. The use of the prospective complementiser –ul is fixed with ttay or cek ‘when’, so neither –un ttay nor –nun ttay is possible. The overt past tense –ess before –ul ttay is marginally accepted in emphatic speech, while the null tense form sounds more natural. See (18a) and (18b) for this point. Notice that only with the locomotive verbs (kata ‘to go’ and ota ‘to come’) can the perfective aspect –ess be used with a perfective meaning. Compare (18c) and (18d) for this point:

(18) a. nay-ka hankwuk-ey iss-Ø/ess*–ul ttay namca chinkwu-ka manh-assi-e yo.
I-Nom Korea-in exist-Nonpast/Past when boyfriend-Nom many-Past-Decl
‘When I was in Korea, I had many boyfriends.’

b. na-nun mikwuk-eysa kongpwuha-Ø/ss*-l cek-ey, kyelhonhay-ss-ss-ss.
I-Top US-in study-Nonpast/Past when-Time, marry-Past-Decl
‘I got married when I studied in the US.’

c. hankwuk-ey ka-ss-Ø-ul ttay mana-n salam
Korea-to go-Perf-ProsRL when meet-PerfRL person
‘The person whom I met when I was in Korea.’

d. hankwuk-ey ka-Ø-l ttay manna-n salam
Korea-to go-ProsRL meet-PerfRL person
‘The person whom I met when I was going to Korea (perhaps at an airport or in
an airplane, etc.).’

–ul mwulyep-ey ‘about when’ is a set expression, while –nun mwulyep-ey can be
tolerated as well. Rarely, as shown in (19b), the perfective –ess may come before the
prospective relativiser –ul (not with the progressive –nun) with the meaning of
perfective. So, in (19b) the time indicated is after sunset, while it is around sunset in
(19a):

sun-Nom set-ProsRL/ProgRL about he-Nom visit-Past-Decl
‘He visited me when the sun was about to set.’

b. hay-ka ci-ess-Øi-ul mwulyep-ey ku-ka chaca o-assi-ta.
sun-Nom set-Perf-ProsRL about he-Nom visit-Past-Decl
‘He visited me after the sun set (lit., ... the sun had set).’

tongan ‘during (duration)’ takes both the progressive and the prospective relativisers, but
not the perfective relativiser. It might be due to the meaning conflict between the two
morphemes—the duration of time and perfectiveness. The perfective
–ess cannot co-occur with the progressive –nun, but it may co-occur with the prospective
–ul. Here, definitely –ul does not have any future meaning but it is simply a modification
suffix.

(20) a. nay-ka yeki eps-Ø*/nun/id tongan, cal iss-ess-ss?
I-Nom here does not exist-PerfRL*/ProgRL/ProsRL while well exist-Past-Q
‘How were you while I wasn’t here?’

b. *nay-ka yeki eps-Ø-nun/ul tongan, cal iss-Ø-ela.*
   I-Nom here does not exist-ProgRL/ProsRL while well exist-Imp
   ‘Take care of yourself while I am not here.’

c. *nay-ka naka-ss-nun* tongan, mwe hay-ss-ni?
   I-Nom go out-Perf-ProgRL while what do-Past-Q
   ‘What did you do while I went out?’

d. *nay-ka naka-ss-ul tongan, mwe hay-ss-ni?*
   I-Nom go out-Perf-ProsRL while what do-Past-Q
   ‘What did you do while I went out?’

Note that the temporal nouns *ttay/cek, mwulyep* and *tongan* may take the perfective –*ess* only with the prospective relativiser –*ul*, but there is no meaning of conjecture like other cases of adnominal structures.

5. Summary

The grammaticality of conjunctive clauses in Korean is clear for determining which suffixes may (or may not) take the overt past tense in embedded clauses. As Shin (1988) maintains, the null tense phenomenon in conjunctive clauses in Korean can be well described by the temporality feature of conjunctive suffixes. In this paper, we have seen Shin’s claim is well supported by the data including those involving many homophonous pairs of suffixes. However, there is a minor exceptional case – i.e., the non-temporal causal –*ese* ‘because, since’, which does not allow the overt past tense –*ess*, while it takes the conjecture modal –*keyss*. Even when the function of –*ese* has been changed from temporal to non-temporal, its embedded tense behaviour stays in its original form. Shin’s distinction between the perfective aspect and the past tense and dual interpretations of an embedded null tense by optional co-indexing play a crucial role in the descriptions of various tense and aspect phenomena in Korean, especially for the interpretations of tense in relative clauses.
Adnominal constructions with non-temporal bound nouns, in general, may take the perfective –ess with the prospective relativiser –ul with the meaning of conjecture, whereas there is no such conjecture meaning in temporal phrases which takes – ess.

The relativisers –un, –nun, and –ul should be treated as complementisers which denote perfective, progressive and prospective aspects, respectively. This not only describes the interpretations of tense in relative clauses well, but also sheds light on why certain combinations of linguistic forms are impossible in the language.

References


The meanings and functions of particle ‘-e’ in Korean

Park, Jun Seok

1. Introduction

This paper examines the meanings and functions of adverbial case marker ‘-e’ in Korean. The case marker ‘-e’ has multiple meanings and functions in Korean which have been highlighted in studies in relation to semantics and morphology.\(^{52}\) Hence, scholarly articles, books, and dictionaries provide a rich literature to study this adverbial case marker. However, it is often difficult to identify the obvious meanings and functions of ‘-e’ reported in these studies. Because these studies are studies for some morphs that are related with ‘-e’ both morphologically and semantically. That is, these studies are not solely for the system of case markers of ‘-e’ which is considered for adverbial case marker in Korean.

The purpose of this paper is to report the meanings and functions of particle ‘-e’, which have been included in the semantic case markers, on the basis of morphological, syntactic, semantic, and discourse properties. The existing studies on ‘-e’ looked at the semantic roles of ‘NP + -e’ and relation between ‘-e’ and a subsequent predicate in sentences. The case markers and postpositions, however, are similar grammatical categories as the final endings, that is, they can be classified as endings in the final analysis. The ending phrases have one ending or more than one as the head of their own ending phrases, and these ending phrases are not only syntactic forms but also discourse forms (Tae Lyong Seo, 1996, 2000). So this paper takes the stand that the particles, similar with endings, are not simply a combination of noun and particle that they have the functions of ending a phrase or sentence, but also of connecting the next constituents of the phrase, sentence or discourse in locution.

\(^{52}\) See Ji Yong Park (2005) and Ji Su Lee (2007) for the literature review of ‘-e’.
This paper concentrates on the analysis of the semantic roles of ‘NP + -e’ and the structures of ‘NP + -e # V(erb)s’, in details to review 1) the meanings of ‘-e’ in Korean dictionaries and the studied articles as far, 2) the meanings and functions of ‘-e’ with the replacement forms, for examples, ‘-eul/reul’ (accusative), ‘-(eu)lo’ (allative/directional), ‘-eseobuteo, -egeseobuteo’ (ablative) etc., 3) the meanings and functions of morphological forms for ‘NP + -e’ and the extended ‘NP + -e’ forms as like ‘-eseo’, ‘-ege’, ‘-egeseo’, ‘-edaga’, ‘-eya’ etc., and finally, to reveal 4) the meanings and functions of the semantic or discourse expressions of the adverbial forms of ‘taemune’, and the idiomatic phrases of ‘-e bihamyeon’, ‘-e daehayeol’, ‘-e daehan’, ‘-e ttara’, ‘-e uihayeol’, ‘-e uihamyeon’, ‘-e gwanhayeon’, ‘-e gwanhan’, ‘-e ttareumyeom’, ‘-e bihamyeon’, ‘-edo bughago’ etc. Based on the analysis of data, this study presents the argument that when we analyze the ending phrases, we have to focus on not only these ending phrases but also their leading and subsequent discourse expressions at the same time.

2. The particle system of ‘-e’ in Korean

2.1. The grammaticalization form of ‘-e’

This section presents the list of ‘-e’ and the particles that are related with ‘-e’in Korean, morphologically and semantically, in (1):

(1) a. Case markers
   b. Postpositions: ‘-bakke’.
   c. Adverbs: ‘taemune’, ‘deokbune’ etc.

We can find that there are several types of grammatical units, i.e., particles - case
markers and postposition, adverbs, and phrases, which are related to ‘-e’ as it has been shown in (1). Although the objective of this paper is to focus on the analysis of the semantic roles of ‘-e’, it is important that we understand the morphs that include ‘-e’, for example, agentive case markers ‘-eseo’ in (1a), postpositions ‘-bakke’ (‘only’) in (1b), adverbs ‘taemune’ (‘because’), ‘deokbune’ (‘thanks to’) in (1d), idiomatic phrases (1e).

