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Friday, 12 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Cinema, Democracy, and the Cultural Cold War in Korea

Cinema, Democracy, and the Cultural Cold War in Korea--P-01

The Battle for Control: The Asia Foundation, U.S. Propaganda, and South Korean Cinema in the 1950s

Sangjoon LEE

Nanyang Technological University

This presentation is a focused account of the origins of The Asia Foundation and its forgotten motion picture projects in Asia. With a view to exploring how U.S. cultural policies influenced the Asian regional film industry in the mid- to late 1950s, this study aims to investigate how, and to what extent, The Asia Foundation and its field agents covertly acted to construct an anti-communist motion picture producers' alliance in Asia. The Asia Foundation was originally a creation of the U.S. executive branch, intended to propagate American foreign policy interests in Asia. It was established in 1951 at the height of the Korean Civil War. Under the leadership of its first president, Robert Blum (1953-1962), The Asia Foundation was actively involved in the motion picture industries in Asia since its first feature film project, *The People Win Through*, based on a play written by Burmese Prime Minister U Nu, came out in 1953. The Asia Foundation had clandestinely supported anti-communist motion picture industry personnel through covert activities, working with producers, directors, technicians, critics, and writers in Japan, Hong Kong, Burma, and South Korea, as well as with American and British motion picture producers in Malaysia and Thailand. The Nagata Masaichi-initiated Federation of Motion Picture Producers in Southeast Asia (FPA) and its annual Southeast Asian Film Festival had been the Foundation's core venture, and other motion picture operations in Asia, including Chang Kuo-sin's Asia Pictures in Hong Kong and Kim Kwan-soo's Korean Motion Picture Cultural Association (KMPCA) in South Korea, were largely outcomes of the FPA. What the Foundation's motion picture project had hoped for was the construction of an alliance of anti-communist motion picture producers in Asia in order to win the psychological war against communism.

Although it was, in the end, a failed project, it should be noted that The Asia Foundation played a significant role in the formation of the first postwar inter-Asian motion picture industry network, which ultimately redrew the imaginary and geopolitical map of the region. Drawing on archival materials from The Asia Foundation Records and Robert Blum Papers, this presentation is primarily concerned with the origins of the Foundation's motion picture project in South Korea, exploring how U.S. government-led Cold War cultural policies influenced the Korean film industry. This study also scrutinizes the ways The Asia Foundation agents responded to Korean film executives' various needs, and negotiated with the

constantly changing political, social, and cultural environments of the region during the project's active periods.

Keywords: The Asia Foundation, Korean Motion Picture Cultural Association, Korean Cinema, Cold War, US Cultural Diplomacy

Cinema, Democracy, and the Cultural Cold War in Korea--P-02

Envisioning Cold War Utopian 'Korea' : Film Collections by Theodore Conant and by Humphrey Leynse

Hyun Seon Park

Sogang University

This paper examines two distinctive collections of Cold War films in South Korea during the 1950s and the 1960s, which were collected, produced, and directed respectively by Theodore Conant and Humphrey Leynse. Even if their sojourns were not overlapped, these remarkable figures stayed in South Korea in such a crucial time period as the Korean War, the fall of Rhee regime, or a new nation-building project. To introduce each of them, on one hand, Conant (1926-2015) was a filmmaker and sound recording engineer; he worked for United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) Film Unit during the 1950s, portraying the plight of South Koreans during the Korean War and its aftermath. He was also privately producing and directing several documentaries and helped South Korean film directors such as Hyungmo Han promote South Korean film industry and technology. The Conant collection includes various works ranged from newsreels on South Korean educational and cultural activities, documentaries on student demonstration in 1960 and the fall of Rhee Seungman regime, and his own filmmaking of South Korean children and orphans in devastated Seoul due to the war. On the other hand, Leynse (1921-1977) worked as educational consultant, USIS officer, independent producer, documentary filmmaker, and professor, moving across the United States, Europe, and Asia during the Cold War era. When he was working as a section chief of USIS-Korea, he participated in making a number of culture films. After he quitted his job at the USIS, he stayed in Ullungdo for two years to make his own documentary of the island and its people. By illuminating the previously unknown collection of culture films by Leynse, the paper aims to analyze how the USIS films reflected the changes of the US public information policy in the shifting period of the 1960s and discuss how they engages in the projection of Korea as an idiosyncratic *marinecountry*. Especially, Leynse's 1968 semi-documentary *Out There, A Lone Island* discloses the Cold War *nomos* of the 1960s that focuses on the Korean local seashores and islands and at the same time shows a Western filmmaker's interactive passion toward the remote places and people in Korea.

Paying critical attention to their film collections, which have been recently retrieved by the Korean Film Archive under the titles of the Ted Conant collection and the Humphrey Leynse collection, the paper will scrutinize the significance of these two Cold War *ethnographers* in South Korean film history as well as in the cultural Cold War in East Asia. Also, the paper will

argue that these collections help us not only measure the visual regime of the cultural Cold War in the middle of the 20th century but also grasp an individual perspective of someone who once worked inside of the Cold War system and then began to envision the impossible location of Cold War Utopian 'Korea.'

Keywords: UNKRA, USIS-Korea, the Cold War Culture, Theodore Conant, Humphrey W. Leynse, Korean War Documentaries, Culture Films of the 1960s, *Children in Crisis* (1955), *Out There*, *A Lone Island* (1968)

Cinema, Democracy, and the Cultural Cold War in Korea--P-03

Celluloid Democracy: Cinema's Educational Potential in Postwar Korea

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University of Wisconsin-Madison

In this paper, I consider how postwar Korean educators attempted to instill a democratic education through film, which they perceived as educationally efficient. Using film for education was not entirely new to Korean educators, as many of them had already been aware of its effect to some degree through their schooling under Japanese rule. What is different in the postwar boom of film education lies in the purpose of that education: film, which had been used to advance the national development and territorial expansion of the Japanese empire, was now supposed to achieve the goals of democratization. Korean educators believed that education through cinema would provide a new solution not only to circumvent a high rate of illiteracy but also to fill children with democratic ideas, values, and behaviors more effectively than words on pamphlets. This impetus for audiovisual education evolved under direct US involvement in education reform, which was part of the US's larger plan to "contain" South Korea as one of its allies in the "free world." In this process, the Peabody Team, a group of American educators from the George Peabody College for Teaching, played the most important role in implementing American audiovisual education, with emphasis on experience-based learning, in South Korean classrooms. From 1954 to 1961, under the support of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), these American specialists provided technical assistance in areas such as teacher training at all levels and support for developing a curriculum that would nurture Korean children as democratic citizens.

In cooperation with the Peabody Team, Korean educators sought to normalize the place of educational film in pedagogical life. They viewed educational films, particularly those from America and Canada, not only as an aid to learning but also as a tool to facilitate democratic discussion in classrooms. However, toward the end of the 1950s, their experiment with audiovisual education faced challenges from the postwar regime and its educational administrators. At stake were conflicting views of the kind of children they wanted for the future of the country. Whereas educators imagined a new modern citizenship based on liberal, egalitarian principles, the postwar regime subordinated dutiful nationals, or the *kungmin*, to the state, using anticommunist rhetoric distilled in textbooks and curricula. Despite the endeavors of Korean and American educators to change those textbooks and curricula, the postwar regime simply appropriated film's educational potential in order to impose the requisite attributes for economic progress while postponing democratic reform. By analyzing understudied archival sources of Korean and American educators, I demonstrate how they struggled with the statist approach to cinema's educational benefits. In assessing their struggles, this paper reveals how

new nationalistic norms superseded modern citizenship and the American democratic model, ultimately weakening the further actions of progressive educators in reforming classrooms and curricula in Cold War South Korea.

Keywords: educational film, the Peabody Team, postwar education reform, democracy, Cold War South Korea

Cinema, Democracy, and the Cultural Cold War in Korea--P-04

Visualizing Cold War Democracy: South Korean Popular Cinema during the April Revolution Period (1960-1961)

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Hanyang University

This paper focuses on the short, dynamic historical moment of the April Revolution, and particularly on the popular cinema it produced, considering how such films served to reveal the ‘revolutionary’ or ‘democratic’ social atmosphere within the nation. By taking cinema as a significant social and cultural lens through which to address the relationship between the quotidian population and the national political agenda, this paper embraces an interdisciplinary approach, scrutinizing historical contexts and popular cinema together to view the cultural nexus of multiple perspectives relevant to the historical juncture of the April Revolution. Much of the popular cinema produced at the time of the April Revolution portrayed the demolition of the old authoritarian regime and the beginning of a burgeoning new culture of democracy. Often eulogized as ‘realism’ or ‘realistic,’ these popular films were far removed from that which existed under the Rhee regime, a period during which film production was strictly controlled by the government, and focused on making thinly veiled propaganda. In contrast, the films produced in the wake of the April Revolution often featured direct criticism and satirical critique of the Rhee government, portrayed radically liberal ways of living, new orders of human relationships, and modern western influenced democratic life styles, depicted through new and sophisticated production techniques. Certainly, this inclusion of progressive socio-cultural and political discourses reflected the popular democratic fervor and the expectations held by many for the new democratic South Korea.

While acknowledging this perspective, nevertheless, in this paper, I want to raise questions about the formation of a new aesthetic approach to the portrayal of ‘real’ life during the period of the April Revolution, not least as any cultural representation of democratic everyday life and political satire is also historically constructed and projected. Although many historians consider that the democratic zeal of the revolution was stopped by Park Chung Hee’s military coup, even before this point many repressive voices had openly questioned the value of the new democratic nation that emerged within the public sphere. Boisterous complaints about the disorder of Korean society and the dangerous nature of the liberty now afforded younger generations following the April Revolution were frequent. Many joined the ‘social purification movement,’ the aim of which was to reorder and manage the new and culturally rebellious aspects of Korean society during the April Revolution period. This social duality was arguably the dominant characteristic of Cold War period democracy in South Korea, which I call, simply, “Cold War democracy.” Critically analyzing the icons of democracy and modernization offered up within these films, I challenge the prevalent scholarly interpretation of them as realistic reflections of a democratic period. I argue that their ‘democratic’ vision was primarily important as a means to propagate the fantasy of a

new ‘democracy,’ birthed in direct relation to the global Cold War politics. This resulting idea of ‘Cold War democracy’ functioned through mixing icons of liberalism, modernization and social stabilization.

Keywords: the Cold War, democracy, the April Revolution, popular cinema, Hollywoodization

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Art and War: The Japanese Invasion of Korea of 1592-1598

Art and War: The Japanese Invasion of Korea of 1592-1598--P-01

The Recovery of Pyongyang

Marsha Haufler

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Two well-known screen painting compositions, *A Complete View of Pyongyang* 平壤全圖 and *The Recovery of Pyongyang* 平壤城奪還, depict the walled city as it appeared in the Chosŏn period. The former shows it from the east and at peace, while the latter shows it from the west and at war, but both pictures highlight aspects of Pyongyang’s uniquely Sinicized identity. In the *Complete View*, Pyongyang is the city of Kija, the Chinese nobleman who purportedly replaced Tangun as ruler of Old Chosŏn and brought Chinese civilization to Korea. *The Recovery* commemorates the role played by Ming-dynasty forces led by Commanding General Li Rusong in lifting the Japanese siege of Pyongyang in 1593. Once honored by the Chosŏn dynasty in officially sponsored memorial shrines in Pyongyang, Kija and Li Rusong are absent from DPRK popular accounts of the city’s history, erased to eliminate the specter of outside control or influence.

The Recovery of Pyongyang is the focus of this paper, which is part of a larger effort to retrieve Pyongyang’s network of Chinese associations as celebrated by Chosŏn kings and officials, eulogized in poetry by Ming envoys, and documented in local gazetteers. The written word was the primary vehicle for affirming Pyongyang’s Chinese connections, but the visual arts were essential for commemorating culture heroes like Kija and the Ming generals. Art and architecture honoring the Ming were not confined to Pyongyang, but the events that took place there turned the tide of the war and made the city emblematic of the eternal debt of gratitude the Chosŏn owed the Ming dynasty.

The four known extant versions of *The Recovery* vary slightly, but they feature the same major players and overall composition. Inscriptions on one version identify five generals, including Li Rusong and his brother Li Rubo. I read this picture against textual accounts, contrast it to Korean paintings of other Imjin War battles, and compare it to Ming depictions of military themes. This analysis demonstrates how elements of Ming pictorial style were used to frame the battle scene and to elevate the achievements of Ming individuals over those of others and over the broader campaign waged by combined Korean and Chinese forces. Given the focus on the Li brothers, I further suggest that some of these screens may have been made for their descendants residing in Korea, whose special status was recognized at the late-Chosŏn court.

Finally, accounts of Muyŏlsa 武烈祠, the shrine to the Ming heroes built in Pyongyang shortly after the Imjin War, include a 1794 restoration record that sheds light on an iconographic

feature of the *Recovery* screens that dates them to that time or thereafter. The screens' relatively late date and the continued restoration of Muyŏlsa verify the sustained importance of Pyongyang as a site of memory for the Ming role in the Imjin War, an important link in the city's distinctive chain of connections with China.

Keywords: Imjin War, Pyongyang, screen painting

Art and War: The Japanese Invasion of Korea of 1592-1598--P-02

Guan Yu Cult and Mirror Surface Paper: Conundrum of Cultural and Material Exchanges during the Imjin War

Sooa McCormick

Cleveland Museum of Art

Any wars result in, not to mention, significant loss of life, economic and moral destruction, and human dislocation, but also opportunities for unexpected cultural and material exchanges. In this paper, the Imjin War (1592-1598) will serve as a lens to observe and understand the reciprocal complexities of cultural and material exchanges between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea. By focusing on two cases of cultural and material transfers: the Guan Yu cult to Chosŏn Korea and Mirror Surface paper to Ming China, this research will explore how the tributary relationship between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea tested during the Japanese invasion dictated the mode of exchanges of visual and material culture.

A number of shrines in honor of Guan Yu 關羽, the deified 3rd-century Eastern Han general, were built in Seoul, the capital of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Built in 1601, the East Gwanwangmyo 東關王廟 (hereafter East Shrine), however, is the only Guan Yu shrine that still sits in its original location. In this thread of discussion, I will introduce the Chosŏn royal house's initial reluctance to the Ming imperial house's imposition of worshipping Guan Yu, and how the shrine's architectural program reflects the practice's foreignness.

The second part will concern a distinctive type of Korean paper called Mirror Surface Paper 鏡面紙. As one of the most celebrated tributary gifts, this specialty paper became highly sought after by late Ming scholar artists. Mirror surface paper was known to the Chinese audience during the Northern Song period, but its smooth and glossy surface, which is more difficult to paint on than other papers, turned away many Chinese scholar artists. During the Imjin war, however, it suddenly emerged as a popular novelty. Many prominent scholar-artists seemed to have used it to demonstrate their higher level of technique in controlling brush and ink. Dong Qichang's *River and Mountains in a Clear Autumn Day* (Cleveland Museum of Art) and Wen Zhengming's *Calligraphy* (Hubei Provincial Museum), are painted on this paper that still contain the King Sŏnjo's large royal seal. Due to its rarity, Dong recycled a roll of paper, which had been originally sent in 1572 as an official document 方物奏本 that listed tributary gifts from King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) to Emperor Wanli (r. 1572-1620). The *Veritable Records of King Sŏnjo* confirmed that the Chosŏn court regularly sent a large number of mirror surface paper. But, the same document also testifies that the Ming court's increased demand for it put the Chosŏn court into a tight situation because its production involved an arduous process that was further compounded by the affliction and burden of war.

These two cases: the Guan Yu Cult and Mirror Surface paper were not the simple products of cultural and material transfers, but rather tantalizing analogies for the tested tributary relationship between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea during the Imjin War, posing a great conundrum of political and cultural identity to Chosŏn Korea.