Firstly, the example of agentive case markers ‘-eseo’ have been shown in (2).

(2) a. uri ban-i igi-eoss-da.
   our class-NM win-PST-FE
   ‘Our class won.’

b. uri ban-eseo igi-eoss-da.
   our class-NM win-PST-FE
   ‘Our class won.’

c. *uri ban-i-eseo igi-eoss-da.

Agentive case marker ‘-eseo’, which is also called ‘impersonal oblique subject’ (Martin, 1992: 504), serves the function of agent in the position of subject in (2b), ‘-eseo’ can be replaced by nominative case marker ‘-i/ga’ in (2a), however, it cannot be combined with ‘-i/ga’ at the same position, for instance, in (2c). The ‘-eseo’ can be used to reveal an impersonal, collective noun as the agent. But ‘-eseo’ is originally a locative case marker, so this usage as an agentive case marker is treated as a derived function of dynamic locative ‘-eseo’. Other nominative markers which are related with ‘-e’ morphologically and semantically are the HONORIFICific markers ‘-kkeseo’ in (3a); ‘-ege’ and ‘-hante’, used as dative and allative (or directional) as in (3b).

(3) a. halmeoni-kkkeeso/*ga o-si-ess-da.
   grandmother-NM come-SH-PST-FE

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‘The granmoter came.’

b. don-eun Yeonghui-ege/hante/ga mani iss-da.

money-TP Yeonghui-DAT/DAT/NM lots to-be-FE.

‘As for money, Yeonghui has lots of money’

The honorific markers ‘-kkeseo’ cannot be replaced by nominative case marker ‘-i/ga’ in (3a), because ‘-i/ga’ and ‘-kkeseo’ are opposed to HONORIFICic in HONORIFICic system. The ‘-ege’ and ‘-hante’ usually are used as dative and allative in modern Korean. However, this paper insists that ‘-ege’ and ‘-hante’ are originated from static locative and the usage, also, is extended as nominative in (3b) and dative and allative (see section 3.2.).

When NP is followed by ‘-e’, ‘NP-e’ becomes a particle phrase and it is possible to recover the ‘NP-e’ constituent into NP and ‘-e’. There, however, are some forms that we cannot reanalyze and recover the original forms. We can call those forms grammaticalized forms of ‘NP-e’, examples are showed in (4).

(4) a. bakkat/bakk-i dareu-da.

outside-NM different-FE.

‘The outside is different.’

b. mit-eul saram-eun neo-bakke/*neo-bakk eops-da.

believe-RL people-TP you-alone are not-FE

‘It is you alone that I can believe people.’

c. neo ttaemun-e/*taemun oneul-do neuj-ess-da.

you Adv/because today-PP/also late-PST-FE

‘Today is also late because of you.’

d. deokbun-e/*deokbun jal jinae-eoss-seupnida.

Adv/thanks well to-be-PST-SFE

‘Thanks (to you, I) be well.’

e. ‘V-gi-ey’ (‘as, because’).

f. ‘N-e gwanhayeo’ (‘about’), ‘N-e bihayeo’ (‘compared to’), ‘N-e uihayeo’ (‘according to’), ‘N-e daehayeo’ (‘regards for’), ‘N-e ttara’ (‘per’).

g. ‘N-edo bulguhago’ (‘although’).

The ‘bakkat/bakk-i’ in (4a) combines ‘bakkat/bakk’ (tr. ‘outside’) and ‘i’. But we cannot
establish a similar combination in (4b) ‘bakke’ as it combines ‘bakk’ and ‘-e’; the form has already been grammaticalized by noun ‘bakk’ (‘outside’) and ‘-e’, which is a postposition marker in the particle system of Korean. So we can analyze ‘neo-bakke’ as pronoun ‘neo’ (‘you’) and postposition ‘bakke’ (‘only’) in (4b). The ‘taemune’ in (4c) and ‘deokbune’ in (4d) are also passed through grammaticalization and became adverb. There are also some forms already in processing of grammaticalization, and we can call those constituents as idiomatic phrases in (4e, f, g).

2.2. The differences of disjunctive particles and adverbial case markers

The ‘-e’ is, sometimes, used as a disjunctive particle in a sentence, and this usage has been classified as adverbial case marker in Korean dictionaries\(^{54}\) and also by many researchers. The use of ‘-e’ can be read as the contracted form from ‘-edaga’ (‘succession’)\(^{55,56}\) and it is used as not conjunction but an adverbial case marker. The processing of contraction from ‘-edaga’ to ‘-e’ can be shown as: ‘-e’$\rightarrow$’-eda’$\rightarrow$’-edaga’$\rightarrow$’-e + -daga’ in Korean language history. The meaning of ‘addition’ of ‘-e’ is shown in (5).

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(5) \begin{array}{llll}
a. & \text{bap-e} & \text{gogi-e} & \text{jantteuk} & \text{meok-eoss-da}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{rice-ADM} \quad \text{meat-ADM} \quad \text{fully} \quad \text{eat-PST-FE}
\]

‘I ate rice and meat fully.’

b. bap-eda gogi-eda jantteuk meok-eoss-da.
b. bap-edaga gogi-edaga jantteuk meok-eoss-da.

The usage of ‘-e’ is generally considered as disjunctive particle in (5a). We, however, can reanalyze the form of (5a) into ‘-eda’ in (5b), ‘-edaga’ in (5c).\(^{57}\) The usage of ‘-e’ in

\(^{54}\) The ‘-e’ is explained as conjunctions in «Pyojungogeodaejaeon» and «Geumseonghangugeodaejaeon», but another dictionary that is, «Urimalkeunsajeon» considered this usage as ‘jariho’, that is, case marker.

\(^{55}\) We also can find the meaning of ‘-e’, which is extended from static locative at another opinion. e.g. swul-ey pap-eycalmekta’having a good meal with wine and rice’(Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 335).

\(^{56}\) The ‘-daga’ is also used as conjunction ending. It was reanalyzed as final ending ‘-da’, final ending ‘-a’, and final ending ‘-ga’, and has the meaning of ‘appyohyeon-eulwangyeolha-go dareunpyohyeon-eul dui-e yeongyeol’(tr. ‘completing the preceding locution and to succeed another locution afterwards’; the translation is done by the author) (Tae Lyong Seo, 1998: 449).

\(^{57}\) The contracted form is also explained at «Geumseonghangugeodaejaeon». e.g. gogi-e(daga) sulkkajieomekeoseoda. ‘(I) ate (a meal) and meats in addition and drank alcohols in final’. We can
(5a) is generally explained as conjunction particle but we consider the ‘-e’ in (5a) as the contracted form of ‘-edaga’, which is a compound particle.  

3. The adverbial case markers of ‘-e’

3.1. The introduction of adverbial case markers of ‘-e’

In this section I make an attempt to answer the question: why are there various meanings and functions of ‘-e’? First, it is difficult to divide ‘-e’ into a fixed category, that is, either into a static locative form, or a contracted form found as a surface form in a sentence. Second, it is difficult to classify the basic form and the transferred form of the meaning and function of ‘-e’. Third, it is required that we divide the basic meaning and extended meaning and make a group of basic and extended forms separately.

We, first of all, have to classify the basic form of ‘-e’ and the surface form of ‘-e’, which is related with ‘-e’, morphologically. According to the perspective of morphological analysis, the surface form, sometimes, can be recovered and reanalyzed by compound form originally. This surface form of ‘-e’ may contain different meaning and function opposed to the basic form, and it is required that we fix the same meaning and function of surface form of ‘-e’ in a sentence.

In Korean history, the adverbial case marker ‘-e’ is a descendant from ‘-e’, ‘-sgui’, ‘-egui’ in Old Korean. These forms are also used as same case markers in modern Korean. But the form of ‘sgui’ and ‘-egui’ of Old Korean is changed into ‘-kke’ and ‘-ege’ in modern Korean. The basic form of ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, and ‘-kke’, which function as static locative, are also used as dative, allative, function, instrumental, so, confusions may arise.

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58 This paper uses some of the notions differently compared to previous studies, for example, simple particles cannot be analyzed any more, that is, simple particles, for examples, the nominative case marker ‘-i/ga’, the accusative case marker ‘-eul’ etc., are one unit of morpheme, that is, a unique morpheme. The complex particles, that is, ‘-ineun’ is analyzed as the nominative case marker ‘-i’ and topic postposition ‘-neun’ simply, and the accompany morph also can omitted and the meaning of particles keep the original meaning of particle in ‘Yeongsuik-inenahaklyo-e ganda’ (‘As for Yeongsuk, she goes to school’), can be analyzed by immediate constituent simply. The compound particles, that is, ‘-eoya’ is reanalyzed as ‘-e’, which is the adverbial case marker denoting ‘time’ and postposition ‘-ya’ denoting ‘emphasis’, cannot analyzed by immediate constituent simply and if those constituents are divided into separately, the meaning of compound particles has disappeared and the usage is non grammatical or changed in sentences, but these morphs can be analyzed by the way of reanalysis only.
in relation to distinguish meaning from function resulting in language users not being able to distinguish between the basic form and transferred form. Other meanings of ‘-e’, are denoted by the meanings of ‘time, proportion, cause, age, reference, boundary, and comparison etc.’ in sentences, which has been originated from static locative\(^{59}\). The system of ‘-e’ and the form related with ‘-e’ has been shown in (6).

(6) a. Simple particles
   i. Static locative: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’.
   b. Compound particles
      i. Dynamic locative: ‘-eseo’.
      iv. Succession: ‘-edaga/eda/e’.
   c. Transferred function
      iii. Function: ‘-e’, ‘(-eu)loseo/(eu)lo’.
      iv. Instrumental: ‘-e’, ‘- (eu) losseo/(eu) lo’.
   d. Extended meaning
      i. Time: ‘-e’.
      ii. Proportion: ‘-e’.
      iii. Cause: ‘-e’.
      iv. Age: ‘-e’.
      v. Reference: ‘-e’.
      vi. Boundary: ‘-e’.
      vii. Comparison: ‘-e’.

The basic meaning and function of ‘-e’ is compatible with static locative and dynamic locative in Korean. The static locative ‘-e’, however, has different forms with dynamic

\(^{59}\) We can see some examples of ‘static locative particles’ of ‘-e’ which are used as time, age, proportion, reference, agent, cause, and addition. (Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 335).
locative ‘eseo’. The ‘eseo’ is analyzed with ‘-e’ and the fossilized morpheme ‘-seo < si- + -eo’.  

Cheolsu-NM Seoul-SL/in live-FE
‘Cheolsu lives in Seoul.’
Cheolsu-NM Seoul-DL/in live-FE
‘Cheolsu lives in Seoul.’

The static location in (7a) and dynamic locative in (7b) is, usually, translated as ‘at, in, on’ in English. It is difficult to find difference, except for the nuance that ‘-e salda’ gives the feeling of ‘static’ living and ‘-eseo salda’ that of ‘dynamic’ living (Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 336), between the static location and dynamic locative. The ‘-eseo’ is also used as source in (8).

Jihwan-AN-TP school-SC/from come-PST-FE
‘Jihwan came from school.’
b. ibeon hakk-neun Kim seonsang-nim-ege(eseo)/hante(eseo)
hanguego-leul
baeu-nda.  
this semester-TP Kim teacher-HS-SC/from Korean-AC learn-SFE
‘For this semester, (I) learn Korean from teacher Kim.’
c. i pyeonji-ga halmeoni-kkeseo/kke o-ass-da.

60 The analysis and historical development process of ‘-eseo’ is as bellows, ‘-e(Final Ending) # si-(Aux., ‘to be’)-eo(Final Ending) > ‘-eseo’(contracted form or particle) > ‘-eseo’ (dynamic locative).
61 Source is also called by ‘source-oriented locative particles’ and this is combined with the verbs ‘ga-’(‘go’), ‘o-’(‘come’), ‘bat-’(‘receive’)(Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 335).
62 ‘Another phenomenon is the alternation, without much semantic variation, between hantey-se/eykey-se ‘from’ and ‘hantey/eykey’. This occurs when the nominal has a source meaning and the verb is transitive such as paywuta ‘learn’, pilita ‘borrow’, pat.ta ‘receive’, tut.ta ‘hear’, and tanghata ‘undergo’. It seems that hantey/eykey in such constructions are contracted form of hantey-se/eykey-se. When hantey/eykey are used as agentive … however, such alternation is not allowed. (Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 337)
This letter came from grandmother.

The source include of ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’ and ‘-hanteseo/hante’m which are analyzed as static locative: ‘-e, -ege, -kke, -hante’ and ‘seo’ (‘to be’). The reason of keeping the meaning of source from ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, ‘-hanteseo/hante’ is based on ‘-seo’. We also can find another particles, that is, ‘-ege, -kke, -hante’, which are used as static locative particles.

(9) a. don-i hakkyo-e iss-da.
   money-NM school-SL to be-FE
   ‘The money is at school.’

b. don-i Cheolsu-ege/kke/hante iss-da.
   money-NM Cheolsu-SL to be-FE
   ‘The money is at Cheolsu.’

c. don-i abeonim-kke iss-da.
   money-NM father-SL to be-FE
   ‘The money is at father.’

There are several distinctions among ‘-ege, -kke, -hante’ in (9). The distinction between ‘-e’ and ‘ege’ is made by [±ANIMATE] in (9a, b). The ‘-e’ is attached NP that is related with [-ANIMATE], and ‘-ege’ is followed by NP with [-ANIMATE]. The ‘-ege’ and ‘-hante’, which are usually used for spoken style, is followed by NP with [-HONORIFIC] in (9b); however, the ‘-kke’ has only appeared at NP with [+HONORIFIC] in (9c). The ‘-eseo, -egeseo, -kkeseo, -hanteseo’ are used as source and ablative at the same time: to avoid confusion of source and ablative in sentence, the proposition ‘-buteo’ is attached with source ‘-eseo, -egeseo, -kkeseo, -hanteseo’ and then made into ablative ‘-eseobuteo/eseo, -egeseobuteo/egeseo, -kkeseobuteo/kkeseo, -hanteseobuteo/hanteseo’in (10).

    Cheolsu-NM school-ABL/from come by feet-FE
    ‘Cheolsu came from school by feet.’

b. i pyeonji-ga Yeonghui-egeseo(buteo)/hanteseo(buteo) o-ass-da.
   this letter-NM Yeonghui-ABL/from come-PST-FE
‘This letter came from Yeonghui.’
c. igeos-eun seonsang-nim-kses eo(buteo) bat-ass-da.
this-TP teacher-HS-ABL/from receive-PST-FE

‘(I) received this from teacher.’

Discussions on ‘edaga, among compound particles that includes ‘-e’ has been done in
former section (see 2.2.). The other compound particles, ‘-eya’ and ‘-eseoya’ that include
‘-e’, have been shown in (11).

(11) a. oneul-eya/*e neo-leul mana-neunguna!
today-ADM you-AC meet-SFE
‘Today, (I) meet you (finally)!’
b. oneul-eseoya/*eseo i il-eul kkeuthnae-ass-da.
today-ADM this work-AC finish-PST-FE
‘Today, (I) finish this work (finally).’

It is difficult to confirm whether ‘-eya’ and ‘-eseoya’ stand between postpositions or
adverbial case markers. But ‘-eya’ and ‘-eseoya’ can be reanalyzed as ‘-e’ and ‘-eseo’
denoting postpositions ‘-ya’, and ‘-ya’ is omitted among ‘-eya’ and ‘-eseoya’. So this
paper considers ‘-eya’ and ‘-eseoya’ as not complex particles but compound particles
and have a dimension of ‘emphasis’.

3.2. The analysis of meaning and function of ‘-e’

In order to fix the basic meaning of ‘-e’, previous studies have included the surface
meaning of ‘-e’, which is a contracted form from complex particles, as well as basic
meaning of simple particle, ‘-e’. So we have to differentiate between surface form of ‘-e’
which is contracted from complex particles and the simple particle of ‘-e’ at first. it is
also important that we understand the morphology and syntax of ‘-e’ as discussed above
(see section 3.1.). Now we attempt to rearrange the meaning and function of ‘-e’ based on
morphological analysis as bellows,63

63 We can see the system of static locative, dynamic locative, dative, goal, and source in Korean. I
summarize this system as a table in Ho Min Sohn(2001: 333-335).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essive ‘at, in, on’</th>
<th>Dative ‘to’</th>
<th>Allative ‘to’</th>
<th>Source ‘from’</th>
<th>Ablative ‘from’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eso</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>eso</td>
<td>esobuteo/eso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ege</td>
<td>ege</td>
<td>ege</td>
<td>egeseo/egeseo</td>
<td>egesobuteo/egeseo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kke</td>
<td>kkeseo</td>
<td>kke</td>
<td>kkeseo/kke</td>
<td>kkeseobuteo/kkeseo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hante</td>
<td>hante</td>
<td>hante</td>
<td>hanteseo/hante</td>
<td>hantesobuteo/hanteseo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teoreo</td>
<td>(eu)</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Static locative ‘at, in, on’</th>
<th>Dynamic locative ‘at, in, on’</th>
<th>Dative/Goal ‘to’</th>
<th>Source ‘from’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eykey [formal, animate]</td>
<td>eykeyse [formal, animate]</td>
<td>eykey [formal, animate]</td>
<td>eykeyse [formal, animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkey [deferential]</td>
<td>kkey [deferential]</td>
<td>kkey [deferential]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are dative, allative, and instrumental function that are transferred from ‘-e’.