Keywords: Keywords: Guan Yu, Mirror Surface Paper, tributary

Art and War: The Japanese Invasion of Korea of 1592-1598--P-03

Remembering the Imjin War: Contesting Meaning and Refracted Memory

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By setting the Chosŏn's experience of the Imjin War within an East Asian context, this study offers visual, cultural and historical accounts of the ways in which moments of the war have been represented in art and how the artistic portrayal of war has changed throughout time, from a celebration of heroic exploits and promotion of patriotism to a more politically charged depiction of the international, diplomatic relationship. Diverse agents such as the state, warlords, families, and individuals who actively engaged in producing, propagating, and copying images of the wars to perpetuate memory of the war will be also examined in tandem.

Three compelling images of the war will be thoroughly analyzed as case studies: *The Imjin War* 壬辰戰亂圖, *the Battle of Ulsan* 蔚山城戰鬪圖, and *the Commemoration of the Military Achievement to Defeat the Japanese Army* 征倭紀功圖, which are allegedly paintings done by Korean, Japanese, and Chinese painters, respectively. These works were first painted in the early sixteenth century, just after the war but the original paintings are no longer extant and only later copies allow us to trace the original works. Each of them was reproduced several times when the old version was worn out and deconstructed, or they were copied more frequently to distribute to allies, shrines, or relatives and for post erity.

Representations of war in painting are different in manner from textual records in that they operate within a set of specific possibilities and rules which are distinct from those of verbal expression. All artistic images are generated through mental constructs, as they represent the world of reality by selecting the specific moments and subjects most relevant for their purpose and focusing on particular aspects of these, and enhancing the expressive power of those chosen elements. Thus, images are part of the cultural imaginary reconstructed through artists' capabilities and patron's wishes. The reality of war and its perception are determined by cultural circumstances, specific to individuals in different historical periods and spaces. Such cultural imagination operates in different media, and thus results in phenomena of different forms and appearance.

However, insofar as they are produced by the same society, they have certain basic features in common. My analysis of these three paintings produced in Korea, Japan, and China premised this underlying principle, which can be termed a society's specific 'cultural habitus.' This provides information on how the Imjin war was perceived in visual forms in three different

societies, and further reveals how the memory of the war was politicized to address the needs and concerns of the later generation.

Keywords: The Imjin War, The Battle of Ulsan, The Commemoration of the Military Achievement to Defeat the Japanese Army

Art and War: The Japanese Invasion of Korea of 1592-1598--P-04

Intangible cultural heritage as war booty: “translocated” Chosŏn ceramics in Japan

Ji Young Park

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In certain Korean history texts, the Imjin War (1592-1598) is referred to as the “Ceramics War.” This designation not only expresses its artistic and economic impact on Korean and Japanese societies, but also conveys the sense of loss for their intangible cultural heritage that Koreans experienced during and after this war. Looking at the results, this war could be seen as a critical crossroads for Korea and Japan’s ceramic craft industries: Korean ceramic production was about to decline, whereas Japanese pottery technique and style flourished from the 17th century onward. Thus, when Korean literature relates the Imjin War to ceramics, it exhibits mixed feelings of national pride for the advanced ceramic manufacturing skills of Chosŏn ceramicists at the time, which Japanese feudal lords (daimyō, 大名) envied, as well as a sense of relative deprivation for the remarkable economic success on the world ceramics market that may have been made possible by the kidnapping of Korean potters during the war. In the 16th century, the Ming and Chosŏn regimes were the only two countries in the world capable of producing high-fired porcelain. Powerful daimyo in the Kyushu (九州) area received many kidnapped Chosŏn potters to make ceramics to their personal taste as well as to develop the ceramics industry in their territory. These artisans were either identified from the first as ceramicists, or brought to Japan as simple laborers, later practicing their skill to survive in Japan. From the early 17th century onward, certain Kyushu-area kilns, such as Satsuma (薩摩), Arita(有田) or Agano(上野) produced and sold household items and tea bowls (茶碗) on a massive scale. Adding to the Korean ceramics imported and plundered during the 16th century, the skilled Korean potters brought to Japan during the war launched the history of Japanese ceramics with Korean styles and techniques. They found a white clay mine and installed Korean-style kiln, which allowed them to make a white porcelain in Japan for the first time. They also revived the old Chosŏn style and techniques of inlaid (象嵌) or stamped (印花) designs, making for a 100-year style differential between Korea and Japan in the early 17th century. Such was the birth of Japanese porcelain. However, unlike simple material damage or loss of cultural heritage, the war disrupted ways of life, prompting a displacement of intangible cultural heritage that constitutes a genuine loss for the original country. Given the estimated total number of kidnapped and enslaved Koreans in Japan during this period, which ranges broadly from 20,000 to 400,000, the war devastated the Korean ceramics industry both in style and technique. Korean ceramics have never recovered from the damage of the war, such that even in the 20th century and today, it remains affected by the Japanese. In this paper, I will discuss the displacement of art products and knowledge from Korea to Japan through war campaigns, using case studies of ceramic production by kidnapped Chosŏn potters in the Kyushu area. The goal is to record the translocational history of Chosŏn ceramics, material as well as intangible: its impact on Japanese porcelain, while examining its Korean interpretation a posteriori, which is linked with

their loss of art production knowledge, a looting of their intangible cultural heritage, that remains highly relevant in presenting Korea's identity, ownership, emotions and pride to the wider public via the medium of Korean ceramic art history.

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage, Korean ceramic, translocation, war booty, kidnapped choson potter

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Rethinking Modern Korea's Marginality through the Lens of Mobility

Rethinking Modern Korea's Marginality through the Lens of Mobility--P-01

Transnational Solidarity and the Rejection of Colonialism in 1940s-Era Korean Literature

Sangmi Bae

Sunmoon University

This paper examines the rejection of colonialism in an international context in late colonial Korean literature with the two novellas *Midorino Tou* (1940, *Green Tower*) by Yi Hyosŏk and *Nangbi* (1940-41, *Dissipation*) by Kim Namchŏn. Although Yi and Kim began their literary careers by initially writing proletarian literature, the focus in their authorship changed in the early 1930s when institutional censorship imposed by Japanese colonial rule increasingly limited revolutionary portrayal, leading Yi on a path toward modernism and Kim to investigate new literary plots as part of colonial Korean literature. Their literary explorations converged by the early 1940s with the shared novelistic thematic of English literary scholars in colonial Korea studying the modern Western diasporic novella. The period in which the two novellas were published, on the eve of outbreak the Asia-Pacific War, was in fact a very active phase of exploitation by the Japanese Government-General of Korean human and material resources for imperial military purposes. The Assimilation Policy within the context of Pan-Asianism, under which imperial Japan claimed to defend greater Asia from a Western-centered modernity, was key ideology in rationalizing the deprivation of rights and resources from colonial Korea. In spite of the 'assimilation' metaphor, few colonial Koreans attained equal rights in the public sphere. Yi and Kim's novels represent this phenomenon through colonial intellectual protagonists studying European/Western diasporic literature. I argue that the notion of "West," considered as a symbol of imperialism by the Assimilation Policy, reads rather as a rejection of colonialism in these early 1940s Korean literary texts.

In both stories the protagonists are introduced as Korean male intellectuals who completed their academic courses at a prestigious university in colonial Korea. They are preparing dissertations to become lecturers in English Literature at their Alma Mater: *Midorino Tou*'s protagonist Yŏngmin examines the Irish author James Joyce, and *Nangbi*'s protagonist Kwanhyŏng analyses an American author, Henry James. The two protagonists understand their research as 'pure' academic works which are distanced from any 'political' message. However, as intellectuals in a colonized region, the protagonists in both novels sympathize with sentiment of the condition of diasporic displacement in the works of Joyce and James. In both stories, the protagonist's applications are rejected during the screening process by professors who act as internal reviewers, based on the argument that the papers include

sentiments of restricted freedom and colonized intellectual sorrow. The novels reveal the contradiction of the Assimilation Policy by adopting the voice of professors who hold a racist attitude. All of the professors understand that the papers include disagreement with the Assimilation Policy because they deal with diasporic authors, and particularly because they are drafted by colonial Koreans. In addition, the professors' responses explain why the protagonists sympathize with diasporic literature: they both share the sentiment of homelessness. The mobility of Western diasporic literature as represented in Yi and Kim's novellas suggests the 'migration of ideas' that the rejection of colonialism beyond regional and cultural borders.

Keywords: Colonialism, Diasporic Literature, Intellectuals, Mobility, Pan-Asianism, Assimilation Policy

Rethinking Modern Korea's Marginality through the Lens of Mobility--P-02

The Significance and (Im)mobility of Korean 'Needy' Children: The Development of Korean Intercountry Adoption to Sweden between 1964 and 1975

Youngeun Koo

University of Tübingen

This paper investigates the development of intercountry adoption from South Korea (hereafter 'Korea') to Sweden during the period between 1964 to 1975, drawing on archival and oral data gathered in both countries. Sweden occupies a unique position in the history of Korean intercountry adoption for the leading role played by the Swedish government and its highest Korean adoption rate per capita among all receiving countries. Until today, some 9,700 Korean children have found adoptive homes in Sweden. Yet, there has been a dearth of historical research on Korean adoption to Sweden, more broadly to Europe. Aiming to fill this gap in scholarship, the paper analyses two critical junctures in the cross-border movement of Korean children to Sweden, with a particular focus on activities carried out by key state and institutional actors in the sending and receiving countries. Scholarly discussion on child mobility has often been restricted by and limited its attention to their assumed lack of agency, but the adoption between Korea and Sweden will provide a critical example that concretely shows how forces at different levels negotiated and determined the (im)mobility of children, especially those deemed to be in need of new homes.

Firstly, the paper traces the origins of Korean adoption to Sweden. While a small number of individual adoptions of Korean children by Swedes existed in the post-war period, it was the Swedish government that laid a pivotal foundation for the large movement of Korean children to Sweden in the mid-1960s. Drawing on theories on the welfare state, the paper analyses the processes through which the Swedish government secured an adoption agreement with Korea in 1966.

Secondly, it investigates two closely related adoption suspensions imposed by the Korean government in the first half of the 1970s. The Korean authorities introduced the first adoption suspension to six European countries including Sweden in December 1970. The second suspension, which came into effect four years later in November 1974, affected only three countries: Sweden, Denmark and Norway. The South Korean authorities' stated reason behind the suspensions was North Korea's criticism on the adoption practice. Heightened tensions between the two Koreas and the creation of diplomatic relations between North Korea and the

Scandinavian countries in the early 1970s constitute a significant temporal-spatial background. But through the analysis of divergent actions and factors claimed to have impinged on the suspensions, the paper will show that they were not simple top-down ideological decisions but shaped by contrasting interests of actors involved in the adoption practice in both societies.

This paper will argue that the different courses of action taken by the Korean and Swedish authorities in the creation, suspension and normalisation of the adoption channel reflect the shifting significance that they placed onto these 'needy' children. Furthermore, it will show that the two states' actions were not limited within the realm of social welfare but were directly informed from and drew upon their different international positionality within broader Cold War politics. In doing so, this paper will demonstrate that intercountry adoption from Korea to Sweden was not a mere individual matter of poverty or reproduction but was an integral part of the two countries' nation-building projects.

Keywords: Korean Adoption to Sweden, Intercountry adoption, the Role of the State, Nation-Building, Child Mobility, the Welfare State, Children in Need

Rethinking Modern Korea's Marginality through the Lens of Mobility--P-03

The rural exodus of Korean young people and change in family relations during the 1960s and 1970s

Gwangsoon Lim

Korea University

This paper looks into the mobility of young people from Korean rural areas during the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent changes in their family relations and hierarchies. For this, this study actively utilizes demographic data on internal migration during this period and in-depth interviews with a family of six siblings. This study extends the oral history methodology from individuals to family members. Especially, it focuses on the importance of family resources in the process of internal migration and how marriage status affects migrants' final migration destination.

The urban population in Korea rapidly expanded from 15% in 1945 to 57% in 1980 due to rural-urban migration and the majority of internal migrants were people of working age. This indicates that, in most cases, children within the family, rather than the whole extended family, moved, resulting in family separation. Their subsequent marriage in urban areas contributed to the creation of nuclear families in Korea. Therefore, the shift in family structure happened within a relatively short period of time and was closely linked with migration.

In order to more concretely trace changes caused by internal migration within the family, such as family hierarchy and distribution of family resources, this paper focuses on a single family and draws on one-to-one interviews with six siblings. It will show how the siblings' varying positions within the family differentiated their migratory patterns including decisions on who and where to move. The paper particularly focuses on the impact of gender and education on the siblings' migratory capabilities and experiences. It also looks at how those who moved continuously used support and resources from the family left behind in order to survive and overcome their marginal position in the city. It will argue that migration is not a one-step process

but rather it involves multiple steps, which both are affected by and transform the existing family relations and hierarchies.

This study pays attention to two contrasting aspects of family: it is an active and open space where different social behaviours take place but also an oppressive space that restricts choices of individuals within the family. This provides a new perspective on Korean families, moving away from previous studies that primarily focused on one of the two aspects and essentialized Korean families as pre-modern and patriarchal. Instead, through the detailed analysis of the migratory patterns and experiences of the six siblings, the paper will show that family can be both emancipatory by enabling individuals' mobility and restrictive by limiting their choices. This will help identifying the particularity of 'solidarity' created within the Korean family and its limitation. The paper further aims to explore the meaning of 'the Social (das Soziale)' and its plurality in modernizing Korea. Departing from the view that relates 'the Social' predominantly with the social security system and blindly considers it positive, this paper strives to better understand the complex "social" role that Korean families played during modernization and the meaning of "the Social" in Korea.

Keywords: Rural exodus, Family Mobilities, Family Relations and Hierarchies, Marginalized Immigrants in the City

Rethinking Modern Korea's Marginality through the Lens of Mobility--P-04

A Study on the Immigration and Labor of Female Refugees Before and After the Korean War

Aram KIM

Yonsei University

This research is sympathetic to female experiences and demonstrates their meanings during the process of loss and reconstruction from the Korean War. Particularly, I focus on women who became refugees after immigrating from North Korea to South Korea and labored in the settlement projects. The modern Korean refugee was a result of the construction process of a divided postcolonial country after liberation. The return from the overseas was a starting point to build a nation, decolonizing the imperial rule. Immigrations between the South and North in a divided political systems meant a path in which the aims of two newly found nations and the choices of agents interlinked or crisscrossed. The "defections" to the South involved in the oppression of the socialist system as well as familial and personal motivations. Furthermore, many people were unwittingly evacuated due to military operations.

Resettlement was a project to reincorporate the refugees from the division and war back into the nation was 'resettlement'. The Korean government was involved in the resettlement that was conducted in the farming areas beginning in 1952, and US aid organizations gave grains and housing material to the refugees and enabled them to create farmland by reclaiming wasteland or mud flats. The goal of the project was reconstruction and development through self-support. The total number of refugees in the January 1952 survey was 4,447,538 including 721,072 from the North, 1,007,360 from Seoul, 673,178 from other regions, and 2,075,928 within the same province. Among these numbers, the backgrounds and route of defecting to the South or fleeing entailed contradiction of overdetermination, including opposing systems, military operations and region and gender. The contradictory experiences by these women will clarify the division and reconstruction at social, familial, and individual levels that occurred in the 'two Koreas'. This study focuses on the women who escaped to Changh ũ ng Ch ō llanam-do and Cheju island. The biggest refugee resettlement area up to the first half of the 1960s was located in Changh ũ ng, and the defectors to the South were the ones who led the project. Cheju island was the farthest refugee

destination, and was a place that required both village reconstruction after the Cheju April 3 Incident and restoration after the Korean War. I conducted research in two regions over several years and interviewed refugees.

1. Women who left their hometown and their parents' homes

Immigration from the North to the South is divided into defection spanning after liberation and before the Korean War and evacuation during the Korean War. Voluntary willingness was important for the South-bound defection of women just as it was for men. There were instances where the women defected to the South to obtain education opportunities or find their husbands who had defected. These women decided to immigrate on their own and put it into practice. On the other hand, evacuations were forced due to the situation of war, and these women collectively immigrated along with their families, including men. Also, evacuation was a secondary immigration for women who had already defected to the South. The defection and evacuation of women meant an eternal farewell with their parents and the loss of hometowns. These women struggled to survive alone or protected their families that they formed after marriages.