Datives share the form of ‘-e’, ‘-ge’, and ‘-ke’ with static locative and allative. There are also other morphs for dative, e.g., ‘-hante’, ‘-deoreo’, and ‘-bogo’, which are mostly used in spoken discourse.

I-TP flower pot-DAT water-AC give-PST-FE
‘I watered to flower pot.’

b. na-neun Cheolsu-ege mul-eul ju-eoss-da.
The ‘hwabun’ and ‘Cheolsu’ are interpreted as beneficent, and are differentiated by
\([\pm \text{ANIMATE}]\) of NP in (12). The dative ‘-e’, ‘-ege’ can also be interpreted as agentive
in (13).

(13) a. doduk-i gyeongchal-e/ege/egeseo japhi-eoss-da.

thief-NM police/police officer-DAT be caught-PST-FE

‘The thief was caught by police’

b. doduk-i gyeongchalgwan-*e/ege/egeseo japhi-eoss-da.

thief-NM police officer-DAT be caught-PST-FE

‘The thief was caught by police office’


Cheolsu-NM grandmother-DAT be scolded-PST-FE

‘Cheolsu was severely scolded by grandmother.’

The static locative, dative, and allative, sometimes, share the form of ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’,
and ‘hante’ in sentences, and static locative, dative, allative, and source also share the
form of ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘hante’, these sharing of forms may cause confusion of usage
of static locative, dative, and source, for instance, in (13). The ‘NP-e’ and ‘NP-ege’ are
also divided by \([\pm \text{ANIMATE}]\) of NP in (13a, b), the ‘gyeongchal’ means both ‘police
station’ or ‘police officer’, so ‘gyeongchal-e’ can be functioned as a static locative, but it
can also function as dative in (13a). The ‘gyeongchagwan’ means only ‘police officer’,
so ‘gyeongchagwan’ followed by dative ‘-ege’, cannot followed by static locative ‘-e’ in
(13b). The ‘NP-ege’ and ‘NP-kke’, also, are classified as \([\pm \text{HONORIFIC}]\) of NP in
(13c). The source ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘-hante’ are contracted from ‘-egeseo’, ‘-kkeseo’,
and ‘-hanteseo’, and can possibly be confusing if used in a sentence; however, we can
still differentiate between dative and source because source cannot be used as agentive in
(13).

The ‘-e’ and ‘-ege’ used as allative as well as dative, on the other hand, the ‘-(eu)lo’
is developed to avoid confusions with static locative in (14).

(14) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e ga-nda.

Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu goes to school.’

b. Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege ga-nda.
Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu goes to Yeonghui.’

c. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-lo ga-nda.
Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu goes to school.’

d. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-leul ga-nda.
Cheolsu-NM school-TP go-SFE
‘Cheolsu goes to, as for, school.’

The allative is, usually, combined with ‘ga-’(‘go’), ‘o-’(‘come’) and so on. We can also find accusative marker ‘-(eu)/leul’ used to denote allative, because it means ‘emphasis’ for goal in allative.64

The ‘-e’, ‘ege’, ‘kke’, and ‘hante’ meant for static locative, are also used for dative and allative cases. The ‘-e’, ‘ege’, ‘kke’, and ‘hante’ of dative and allative is transferred form static locative, so we can find the differences among static locative, dative, and allative. Besides, we can find the syntactic difference between dative and allative in (15).

Cheolsu-NM flower-DAT water-ACC give-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu watered to flower.’
a’. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e ga-eoss-da.
Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu went to school.’
Cheolsu-NM flower-DAT water-ACC give-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu watered to flower.’
Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-ALT/to go-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu goes to Yeonghui.’
c. Cheolsu-ga hammeoni-kke don-eul deuri-eoss-da.

64 See Hong Pin Im (2007) for the discussion on topic marker of ‘-(eu)/leul’.
The dative case markers usually co-occurred with ditransitive or dative verbs as like ‘ju-
deuri-’(‘give’), ‘bonae-’(‘send’) etc., so these verbs need objects as in (15a, b, c). But allative case markers are combined with movement verbs as like ‘ga-’(‘go’) and ‘o-
(‘come’) etc., and these verbs need not a object in (15a', b', c').

Cheolsu-NM  school-ALT/to go-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu went to school.’

Cheolsu-NM  home-SC (school-ALT/to) go-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu went from home (to school).’

Cheolsu-NM  home-ABL (school-ALT/to) go-PST-FE
‘Cheolsu went from home (to school).’

The ‘-e’ and ‘-(eu)lo’ are combined with movement verbs shown in (16a). Movement verbs also can co-occur with ‘-eseo’ of source, as in (16b). This paper however, does not take a stand on basic sentence structure because we can still recover the original sentence structure, that is, target or goal as like ‘hakkyo-lo/e’ (‘to school’) in (16b). So we can find ‘-eseo’ of source which has co-occurred with movement verbs directly. This phenomenon, also, can be applied to ablative and allative case markers as shown in (16c).

The ‘-(eu)lo’, is generally used for allative, but sometimes it is also used for function or instrumental. There may arise confusions in relation to establish the meaning for function, instrumental, and allative, as well as other forms that are developed with ‘-(eu)loseo’ which can be used for function and is analyzed as ‘-(eu)lo’ and ‘-seo’, and ‘-(eu)losseo’ which is used for instrumental and is analyzed ‘-(eu)lo’ and ‘-sseo’ in (17).

(17) a. geu-ga  banjang-eulo(seo)/e  ppophi-eoss-da.
geu-NM  banjang-FC/e be elected-PST-FE.
‘He elected as a monitor at his class.’

b. geu-ga hangugeo gyosu-lo(seo)*e ilha-yeoss-da.
keu-NM Korean language professor-FC work-PST-FE

‘He worked as korean language professor.’

The function of ‘-(eu)lo’ can be reduced to ‘-(eu)lo’ or can be replaced by ‘-e’ in (17a), but there is an exception, which is, ‘-(eu)lo’ cannot be replaced by ‘-e’ in (17b). However if ‘-(eu)lo’ is followed by NP, which represents the meaning of ‘official responsibility’ or ‘position’ that are close to static locative, the ‘-e’ can be replaced by ‘-(eu)lo’ because the ‘-e’, basically, has a function of static location in (17a), but NP represents the meaning of ‘qualification’ for only those that are not related to static locative, the ‘-e’ cannot be replaced with ‘-(eu)lo’ in (17b). We can find similar phenomenon of instrumental in (18).

(18) a. uri-neun haepyoeth-eul(eusseo)/e os-eul malli-eoss-da.
We-TP sun shine-INS clothes to dry-PST-FE
‘we dried the clothes in the sun.’

b. geu uija-ga namu-lo(seo)*e mandeuleoji-eoss-da.
that chair-NM wood-INS be made-PST-FE
‘That chair is made by wood.’

The ‘-(eu)lo’ can be replaced with ‘-e’, which is followed by NP and related to static locative as shown in (18a), but NP here has only the meaning of instrumental, which does not have a meaning of static locative, the ‘-(eu)lo’ can be replaced by ‘-e’ in (18b). We discussed about ‘-e’ of transferring of meaning and function, which has a relation with static locative, from static locative into dative, allative, function, and instrumental. The dative, allative, function, and instrumental also be developed with their own morpheme presenting meaning and function, so some confusions are disappeared between ‘-e’ and another particles for them. We, however, have some examples are related with static locative and represent meaning of time, proportion, cause, age, reference, boundary, comparison, but we cannot fix relation of examples with static locative. This paper only suggests that these examples are extended from static locative, but cannot be confirmed about these examples are included at static locative, because these examples,
also, be shown the phenomenon of grammaticalization in (19).

(19) a. Time: Na-neun achim-e undong/achim undong-eul handa.65
   I-TP morning-ADM exercise/morning exercise-AC do-SFE
   ‘I have a exercise in the morning.’