2. The Steep Path of Migration and Evacuation and Gender Differences

The path crossing the 38th parallel was not easy for women. Even if they had departed on their own will, they would have to rely on accidental helps and lucks as they lacked finances and physical strength. The fact that they were women freed them from the control of ideology and philosophy, and a consensus for protecting these women came into effect. A situation of evacuation during the war was extremely fearsome and insecure for everyone, both for men and women. Men were always exposed to the fear of being conscripted into the military and women had to prepare for the absence of men. Refugees from North Korea did not easily give up the possibility of returning their homes, but men separated from their wives soon remarried, whereas it was not easy for women to remarry. Women who fled for refuge to the South after marriage and had husbands had a relatively lesser willingness to return home, thus they concentrated on settling in the South.

3. Reconstruction and Female Labor in the Resettlement Areas

Resettlement areas in the 1950s numbered 1,700 in the whole of South Korea. In Cheju island, people whose homes destroyed due to the Cheju April 3 Incident and the North Korean refugees cooperated in the resettlement process. Women from North Korea actively entered the resettlement areas. Even if the husbands struggled for their longing of their hometown, women worked hard to earn a living. Resettlement in Cheju island occurred in the middle mountainous area, involving mainly the labor of cutting trees and selling them. Reclamation was difficult and relief goods were lacking, thus the women had no other choice. In Changh ũ ng, Ch ō nnam, the reclamation of mud flats were underway. Labor by men accounted for the most part, but the women placed large stones on their heads and carried them to build dikes. The women were also dedicated in achieving the goal of creating farmland.

Women from North Korea, who are still living in resettlement areas often choose to do so, when their husbands passed away. These women are solidly banded together with fellowship, and have sorrow for the difficulties in their lives and the absence of their husbands. Many refugees in Cheju island left to the mainland after the war, but those who remain continue to have the heartaches. The intense labor of women in the resettlement areas after the Korean War was the product of wills for survival, affection for their families, and efforts to overcome their sense of loss of hometown.

Keywords: Korean War, Cheju April 3 Incident, evacuation, North Korean Refugee, Resettlement, reclamation, self-support, the postwar rehabilitation

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean

Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean--P-01

Distinctive variables for Korean hearer honorific verbal endings

Jeong-Young Kim

University of Helsinki

The current study investigates the issue of Korean hearer honorifics with respect to the Finnish address terms via comparing the two discourse cultures, inspired by Byon (2006) indicating that the relation between indirectness and politeness has to be understood from a language- and culture-specific perspective. In order to deal with it, this study relies on Peterson (2010). The hearer honorific polite verbal endings of *-nita* and *-eyo* are examined in comparison of the analysis of Finnish (no) address terms in Peterson (2010), so that a concrete explanation of their difference might be elaborated.

In Peterson (2010), seven various situations were presented in description, to collect data from 21 men and 47 women living in the Helsinki area, and three variables of power (P), distance (D) and imposition/risk (R) (Brown & Levinson 1987) were exploited to determine the weight of the potential face-threatening act, and consequently the weight of the politeness which the speaker would use.

The review posits the following: (i) +D imposes the hearer honorifics, *-nita* and *-eyo*; and (ii) *-nita* can be employed when -P is added to +D. However, the three variables formulated by Brown and Levinson (1987) are too simplistic to efficiently elaborate broader usage range of the Korean hearer honorifics. One hearer honorific polite verbal ending, *-nita* may require more complex culture-specific variables such as ‘deference’, ‘separation’, ‘gender’, ‘generation’ and ‘region’ for its better explanation, whereas the other hearer honorific polite verbal ending, *-eyo* should be regarded as default. Considering a variety of variables operating to them, *-eyo* may be used under the universal concept of politeness, and *-nita* with Korean culture-specific variables in the relevant speech setting.

In addition, I assert on the ground of the above posits that Korean hearer honorifics, as commonly alternating, can be explained better on ‘speech level spectrum’ rather than as categories distinctively defined by the concept of different speech levels.

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Keywords: Korean hearer honorifics, politeness, speech level, language- and culture-specific

Speech Level Shift in Korean as Rhetorical Device: Irony, Sarcasm, Teasing

Jin-Ok Kim

Université Paris Diderot

Speech levels constitute a part of honorifics in Korean. They are primarily expressed on verbs. The choice of a speech level is decided based on the hierarchical and personal relationship between a speaker and his addressee and the context. It is maintained throughout the interaction and all their other future conversations (except case of change in these features). But there is sometimes a shift phenomenon between two verbal forms of polite level (-*sumnita* and -*eyo*) for the same hearer and in the same conversational interaction. This switch creates communicative effects, analyzed often as a distancing (with -*sumnita*) or an identification with the hearer (-*eyo*).

In this paper, we propose to especially observe the phenomena of speech level shift from non-honorific (-*eo*) to honorific level (-*eyo*). This change occurs in dialogues between two people, close or of the same social rank, who do not use honorifics when they talk to each other. The intermittent raising of speech level in the middle of an interaction in non-honorific style gives it a stronger effect than the switch between -*sumnita* and -*eyo*, both of which are forms of polite level. The shift -*eo*/-*eyo* expresses irony, sarcasm and is used for teasing. From the formal point of view, these changes in speech style can be complete or partial (only the verbal form is used in honorific while other elements such as the pronoun remain non-honorific). In terms of communicative effect, they can be hostile (Brown 2013) or used for teasing. The honorific level adopted can also be the one used in Korean baby talk which is accompanied by a particular type of pronunciation and prosody. In this case, it is essentially affectionate mockery. These particular uses of honorific level show that they work as a rhetorical process among Korean native speakers.

The relationship between different linguistic and contextual features of these shifts and their communicative effects will be analyzed. Regarding the data, like many previous studies on honorifics, we will use conversational interactions in TV shows that provide authentic or quasi-authentic data (reality shows, TV series). Also will be used novels or comics on line which contain many dialogues with highly similar speech style to those used in real life.

Keywords: Korean honorifics, speech level shift, rhetoric, irony, sarcasm, teasing

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Keywords: Korean honorifics, speech level shift, rhetoric, irony, sarcasm, teasing

Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean--P-03

Speech styles in Korean Instant Messaging

Jieun Kiaer, Sangyeoup Han

University of Oxford

Speech styles in Korean Instant Messaging

Language changes rapidly in the era of social media (Zappavigna 2012). Individual preference matters more in deciding speech styles than social conventions and settings (Eckert 2012). In this paper, we discuss the characteristics of speech styles and sentence-final punctuations found in Korean instant messaging. For this, we have built our database from Kakao-talk, South Korea's most popular SNS messenger and Facebook from different age groups from 10s to 50s, both male and female, totalling up to 100 people. The database consists of up to 4-6 months dialogue logs. After collecting the dialogue logs, we have also conducted focus group interview (Han 2017).

In this study, we are to present different forms and functions of speech styles and sentence-final punctuations found in Korean instant messaging and compare them with the off-line speech styles found as in spontaneous speech and written texts. In particular, we show multi-modal variations observed in the verbal clusters at the sentence-final position and discuss the roles of emoticons, emojis, stickers, gifs among others. We found in this study that in instant online communication as in instant messaging, expressing one's emotion becomes an ever-crucial aspect of communications unlike in off-line written text communication – not only for those who are instant-messaging but also for the receiver(s) as it binds them together and brings solidarity among them. This finding conforms Kiaer and Shin (forthcoming)'s claim on 3E model in communication, which claims that there are three causes of communicative variations, that is, *efficiency*, *expressivity* and *empathy* (Kiaer 2014).

In addition, we are to discuss different age groups' attitudes towards speech styles, sentence-final punctuations including the use of different emojis in instant messaging based on focus group interview. Through this study, we found native Korean speakers' overall open and flexible attitude towards the speech styles used in online space as in instant messaging across the age groups.

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Keywords: Speech styles, instant messaging, Korean

Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean---04

Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean

Simon Voget

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Panel Proposal - 29th AKSE Conference, 2019

Sapienza University of Rome

'Perspectives on Honorifics and Speech-Styles in Korean'

The system of honorifics in Korean is widely recognised as being among the most complex in the world. Various morphological and lexical honorific forms are present; yet the system is perhaps most characteristically represented by its 'speech-styles' or 'speech-levels', categorised primarily according to the shape of their sentence-final verb endings. Up to six styles/levels are attested in some accounts, but these are popularly simplified into the honorific styles (존댓말 'contaysmal') and the non-honorific styles (반말, 'panmal'). The former styles are said to convey attitudes of respect, deference, politeness and distance towards the hearer; while the latter are canonically used in situations of intimacy or closeness (Brown, 2011, pp.23-25; Lee & Ramsey, 2000, pp.249-251).

Yet despite these categorisations, precise accounts of Korean honorifics remain elusive, and their study cannot be disconnected from the social contexts in which they are used. Subtle (inter)personal and contextual variables influence the choice of speech-style, and in actual speech there is inevitably some mixing and shifting of styles. Furthermore, the rise of digitally-mediated communicative environments has been accompanied by distinct and innovative speech-style usage. As such, recent studies have looked in more detail at these nuances. This panel contributes to this growing literature, by drawing on a range of perspectives and methodologies to shed light on the meanings, forms and functions of honorifics in all their detail. The brief summaries of each paper below illustrate a variety of comparative, empirical, pragmatic, and metapragmatic approaches; based on diverse types of data.

Panellist #1 will draw on Finnish address terms as a point of comparison to anchor an analysis of two honorific speech-styles in Korean (the *-eyo* and *-nita* styles), and show their relation (or lack thereof) to universal and comparative concepts of 'politeness'.

Panellist #2 will focus on style-shifting from the *panmal* *-eo* style to the honorific *-eyo* style, based on data from broadcast and online media. The varying communicative effects produced by such shifting provide an illustration of *rhetorical* uses of honorifics.

Panellist #3 will draw on empirical data to analyse the use of speech-styles in instant messaging, and compare the forms and functions observed (including additional multimodal elements such as emoticons and stickers) with those observed in offline communication.

Panellist #4 will focus on the perspectives of Korean speakers themselves, in reflecting on their own speech-style use and evaluating the politeness/appropriateness of *panmal* versus *contaysmal* in certain contexts and relationships.

A wide range of methods such as the above is necessary in order to adequately approach the study of *contaysmal/panmal* in modern Korean. The complexity of the interaction of factors that influence the choice of speech-style; the speech-style mixing and shifting (and the accompanying pragmatic/rhetorical effects) that is observed empirically; the influence of modern communication media; the nuanced perspectives and attitudes of speakers themselves: all these facts point towards the need to give full recognition to the fluid, pragmatic, and socially-embedded nature of honorifics and speech-styles as they are actually used; and to move away from static, formal analyses.

It is hoped that this panel will stimulate a fruitful discussion on the implications of these results for our understanding of honorifics in Korean.

Keywords – Korean honorifics, speech-styles, honorific variation

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(See individual abstracts for further references)

Keywords: Korean honorifics, speech-styles, honorific variation, politeness, speech-style shifting, instant messaging

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Cooperation and Reciprocity in Context: The Kye in Korean History

Cooperation and Reciprocity in Context: The Kye in Korean History--P-01

The Village-wide Mutual Aid Associations (Dongkye) and Lineage-wide Mutual Aid Associations (Jogkye) in a premodern Korean village - Seoho Villiage in Hapcheon County, Kyungsang Province in the 17th-19th Century –

Haksu Kim

Academy of Korean Studies

This research focuses on tracing the community culture of reciprocity and cooperation that existed in Korea in the 17th-19th centuries., by analyzing Dong-kye (village-wide mutual aid association) and JogKye (lineage-wide mutual aid associations). Given that it was a status-based society, it is commonly thought that Joseon lacked virtues such as conceding, compromise, cooperation or coexistence, but that is only an observation of one aspect of the complex structure. Neo-Confucianism based on the teachings of Zhu Xi was the state ideology of Joseon, and particularly its later focus on reason-based ethics in the late Joseon period, which emphasized filial piety, provided a fertile ground for a community culture of harmony and integration. While Zhu Xi's neo-Confucianism did not have an inherent dynamic drive towards national strength such as strong army and economic prosperity, it was a leading ideology in terms of working towards coexisting or harmony, based on its people-first values. These elements of harmonious coexisting were engrained in the history of villages, which were the smallest building blocks of the country, and this article focuses on the Dong-Kye and Jog-Kye that were organized in the lineage village of the Goryung Park clan, Seoho Village in Hapcheon County, Kyungsang Province.

Seoho Village, in Hapcheon County, Kyungsang Province, is where descendants of Moomindang Park In (1583-1640) settled and have been living for over 400 years. Park In, a key scholar of the Nammyung School in the 17th century, was a student of Jeong Inhong, who was the top student of Nammyung Cho Sik.. Cho Sik prioritized practice over theory and Park In was a faithful successor of this practice-centered school established by Cho Sik and Jeong Inhong, which offers much to think about the climate of humanities in Seoho Village.

After the Japanese invasion in 1592, Seoho Village was organized around the Yangban as the ruling class, with the commoners and slaves living amongst one another. This was not different from other villages at the time, but it is worth noting that Seoho Village had already established socioeconomic cooperative associations and aid organizations such as members association of village (Dong-ahn), village-wide aid associations(Dong-Kye), relief associations (Eui-Kye), Lineage-wide aid associations(Moon-Kye), and the community compact(Hyangyak) in the early to mid-17th century. Dong-Kye-type organizations such as Dong-ahn and Dong-Kye were vertical cooperative associations delivering aid from the Yangban class to the lower classes through the slaves, and Jog-Kye-type organizations such as Filial Piety Associations(Eui-Kye) and Lineage-wide aid associations (Moon-Kye) were horizontal cooperative systems that facilitated mutual help among Park clan members. Specifically, the fact that Dong-Kye-type organizations were able to secure consistency and stability through various roles of village staff (Dong-im), a sophisticated division of labor where community members looked after community affairs, makes Seoho Village's mutual aid associations an interesting topic of research, a system governed by reciprocity and cooperation.

Keywords: Dong-kye (village-wide mutual aid association), JogKye (lineage-wide mutual aid associations), Seoho Village

The Sylvan Local: Pine Protection *kye* and the Politics of Environmental Change in Late Chosŏn Korea

John Lee

University of Manchester

Of the Chosŏn dynasty's many distinctive aspects, a salient feature was the Chosŏn state's centuries-long forestry system based largely around the protection of a single type of conifer, the pine. From the dynasty's inception, Chosŏn bureaucrats issued edicts and directed officials to protect pine forests for government usage. Then, from the seventeenth century onward, a local version of forestry began emerging in villages throughout southern Korea. Known as *kŭmsonggye* 禁松契, roughly translating to "Pine Protection Associations," these groups adopted the communal, mutual-aid figuration of the Korean *kye* to protect local woodland, regulate logging and fuelwood usage, and administer punishments to violators. By the early twentieth century, hundreds of Pine Protection *kye* existed throughout the Korean peninsula.

This paper analyzes the development of Pine Protection *kye* in late Chosŏn Korea by situating their formation in the shifting environmental, political, and local contexts of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. I argue that the communal regulatory frameworks through which Pine Protection *kye* managed forest usage grew out of specific historical conditions, namely environmental change, rising economic competition, and state-local conflicts that permeated the late Chosŏn era. While Pine Protection *kye* managed diverse types of woodland for multiple uses, villagers throughout late Chosŏn Korea faced common issues of pine monoculture, deforestation, and soil erosion. Population growth spurred the fragmentation of land ownership and further competition over arable land, thus raising the value of forests for wood usage, pastureland, and reclamation. Finally, the Chosŏn government continued to intensify the state forestry system. In turn, the prerogatives of state forestry increasingly clashed with local interests; yet in some cases, the state attempted to incorporate Pine Protection *kye* into government operations. In response to such conditions, Pine Protection *kye* provided an organizational framework for controlling precarious ecologies, preserving village assets, and interacting with the Chosŏn administrative state.