   1,000won-ADM 2 unit-CO-SFE
   ‘It’s 2units per 1,000won.’

c. Cause: gamgi-e/ga/*gamgi-Ø geolli-da.66
   cold-ADM take-FE
   ‘Took cold.’

d. Age: halmeonim-kkeseneuneun yeodeun sal-e* yeodeun sal –Ø
   grandmother-AM-TP 80 years old-ADM
   dolagasi-eoss-seupnida.
   die-PST-SFE
   ‘The grandfather passed away at 80years old.’

e. Reference: igeos-eun geongang-e/ geongang-Ø joh-seupnida.
   this-TP health-ADM good-SFE
   ‘This is good for health.’

f. Boundary: poyudongmul-e*poyudongmul-Ø mueos-i iss-ji?
   mammal-ADM what-CP to be-FE
   ‘What does including for mammal ’

g. Comparison: geu abeoji-e* abeoji-Ø geu adeul-j-da.
   that father-ADM that son-CO-FE.
   ‘Like father, like son.’

When ‘-e’ is omitted or deleted at ‘NP-e’, the meaning of NP changes or it can be
deemed incorrect, as shown in (19). So we can conclude that these ‘NP-e’ have already

65 The ‘achim undong’ is not a compound noun but a complex of noun, which can be analyzed with
‘achim’ and ‘undong’, ‘means duplicately ‘a type of exercise of morning’ and ‘an exercise in the
morning’. But ‘achim- undong’ indicates only ‘an exercise in the morning’, which is focused on
‘time’, that is, ‘in the morning’, not another time.

66 The ‘-e’ in ‘Gamgi-e’, sometimes, can be omitted or substituted by nominative case marker ‘-ga’. So
when ‘-e’ is omitted in ‘Gamgi-e’, ‘Gamgi’ is incorrected, because the original meaning of ‘Gamgi-e’ is
dispeared. But we also find the omitted form, which is omitted form by nominative case marke ‘-ga’,
not by ‘Gamgi-e’.

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been grammaticalized as adverbs or quasi adverbs or another function indicators, because NP+-e cannot be analyzed by NP and ‘-e’.

4. Conclusion

This paper presented the meanings and functions of the adverbial case marker ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’ morphologically and semantically. First, the case marker ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’ were classified into simple particles, compound particles, transferred particles, and extended particles. Second, this paper grouped the function of ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’ as locative, dative, allative, source, and ablative. It was found that dative, sometimes, share functions with allative. Next, the locative was divided into static and dynamic locatives that are based on [±ANIMATE] and [±HONORIFIC]. The functions of static locative can be extended and transferred to dative, allative, instrumental, and function. Static locative, also, may function like agentive as subject in a sentence. Dynamic locative, however, can be transferred into source and functions besides being agentive in a sentence. The form of source is attached with ‘-buteo’, which is a form of postposition, and also the form of ablative that has a relation of compound particles with source. This paper concludes with a diagram to explain the relation of ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’ in diagram 1.
<Diagram 1. The relation of ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’>

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Section Five: Library
Serving from the sidelines – supporting Korean Studies at the Australian National University Library

Dorrington, Darrell

Overview

The Australian National University is a medium-sized multi-disciplinary university. As such, many of the courses which it offers includes elements which one might describe as having a connection to “Korean Studies” without it being specifically identified as belonging to a Korean Studies program. We also have a number of Korean Studies specialists, including five core faculty members (1 Professor, 1 Senior Lecturer, 1 Lecturer, 1 Associate Professor and 1 Tutor), plus two post-doctoral fellows and two visiting fellows. As far as students are concerned, in 2009, 46 ANU students were studying Korean as a coursework major along with 3 postgraduates. This year the PhD contingent has grown to 9.

The Korea-specific undergraduate program includes language, history, politics and gender studies while Korea also forms a sometimes significant part of other courses which cover broader topics, including economics, international relations, history, culture and more. Our university also has the added distinction of being a predominantly research-oriented institution with the undergraduate to research ratio being approximately 2:1, with research, generally speaking, commanding the lion’s share of our attention. However, in reality, undergraduate courses can at times command a greater proportion of our resources, both financial or in terms of staffing, so the library contribution to the dual teaching/research programs may vary.

Asian Studies has been a core component of the Australian National University’s academic endeavour ever since its inception in 1946. It was also a significant pursuit in its sister institution, the Canberra University College, with which it was amalgamated in 1960, and Korean Studies to a greater or lesser extent, always formed an integral part of both institutions’ research and teaching profile.

In comparison to the other major Asia-Pacific collections of China, Japan, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the ANU Korea collection has not been represented in the library staffing
profile with a dedicated area specialist. And unfortunate as this may be, in these straitened times, this situation is not likely to change in the near future, so the task of supporting Korean Studies at our institution has fallen to the China librarian.

This is not to say that other Asia specialists have not been able to make a positive contribution to the pursuit of Korean Studies at the ANU. My own Chinese studies, for example, have always incorporated a Korean element. Most Asia-Pacific studies students (and especially East Asian Studies) are exposed to a greater or lesser degree to Korea-related information or themes. The courses of such mentors as Dr. Ken Gardiner or Dr. John Caiger in the Asian Civilization courses at the ANU, which were compulsory for a student specialising in an Asian language, each incorporated material on Korea in both the classical and modern ages.

**Strategies**

The challenge for a non-specialist librarian is to enlist all means at his or her disposal to get across the task without actually having the linguistic or subject specialist knowledge to facilitate the process. In my experience, some of the strategies that have been helpful have been:

1. liaise closely with faculty members and researchers in identifying needs and opportunities in collection development. While academic recommendation is the major method of collection development at the ANU, academics often become preoccupied with their own teaching or research and it is important to work on the relationship by attending faculty seminars and functions and maximising the opportunity for liaison and exposure.

2. liaise closely with other colleagues in the region – and in this respect, having Mrs. Kim at Monash and Mrs. Park at the ANL have been invaluable, not to mention the “virtual” presence of a range of other colleagues in North America and elsewhere via other forums such as Eastlib, Asialib or H-ASIA. Monitoring and participating in such forums offers valuable assistance, specific guidance and ideas for collection development which might otherwise be unavailable.

3. Work closely with Gift and Exchange partners: this also helps alleviate another problem that plagues many tertiary institutions: our budget. Exchange partners are often the source of resources crucial to the academic endeavour. The ANU for example, has established valuable relations with the National Library of Korea, the National Assembly Library, the Academy of Korean Studies, the Korean Overseas Culture and Information
Service, the Korea Institute for National Unification and many others, as well as being a beneficiary of the invaluable support of the Korea Foundation (both for gift monographs and also for financial assistance in subscribing to online resources such as the DBpia and KRpia databases) and other bodies.

4. Take advantage of other staff members who may have the language skills to help you in your task. For example, we at the ANU have had the good fortune to have on staff Korean-speakers and by re-organizing a section’s work priorities or tasks it has been possible to deploy that person to process materials which has of necessity been put aside until such an opportunity has arisen. One method I have used is to identify online records or describe an item’s contents such that one can make a decision as to the relevance or otherwise of an item to the overall collection profile of one’s institution.

5. Take advantage of external funding to process and develop your collection. As mentioned above, the Korea Foundation is one such partner, but in the past, certain departments within the university have also offered funding to process material that they would like to see taken into the collection and this has enabled us to marshal staff and/or resources to complete the task.

Service

Our service and outreach to Korean Studies scholars at the ANU has consisted of several strategies:

1. We offer “Library Discovery Sessions” to first year students in which we cover general library-related topics and search strategies, followed by a “walk-around” to familiarise new students with the building(s), the collections, the services and the study spaces. My philosophy is that, if we do manage to attract a student to one of these early sessions, it often means that we then have them “for life” (or at least for the remainder of their academic life at the university)

2. We also offer vernacular language tours of the main undergraduate libraries in some of the Asian languages that we have within our Collection Management team. Unfortunately at the moment this does not include Korean, but in some of the other discipline areas we have found that other library staff with a relevant language skill may be coopted to help out with such tours (e.g. for Thai), and there is no reason to believe that this may not be the case for Korean in the not too distant future. This service is not immediately subject-oriented as the students may not be studying Asian or indeed Korea-related topics. Rather, it is more
intended to welcome them into the ANU community in a language they understand, and we do find that, again, this creates a bond between the library and the individual student, which often endures for the term of that student’s course at the ANU.