Altogether, I use a variety of Chosŏn-era records, including *kye* documents, diaries, and government sources, to situate the rise of the Pine Protection *kye* in their late Chosŏn context. I argue that the Pine Protection *kye* of southern Korea in particular emerged as responses to specific conditions: either environmental change, local competition, or through conflict or interaction with the Chosŏn state. Moreover, I show how Pine Protection *kye*, while diverse in their rules, size, and varieties of managed lands, shared communal figurations and regulatory frameworks with other types of rural Korean *kye*. In turn, I attest that Pine Protection *kye* provide a critical lens into the historical development of rural organization, environmental change, and state-local interactions in Korean history and additionally provide a vehicle for comparison with similar figurations of common-pool resource management in world history.

Keywords: Chosŏn Korea, forestry, environmental history, *kye*, Korean history, state, rural society, pine

Holly Stephens

University of Edinburgh

Although *kye* organizations had been active as a source of finance in Korea for centuries, the turn of the twentieth century proved a pivotal moment for their continued existence. In the face of hostile colonial policies and competition from the emerging banking industry—in particular the newly-established, government-backed financial associations (*kŭmyung chohap*)—overall numbers of *kye* declined dramatically. Previous studies have traced either the growth of the financial associations or the fortunes of individual *kye* organizations, illustrating the challenging environment for *kye* in the early twentieth century. Yet, *kye* organizations did not disappear completely, and *kye* continued to evolve within a changing political and economic landscape. This paper examines the changing role of *kye* organizations during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in the context of increased competition over the provision of rural finance. Rather than focus on a single organization, I provide an in-depth study of alternative sources of credit in Ulsan to detail the interaction between competing institutions as each sought to maintain their economic role.

Throughout, I focus on the social practices supporting the extension of credit—a crucial component of the rural economy where farmers face fluctuating incomes, seasonal patterns of production, and, in the worst case scenario, famine or unforeseen large expenses. While various *kye* had long performed these functions—pooling members' assets to provide mutual insurance against the cost of weddings and funerals, and lending *kye* assets to farmers in need of credit—the introduction of new banks in the early twentieth century posed a direct challenge to the economic role of *kye*. Nonetheless, even as the financial associations grew rapidly thanks in part to their favorable access to low-interest loans, the financial associations faced their own limits as they struggled to develop suitable practices to manage risk and the detailed local information necessary for the extension of credit. A comparison between the management of *kye* and financial associations can therefore reveal a fresh perspective on the colonial rural economy. I argue that despite the colonial government's lofty ambition to replace *kye* with financial associations, both organizations faced similar problems in the management of risk and information. An analysis of the strategies that each adopted to manage risk and information thus reveals both similarities between the two types of lender as well as the conditions leading to their eventual differentiation within the rural economy. In turn, the practices adopted to minimize risk and manage information in each institution would reshape access to credit, thus transforming both the everyday patterns of economic life and the broader structure of the rural economy in colonial Korea.

Keywords: *kye*, financial association, rural economy

Cooperation and Reciprocity in Context: The Kye in Korean History--P-04

Forestry Associations(Sallim-Kye), Saemaul Saplings, Reforestation in Korea

Do Hyun Han

Academy of Korean Studies

This article analyzes the structure and role of the forestry associations which were crucial in the reforestation in modern Korea. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) recognizes Korea as the only country which has succeeded in reforestation since World War II.

Reforestation was an initiative in Korea since the Japanese colonization period, but did not see much success until the village-based forestation efforts of the Saemaul Movement. Forestry associations (Sallim-Kye), organized at the village level according to the principals of traditional cooperatives, played a central role in this village-based forestation. These forestry associations were responsible for the management and conservation of forests, growing saplings, and planting trees. The operations of the forestry associations during the Saemaul Movement offer several best practices of the community-based forestry management that is gaining global interest. Community-based forestation associations, which were among the movement's major plans, supplied 34.8% of all saplings from 1973-1978 (Lee Kyung-Joon 2013:54). In addition to supplying the saplings necessary for reforestation, this led to an increase in rural household income, as the government provided assistance for land rent, materials, pesticides, and fertilizers, and also purchased all saplings that were grown by the villagers. Community-based sapling-growing programs were operated according to the Saemaul Movement's Income Reinvestment Project (Plan), a widely adopted platform where households participating in the sapling programs invested (not donated) half of their proceeds in a community fund, which was used towards the next profit-seeking activities. The forestry associations that grew saplings were also instrumental in planting trees for forestation. Communities produced saplings, which were sold to the government for a profit, and planted those saplings in the hills or mountains near from their villages. In return for their participation in the Saemaul Movement reforestation efforts, members of forestry associations gained access to forest byproducts and firewood. By analyzing the structure and role of these forestation associations, we can see that the traditional mutual aid associations called Kye played a significant role in the development of modern Korea.

Keywords: cooperation, forestry association, Korea, community-based forestry management, Income Reinvestment Project, Reforestation

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Knowledge, Culture, and Power: Intertextuality in Modern East Asia

Knowledge, Culture, and Power: Intertextuality in Modern East Asia--P-01

“East Asian Alliance and Sinographic Writing as Script of Revolution: Exchange of Revolutionary Knowledge between Phan Bội Châu and Asian Revolutionaries”

Ho Duk Hwang

Professor, Sungkyunkwan University

The History of the Loss of Vietnam (Việt Nam vong quốc sử, 1905), coedited by Liang Qichao and Phan Bội Châu was one of the bestselling books in modern East Asia, reveals the exchanges of knowledge, culture, and power through their interactions. By focusing on Chronology of the Life of Phan Bội Châu (Phan Bội Châu niên biểu), a sinographic autobiography by Phan, this paper examines the knowledge interaction in modern East Asia, especially the problem of the circulation of knowledge and method of “revolution.” Recently, Phan's autobiographical

writing has received scholarly attention thanks to the increasing interest in understanding the history of Korean–Vietnamese relations.

Although its meaning has been corroded through numerous betrayals and self-contradicting agendas, the banner of “Asian alliance against the West” has been a venerable political ideal and revolutionary method of resistance since the late nineteenth century. The problem is, as Takeuchi Yoshimi’s notoriously states, “in respective situations the invasion and alliance can be hardly differentiated,” and even the actors had not been fully aware of such a distinction. Nonetheless, if one acknowledges the “common traits” underlying both, and is aware of the difficulty of differentiating between alliance and intervention in every moment, then the life and writings of Phan Bội Châu, who interpreted the East Asian knowledge network as an alliance of friendliness, becomes the most impressive example of the decolonial movement.

This paper revisits the creation process of the History of the Loss of Vietnam, a writing of hot blood, which laid out the foundational connection between Phan Bội Châu and Korea, and traces the yet untold aspect of modernity in sinographic writings on the East Asian horizons reflected in Chronology of the Life of Phan Bội Châu. I examine sinographic modernity—its agency, political nature, and tactics—through the analysis of Phan’s brush talk (p’ildam) with Chinese and Japanese intellectuals such as Liang Qichao, Okuma Shigenobu, Inukai Tsuyoshi, Sun Yat-sen, and Miyazaki Toten, as well as the clues of Phan’s political alliance with Korean nationalists such as Cho Soang and Sin Kyusik.

Keywords: Phan Bội Châu, Asian Revolutionaries, Sinographic Writing, East Asian Alliance, brush talk, revolutionary knowledge, Sinographic modernity

Knowledge, Culture, and Power: Intertextuality in Modern East Asia--P-02

Representing Asia in the postwar Korea’s discourse sphere -The Union of and Conflict between Asia Nationalism and Anti-communism.