3. Liaison with department heads and student affairs offices to identify newly arrived academics and research students and identify their area of interest so as to inform our everyday monitoring of the various sources of information of new publications or products.

4. “Opportunistic” follow-up of approaches by academics to the library. For example, if an academic approaches us on a search topic or acquisition suggestion, we can use this opportunity to offer other services or enquire what other research needs the individual may have.

5. We currently offer two specialist sessions per year, hosted in a library learning space, on topics like “Researching your essay or thesis – with a focus on Korea”. This is often timed to coincide with mid-term essay preparation or the new postgraduate cohort arrival.

6. “One-on-ones” with honours or post-graduates. For this purpose I usually prepare a checklist of resources that academics at our institution have access to through our library for their literature review and I use this opportunity to stress that it is our role to assist them with respect to their information needs while they are pursuing their research at the ANU. Post-graduates (as opposed to established scholars) within our institution are especially time-sensitive in terms of their information requirements and it is my policy to prioritise their needs as far as possible. They are also often keen consumers of information products and as such can often present as more active partners in collection development.

7. We also offer tailored sessions on specific topics on request. This is usually initiated by the convenor of a course and can take the form of a library “treasure hunt” on a specific topic or a session on how to use the Reference Collection for a specific essay topic.

8. One of the other useful tools in supporting our academics I have found is to maintain a set of “Handouts” which we are able to offer to new or continuing scholars to highlight the services or products that we may be able to provide. I find that it is good to maintain an introductory hand-out as an Overview of Resources, accompanied by a list of “Significant Acquisitions for Korean Studies” and then a more detailed guide for identifying materials that would assist a new scholar in completing, say, a literature review.

Challenges

Finally, I would like to outline some of the challenges that we may face:
1. Many of our “clients” can be “hidden” within other disciplines. This can lead to an uneven service to our academic community if we are not careful. However by using some of the strategies outlined above, this problem can be alleviated and the library can come to be seen as an important element in every scholar’s experience. The challenge is to remain visible and available to help if and when the need arises.

2. As a research institution, often the materials our academics require are of necessity, not commonly available. It is therefore a challenge both to identify a source and then to facilitate its supply – either by inter-library loan, outright purchase or copying. Fortunately we do have a good library network that makes this job less challenging – probably because we all know that at some time or other we will be the requesting library and therefore it behoves us to take that extra step to help out.

3. Increasingly, budgets and pricing pose a major challenge to academic institutions the world over and the ANU is no exception. Fortunately in the field of Korean Studies, we have a cooperative relationship with the National Library of Australia such that, broadly speaking, the ANU supports undergraduate teaching and study while the National Library supports research. This has worked well in the past but in the increasingly online environment and the concomitant burgeoning of products on the market, it may be necessary to explore more sustainable models of collection development into the future.

   Especially in “niche” areas such as Korean Studies (much like Chinese studies), it makes sense to collaborate in order to be able to serve our clientele better. Given the relative size of the population we serve in Australasia when compared to other markets such as Europe or North America, I feel that it behoves us to look at ways of guaranteeing a quality of access not inferior to our colleagues elsewhere in the world.

   Whilst some institutions may benefit by co-location such that scholars are able to visit nearby institutions within the same city or region (whether that be New York or, on a smaller scale, Melbourne or Sydney) and either access materials as “walk-in users” or through reciprocal rights, given the distances and paucity of population in Australasia, this may not be the best guarantee for equitable access to the increasingly rich array of materials out there. In order for our clients not to be disadvantaged by our population and distance, I would submit that a better user access model might be that offered by Germany or Canada. For example, the Berlin State Library, through their www.crossasia.org consortium, offers access to scholars of Asia to products negotiated at the national level, thus guaranteeing equitable access to scholars across the country. This also includes such Korea-relevant products as the E-Korean Studies and KISS databases and many others.
Negotiating national (or in our case, possibly Australasian?) access would guarantee equitable access by all scholars across the region, no matter how well resourced or otherwise their institution may be.

How this may be achieved I would submit should be a topic for discussion between colleagues and academics alike both within disciplines such as Korean Studies as well as broader subject areas, such as Asian Studies. While in Australia we do currently have a forum called the Council of Australian University Libraries (CAUL), I would submit that often areas such as ours is not only confined to the university sector, but that national, state and even local libraries do have common needs in terms of information access, and therefore I would encourage such a conversation to take place.
An Introduction to the Korean Collection at the University of Auckland Library
Hwang, Kyu-won

Introduction: University of Auckland Library

The University of Auckland (UoA) Library began in 1890 with the establishment of the Auckland University College. A room was made available in the Old Parliament Building and an annual budget of £100 was provided for the Library. The Library was relocated to the Clock Tower building in 1927. In 1968 the current General Library building was constructed to accommodate the Library’s growing collections. The collections and services of the Library have continued to expand over the years and subject-specific libraries attached to teaching departments have been added.

Today the UoA Library has become the most extensive library system in New Zealand, with 13 libraries across five campuses in and around the greater Auckland area. The largest is the General Library on the city campus. In addition, there are 12 subject-specialized libraries as well as 4 Information Commons facilities. The Library system ranks with the top five Australian university libraries and is at the forefront of provision and development of electronic resources.

The UoA Library system is comprised of the following libraries and subsidiaries.

- 13 Subject-specific Libraries
  - General Library (arts, business and economics, science & New Zealand collection)
  - Architecture Library
  - Audiovisual Library
  - Business Information Centre
  - Engineering Library
  - Fine Arts Library
  - Davis Law Library
  - Music Library
  - Education Library on Epsom campus
  - Philson Library (medical & health science) on Grafton campus
  - Marine Science Library on Leigh campus
  - Tai Tokerau Campus Library (education)
- Tamaki Campus Library (science and population health)

- 4 Information Commons facilities
  - The Kate Edger Information Commons
  - Epsom Information Commons
  - Grafton Information Commons
  - Tamaki Information Commons

- Off-campus storage facility (Tamaki campus)
- University Bindery (Tamaki campus)

The Library’s collections are also the largest among New Zealand university libraries. The details of the collections are shown in Table 1. There are over 4,600 study spaces, with 1,100 of these having computer workstations. More than 220 staff members work in the whole Library system of whom over 90 are professionally qualified librarians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardcopy items</th>
<th>Electronic items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- 2.2 million monographs</td>
<td>- 800+ networked databases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 357,500 microfilms</td>
<td>- 87,100+ electronic journals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 46,600 maps</td>
<td>- 343,000+ electronic books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 38,944 visual recordings</td>
<td>- 10,400 electronic course readings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 31,409 audio recordings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 47,200 photographs and drawings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 40,700 slides and multimedia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1,970m archives and manuscripts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Library is also responsible for the provision of information literacy training for library users and offers a variety of tutorials to help staff and students become more effective users of the Library. Subject Librarians who are specialized in their respective fields help

users with in-depth information queries, offer individual assistance with finding information, and provide tutorials covering course-specific resources and databases.

The Asian Languages Collection is located on Level 3 of the General Library. The Korean collection is part of the Asian Languages Collection. Next is a brief introduction to the Asian Languages Collection, followed by details of the Korean collection.

**Asian Languages Collection**

The Asian Languages Collection is the largest and most comprehensive collection of Asian language materials in New Zealand. The Collection supports the teaching, learning and research of Asia-related academic programmes at the University, especially for the School of Asian Studies. It is comprised of materials mainly from China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and some from Indonesia. Unlike most New Zealand libraries where Asian materials occupy only small parts of their main collection, the Collection is a discrete collection within the General Library and is allocated its own space.

The Asian Languages Collection was established in 1966 when the Department of Asian Languages and Literatures was founded. A small number of Chinese items were the first materials that the Collection acquired. In 1968 a Japanese collection was established, followed by a Korean collection in 1989.

About a half of the Asian Languages Collection is occupied by Chinese materials and approximately 35% and 15% by Japanese and Korean items respectively. The Collection is comprised of reference books, periodicals, newspapers, electronic databases, videos and CDs. Rare books and valuable items are stored in special storage rooms with closed access to users. English language materials relevant to Asian studies are distributed across most of the arts and humanities collections in the General Library.

The Asian Languages Collection is staffed by professionally qualified Asian librarians for each respective language (Chinese, Japanese, Korean). The primary duties of the Asian librarians are to collect, develop, catalogue and process Asian language items across all subject areas. They also provide language-specific reference and instructional services for university staff, students and on occasion, members of the public.

**The Korean collection**

A. Overview
The Korean collection at the University of Auckland Library is the biggest collection of Korean language items in New Zealand. It is the only academic Korean collection in New Zealand managed by a dedicated full-time Korean librarian.

The Korean collection exists in order to support study and research about Korea within the University, especially for the Korean programme at the School of Asian Studies. After the establishment of a Korean collection in 1989, a part-time Korean librarian position was created to catalogue the Korean materials donated by the Yonkang Foundation. This position became full-time in 1999 and the collection has continued to develop with Library funding. Donations and assistance from various organizations in Korea have also provided a great deal of help with the growth of the collection.

The collection has benefited greatly from donations from the National Library of Korea (NLK) and the Distribution of Resources for Korean Studies from the Korea Foundation (KF). Contributions from other organizations such as the National Institute of Korean History, the May 18 History Compilation Committee of Gwangju City, the National Folk Museum of Korea, and private individual donors enhance and enrich the collection, too.

Primary users of the Korean collection are students and staff of the University. There are a large number of Korean students studying at the University (approximately 800, including both domestic and international students) who make high use of the collection. Also, members of the wider Korean community in Auckland occasionally come into the Library and browse the collection as the University of Auckland Library policy\(^\text{352}\) permits the public free access to its print collections.

### B. Composition of the Collection

In spite of New Zealand’s small size, the Korean collection can be considered to be significant by international standards. Currently the collection holds nearly 12,000 volumes in monographs, 13 journal subscriptions, and over 400 audiovisual items in the Audiovisual Library.

It is the third largest Korean collection in the Australasian region in terms of numbers of volumes. The National Library of Australia holds the biggest Korean collection\(^\text{353}\) (45,000 volumes).

\(^{352}\) Refer to Conditions of Access to The UoA Library, [http://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/about/membership/#2](http://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/about/membership/#2) [Accessed 27 Oct.2010]

volumes) in the Oceanic region, followed by the Korean collection (15,000 volumes) of the Asian Studies Research Collection in Monash University Library\(^{354}\).

The Korean collection covers a wide range of subjects such as history, literature, social sciences, fine arts, film studies, and religion. At the same time, the collection reflects the research interest areas of the Korean studies programme. Traditionally, the curriculum of the Korean programme focussed on Korean language teaching, literature and history. The largest part of the collection is comprised of works of literature, about 36% of the total. Books on Korean history occupy the second largest part (22%). The rest of the collection comprises social sciences (9%), humanities (8%), language teaching (8%), fine arts (3%) and other miscellaneous areas (law, library science, etc.). Figure 1 shows the holdings ratio of the Collection as of the end of 2009 according to the subject areas of the Library of Congress classification.

![Figure 1. Subject structure of the Korean Collection](image)

Although the Korean collection is relatively short in history and small in size, the collection has been able to acquire some notable original research materials from time to time. The purchase of a 400 volume set of Yijo Sillok (李朝實錄) in 2005 was such a case. Another example is a CD-Rom copy of an old Korean newspaper in Kazakhstan, Lenin Kichi (레닌의 기치), which was bought to support research on overseas Koreans.

Until recently, the Korean collection along with other Asian collections was one of the few libraries in the world that used the Harvard-Yenching Classification (HYC) system. The HYC is a classification system which was primarily designed for the classification of Chinese language materials in the Harvard-Yenching Library in 1927\(^{355}\). However, the HYC was considered to be outdated and no longer appropriate to serve the Asian Collection effectively.

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For example, Korea was assumed to be still under the Japanese rule according to the HYC system.

Subsequently, a plan to reclassify the entire Asian Collection into the Library of Congress Classification (LCC) system was proposed in 2005. Due to a number of circumstances a major project of reclassification was deferred until the end of 2008. As the smallest size of the Asian Languages Collection, it was decided to convert the Korean collection first during the summer break of 2008/9 serving as a trial run for the two larger collections, Japanese and Chinese. Through a labour-intensive process, all the books on the Korean shelves were reclassified successfully by the beginning of 2009. Reclassification of the Chinese and Japanese collections continued through 2009 and was completed at the beginning of 2010. Finally, although the Korean collection is comprised of entirely Korean-language materials, there are a large number of English language books and journals about Korea throughout the Library system in their relevant subject areas.

C. Collection Development

Collection development for the Korean collection is carried out primarily by the Korean Resources Librarian, in cooperation with Korean academic staff and the Asian Studies Librarian. The Korean Resources Librarian collects mainly Korean language items but deals with Korea-related English language items from time to time. Selection of materials is done in line with the Library’s Collection Management Plan, and is made from various sources (e.g. book catalogues, the Internet, personal recommendations) on the basis of any of these conditions.

a. Research interests of Korean academic staff
b. Subject areas of currently taught Korean courses
c. Items requested by students for their research which comply with the Collection Management Plan

Along with the change of the classification system, there are observed shifts in Asian studies paradigms, from the traditional areas which relied on language, history and humanities subjects. Collection management is responding to newly emerging research areas of the Korean programme and Korean studies. While maintaining development in the traditional areas, the Korean collection is developing resources on overseas Koreans, translation studies,

and social sciences (management, economics, politics, etc.), and social changes in East Asian countries with particular attention on the relationships between New Zealand and Asia.

D. Services of the Korean Collection
Apart from managing of the Korean collection, the Korean Resources Librarian provides other services to support and facilitate Korean studies at the University.

(i) Research Support
One of the essential services of the Korean collection is to support study and research of Korean academic staff and students at the University. For instance, the academic staff are informed of the arrival of new material pertinent to their research areas, and exchange ideas and opinions with the Korean Librarian about the development of the collection. Students may request material that is needed for their research with the recommendation of their lecturer.

The Korean Librarian plays an important role in collection management to support the research interest of academic staff. One of the strong research areas of the Korean programme at the UoA is studies on overseas Koreans such as Korean-Chinese (조선족), Korean-Russian (고려인), or Korean diasporas. To support this line of research a considerable body of items on these topics have been collected in the collection.

(ii) Reference and Information Skills Services
The Korean Librarian offers consultation and reference assistance to students, staff and other library users in both English and Korean languages. The Asian Languages Collection has an open enquiry desk where users can approach freely during the office hours. The Korean Librarian answers queries at the desk and provide users with assistance for their research or in-depth consultation when necessary.

Development and presentation of library tutorials or seminars are also a responsibility of the Korean Librarian. The Korean Librarian, often in collaboration with the Asian Languages Collection team and Learning Services, creates and delivers tutorials for specific Korean courses or generic information literacy programmes to educate students in library research skills. The Librarian provides assistance to developing and maintaining the subject guide
webpage for Korean studies as shown in Figure 2357. This webpage serves as a portal to electronic resources for Korean studies when students and staff seek information for their research and study.

Another service that the Korean Librarian may provide is hosting of visitors important to the Library or to the University from Korea or from another foreign country. The University receives a number of visits of scholars from Korean academic institutions or visitors from Korean libraries every year. When it is necessary, the Korean Librarian introduces the Korean collection to outside visitors and provides them with information on how to use the Library. This service may encourage cultural or academic exchange between the Library and overseas institutions.

![Figure 2. Subject Guide webpage on Korean studies](image)

Conclusion

This article has presented a general overview of the Korean collection in the University of Auckland Library. The University of Auckland has the only academic Korean collection in New Zealand, and the Korean Resources Librarian performs a wide range of tasks to manage the collection and support Korean studies.

In the 21st century with widespread Internet availability and the exponential growth of electronic resources, the Korean collection must accommodate and adapt to changes and challenges in the era of Web 2.0 and other technological developments.

“Korean Resources at Monash University and other Australian Academic Libraries”

Kim, Jung-Sim

1. Introduction

Korean collections in Australian academic libraries were established beginning in the early 1990s. Gosling (1992) reported how Korean collections started among academic libraries in Australia:

Recent reviews of Asian studies at Monash and Melbourne universities have or are expected soon to bring major changes, e.g. Monash which had concentrated on Japan and Southeast Asia is now actively developing Chinese and Korean collections for the first time and is seeking two new specialist librarians one for Japanese and one for Korea, following the recent appointment of a Chinese resource librarian.

As Gosling suggested, Monash University Library established a Korean-language collection and appointed a Korean studies librarian in 1992. The Korean collection was established to support other members of the National Korean Studies Centre (NKSC) as well as researchers in Korean Studies in Australia. Researchers have access to a core collection of Korean and English language materials as well as to the library catalogue of sources held in the National Library and in other universities and colleges in Australia. The Asian financial crisis in 1997 affected the NKSC, which closed. The Korean Studies Research Library became The Korean Collection under the Asian Studies Research Collection of the Monash University Library.

2. Korean collection/resources among academic libraries in Australia

I remotely accessed some academic libraries in Australia using Web OPAC and searched with the keyword “korea*” using truncation asterisk (*) to find information on their Korean resources. This retrieved Korea, Korean etc. The results are in Table 1.

Table 1. Korean collection/resources by Web OPAC from Australian academic library
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Korean resources by Web OPAC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(as at 21/5/2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(as at 7/9/2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian National University</td>
<td>2,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtin University of Technology</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffith University</td>
<td>3,192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monash University</td>
<td>10,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of New South Wales</td>
<td>1,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Queensland</td>
<td>1,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Sydney</td>
<td>5,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8,148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course, this process did not retrieve all of the materials on or about Korea. Also, the search keyword was in English, so it could not retrieve some materials written in Korean orthography. This process also did not retrieve materials in English which did not index “Korea” or “Korean.” But these data give users some ideas which Australian universities have Korea-related resources and their relative size.

This process shows that most of the collections have roughly doubled in size over the past nine years, but there have not been any great changes. Most of the library holdings are still less than 10,000 titles.

3. New trends of library

In recent years, most libraries have been obtaining more electronic resources for their users. In addition, libraries are providing their users more efficient access to both their holdings and to databases. To do this, academic libraries are implementing federated search tools to replace their existing catalogues. The advantages of federated search tools are harvesting lots of resources in one search (Medeiros 2009, King 2009). They are interface friendly, easy to use, and easy to learn (Fagan 2010, Korah and Cassidy 2010). The disadvantage is that they do not do everything better than the tools that they supplant (Joint 2009). In addition, some databases are not included in some federated search tools and thus cannot provide articles from

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those databases (Curtis and Dorner 2005). Despite these disadvantages, most academic libraries are moving to use these new search tools.

Federated search tools already used/tested by academic libraries include Summon, Primo, and Discovery. With these search tools, users can easily find the availability of sources (online resources, book titles or printed journal which are indicated as “on shelf”), resource type (books, e-books, journals, audio-visual, text, etc.), date ranges, related topics, author or editors, and languages. We next briefly describe these three federated search tools.

Summon is web-scale discovery service that enables web-searching of the full breadth of content found in library collections from books and videos to e-resources such as full text articles from databases. It goes beyond federated search and beyond next-generation catalogues to create an all new service for libraries.359 Summon’s records are from university library catalogues and articles from more than 6,800 publishers and 94,000 journal titles, with more than 500 million items indexed in the centralized index.360

Primo also is a one-stop solution for the discovery and delivery of local and remote resources, such as books, journal articles, and digital objectives. It offers users a single interface for finding all the information. With Primo Central, users can access remote collections with the same ease and speed as local institutional resources. Primo central publishing program361 says that the Primo system is the choice of over 700 institutions in 32 countries includes academic and national libraries, and countrywide consortia.

Discovery is serviced by EBSCO (a company). EBSCO’s Complete Discovery Solution provides users with access to an institution’s entire collection via a single, customizable entry point, thus creating an experience that is comprehensive, fast, and familiar.362

Some Australian university libraries have already implemented federated search systems. Using these systems, as shown in Table 2, one can access considerably more resources.

Table 2: Korean resources in Australian academic libraries using federated search tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Federated Search Tool</th>
<th>No. of Korean resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curtin University</td>
<td>Primo</td>
<td>146,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Queensland</td>
<td>Summon</td>
<td>553,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Sydney</td>
<td>Summon</td>
<td>1,373,540</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

359 http://www.serialssolutions.com/summon/
360 http://www.serialssolutions.com/summon-content-participants/
361 http://www.exlibrisgroup.com/category/PublisherProgram
Monash University is implementing Primo in early 2011. Both Monash University and the Australian National University also subscribe to eleven Korean Studies databases from Korea.

### 4. Korean studies databases at Monash University Library

Federated search tools and next-generation library catalogues can easily search English-language articles or journals from Korea that are already in English databases. However, they do not yet include most Korean studies databases from Korea.

This section introduces some Korean databases to which the Monash University Library subscribes as well as free search databases which our users frequently access from the Internet. (To get a full text article, the user has to be a member of most sites).

#### 4.1 Eleven fee-based Korean databases

Monash University Library provides its users access to eleven fee-based Korean databases. The e-Korean Studies database consists of nine databases:

1. KISS
2. KSI e-book
3. Digital Culture Art Course
4. KoreaA2Z Korean Studies DB Contents
5. Unified database of Korean modern history
6. The unified database of North Korean scientific journals
7. The database of Korean historical culture research,
8. History Cultural Series and
9. LawnB’s Legal Information.

See Figure 1 for the webpage of the nine databases together.

At present, each database needs to be accessed separately in order to maximize results. Details for each database follow.
The original database of Korean Studies Information, KISS (Koreanstudies Information Service System http://kiss.kstudy.com/), contains full text journal articles on languages and literature, history, philosophy, education, society, business and economics, law, science, mathematics, agriculture, fishery, engineering design, etc. See Figure 2.
Figure 2. The original database of Korean Studies Information, KISS Web page


The Digital Culture Art Course ([http://www.koreaa2z.com](http://www.koreaa2z.com)) is VOD based e-lectures on architecture, cartoon and animation, literature, culture, art, cinema, music, and philosophy.

KoreaA2Z Korean Studies DB Contents ([http://www.koreaa2z.com](http://www.koreaa2z.com)) provides general reference, journalism, history, geography, law, religion, philosophy, traditional culture, natural science and ecology, and oriental medicine.


The database of Korean historical culture research ([http://www.excavation.co.kr](http://www.excavation.co.kr)) contains full text collection of excavation reports of historical sites in Korea. It also touched fields on literature, art history archaeology, anthropology, and folklore.
History Culture Series (http://www.hisculture.co.kr) provides on archaeology, Korean history, and art history.

LawnB’s Legal Information Service (http://www.lawnb.com) is a portal service for all law-related issues.

The other two Korean databases are DBpia, KRpia which are provided by Nurimedia. DBpia (Electronic journal service http://www.dbpia.co.kr) contains 1,336 journals and 1,227,108 articles which also include articles from Institute Knowledge Inventory System.

Figure 3. DBpia Web page
KRpia (Knowledge contents service http://www.krpia.co.kr/) offers 216,628 theme indexes for 171 sorts of contents covering 10 categories such as history, literature, Chinese medicine, generalities, the arts, Korean culture, zoology and botany, social sciences, philosophy, and religion and mythology. As of September 2010 it is in continual expansion.

4. Other Korea-related resources

There are some databases which a user can search and retrieve materials from the Internet. Among these databases, the Monash University Library users often search RISS database from the Internet. The Research Information Service System (RISS http://www.riss.kr/index.do), which is operated by Korea Education & Research Information Service (KERIS), provides access to source information and full text of journal articles and dissertations both in Korea and overseas. It also provides federated search user interface (UI). Users can use free text or fielded searches of the catalogues and retrieve from dissertations, books, articles from Korean journals as well as overseas journals, and other materials. In September 2010, RISS contains 1,428,085 dissertations, 2,788,981 articles from Korean journals, 34,065,177 articles from overseas journals, 147,002 journals, 38,363 open lecture items, and 1,578,321 articles from other resources.

Korea Knowledge Portal (http://www.knowledge.go.kr/html/english/index.html). This site provides access to Knowledge Portal DB which searches across all subjects of the national knowledge and data digitized in each national institute and providers. The search
page is in Korean even though user uses English page for searching. Resource type is full-text, text, image, audio, video, multimedia, application and others.

For users who need to get general information on Korea, use the Korean government official website, Korea.net (http://www.korea.net/) which is managed by the Korean Culture and Information Service (KOCIS) of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. This site has several interface languages such as Korean, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. For example, if user finds out government bodies information, from Korea’s official website, navigate via Korea.net > Exploring Korea > Government Agencies.

5. Conclusion

This brief information on the recent trend of new generation search engines or tools gives some ideas to users about finding resources easily from their library catalogue. Non-Korean background users may easily find resources from federated search tools using keyword search. But the new generation search engine cannot harvest some databases such as Korean databases. Libraries still need to provide information to their users in order for the users to access resources efficiently.

References:

Appendix:
This is examples web catalogues which I used their library pages.

From left side column, user can easily find out from results by

- Availability: size of online resources, or book title or printed journal which indicated as “on shelf”
- Resource type: books, e-books, journals, audio-visual, text, etc.
- Date ranges
- Related-topics
- Authors or editors
- Languages