Young-Hyun Yoon

Doctoral student, Department of Korean Language and Literature, Yonsei university, Seoul, south Korea

After the Korean War(1950-1953), anti-Communism became the dominant ideology in South Korea. South Korean intellectual’s discourse on the “recognition of Asia” could not avoid the influence of the main discourse trend during the Cold War period after the Korean War. At that time, Asia was divided into three blocks: the non-aligned neutral countries as proclaimed in the ‘Bandung Conference’ (Asian-African solidarity), “Anti-Communist” countries such as Taiwan and South Korea, and “Communist” countries such as Communist China and North Korea. As such, the intellectuals in South Korea — among one of the Anti-Communist countries — have developed their discourse on the Asian political order through the major magazines such as “Saebyeok” and “Sasanggye” with respect to the Asian political order during the 1950s. They vehemently criticized the Communist Party in China and at the same time criticized the Asian countries showing the non-alignment ideology like India in the Cold War period. However, in their recognition of Asia, they showed a strong sense of linkage and sympathy with Asian countries in terms of race and tribe though they were against the non-aligned neutral countries

in Asia. Up to now, the ambivalence in the discourse of the South Korean intellectuals during that period, which look conflicting with each other, have not gotten the proper spotlight.

Accordingly, in this study, a close analysis would be made on many articles on the magazines “Saebyeok” and “Sasanggye” which were the main magazines during the period(1950s). in order to find out the characteristics and ambivalence appearing in the South Korean discourse sphere’s recognition of Asia. It would enable people to know how the Korean intellectuals have competed the “Asian nationalism” and “Cold War mentality” with their discourse during the Cold War period when they tried to represent the ‘Asia’ where they belonged. This study also handles the key Asian political leaders’ “speech and statements” such as Prime Minister Nehru and Gandhi of India, which were discussed a lot by the South Korean intellectuals. As their political statements have close intertextuality with Korean intellectuals during the Cold War period in their separate ways , [this](#) study would also contribute to the analysis of the transnational and mutual relations among discourse spheres of Asian countries during the Cold War period.

Keywords: Asia, Representing Asia, Cold War, Anti-communism, Asia nationalism

Knowledge, Culture, and Power: Intertextuality in Modern East Asia--P-03

Mediated Immediacy: Transnational Asia in South Korean Newsreels

Namhee Han

Leiden University

South Korean screens during the 1960s showed fraught contentious transnational aspirations to assert the regional identities of Asia, using the ideological and imagery maps of the Cold War. From colonial Asia in Pacific War films to Manchuria under Japanese rule in Manchurian westerns, and from the Vietnam War in newsreels to America and European countries in travelogue films, various transnational locations in South Korean vernacular film genres and forms encouraged the public to approach the world. However, this expanded worldview paradoxically evolved from political events that perpetuated Cold War ideology. The 1965 Japan-South Korea diplomatic normalization rendered diverse colonial experiences visible that were only possible in the absence of Japan, as examined by Jinsoo An (2018). Filmic representations and media coverage of South Korea’s military involvement (1964-1973) in the Vietnam War were extremely regulated by the state. In a word, transnational imaginations often failed to confront the geopolitical roles of the nation-state and the collective regional identities that propagated and maintained the idea of anticommunist and developmentalist Asia.

My paper explicates Cold War transnationalism on South Korean screens, exploring intertextuality as a mode of interpretation and a cultural production. It consists of three parts. In the first section, I discuss broad parameters that inform our understanding of intertextual screen practices from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, including widescreen film technology, portable camera technique, state-sponsored newsreels, and television. The second provides an overview of political forces that influenced representations of South Korea and its relationships with Asia and the world as a crucial context for the final section, which analyzes the ethnographic imagery of Vietnam and the invisible violence in South Korean newsreels of the Vietnam War. My paper demonstrates how viewing modes are appropriate for seeing composite materials and examines their relationship to the immediate and the evidential. Proposing the concept of “mediated

immediacy” that facilitates viewers’ perceptions, I argue that we should examine the multiple temporalities and intermedialities in intertextual screen practices to interrogate transnationalism pursued in Cold War Asia and seek alternative possibilities to the institutionalized version. While existing studies focus on individual memories and traumas of the Vietnam War and South Korea’s position as a sub-imperial force within U.S.-dominated Cold War geopolitics and capitalism, my paper sheds light on how the particular imagery and forms of newsreels consciously or unconsciously presented immediate, but mediated, responses to the war. My paper thus contributes to expanding the scope of studies on South Korea’s involvement in the Vietnam War to the politics of visual intertextuality, which traverses colonialism and postcolonialism and intersects newsreels and ethnographic travelogues.

Keywords: Intertextuality, Cold War Transnationalism, Newsreel, Immediacy

Knowledge, Culture, and Power: Intertextuality in Modern East Asia--P-04

Misery Loves Company: Epics of An Chunggŭn and Korean Nationalism in Modern China

Song Yeol Han

Seton Hall University

This paper examines the circulation of An Chunggŭn biography and its popularity in 1910s–1920s China. An Chunggŭn’s biography as a story of national hero continues to command attention in China, even more than a century after the assassination. Bearing in mind the enduring popularity of the patriotic Korean assassin’s life story, in relation to international power struggles and the postcolonial impulse to regain national pride, this paper explores the mode by which Korean nationalist discourse maintained its dialectic relationship with Chinese nationalist discourse in the 1910s and 1920s. Strenuous efforts of Korean writers exiled to China constantly refashioned literary styles suitable and compelling to sinographic readers, or Hanmun (漢文) readers. This study highlights the development of Korean modern national discourse, expressed in sinographic writings. This paper addresses that Korea continues to sustain as a national discourse that sparks the imaginations of modern national identity and revolutionary knowledge among sinographic readers in the early twentieth century.

Keywords: An Chunggŭn (1879-1910), Pak Ŭnsik (1859-1925), sinographic literature (Hanmun munhak), intertextuality, Sino-Korean nationalist discourse

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Relational Approaches to the Study of Korean Societies

Relational Approaches to the Study of Korean Societies--P-01

A Korean Borderland for Vietnamese Marriage Migration

Hyeseon Jeong

Borders are produced and exercised not only at territorial frontiers but also in the discursive processes of nation-building. Borders, therefore, can be found any place where the biopower of the state cuts across social relations. Language is increasingly becoming an instrument of border control in many countries. This paper unveils how South Korea's linguistic territorial practices produce borderlands in rural Southeast Asia and investigates how hegemonic gender politics are both reproduced and challenged in these spaces. The 2013 amendment of the regulations of South Korea's Immigration Control Act introduced a linguistic regime of transnational marriage migration. Applicants for South Korea's family union visa are required to prove their ability to communicate with their Korean citizen spouses. This regime created unique borderlands in rural Southeast Asia, where women married to Korean men stay in dormitories for months and study the Korean language to acquire the visa. Through a case study of Vietnam, from which the largest number of transnational marriage migrant women to South Korea derive, this paper also reveals that this borderland can be a productive space where migrant women exercise agency to form networks and share knowledge, and civil society organizations make interventions to challenge South Korea's hegemonic gender politics.

Keywords: transnational marriage migration, linguistic territoriality, borderland, agency, gender

Relational Approaches to the Study of Korean Societies--P-02

Inter-Korean Contact Zones in South Korea and the UK

Soo-Jung LEE

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This paper discusses two inter-Korean contact zones in South Korea and the UK. "Contact zones" is both a descriptive and theoretical concept. It refers to "social spaces" where people who experienced historical, geographical, cultural, ideological separation "meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (M. Pratt, 1991. p. 34). Contact zones, thusly defined, can reveal the "dynamics" of inclusion and exclusion, collision and communication, conflict and coexistence within these spaces. Contact zones are also social spaces where people negotiate their identity and perhaps create a new one as the boundary between "us" versus "them" becomes a source of contestation. The concrete dynamics of contact zones, however, vary depending on their different location.

Among various inter-Korean contact zones, I will introduce and compare two cases located in South Korea and United Kingdom. Firstly, I will examine the case of New Malden in the UK, where South Korean "immigrants" and North Korean "refugees" cohabitate. I will then relate the case with South Korea where South Korean "citizens" and North Korean "defectors" interact with each other. These two contact zones are alike in that they are characterized by encounters of people who grew up in different (or, antagonistic) socio-political backgrounds, yet still insist on their common ethnicity, which granted them a dual identity of "enemy" as well as the "same" people. At the same time, however, there is a significant difference arising from the nature of the contact zones (i.e. "place factor," that is characterized by regional, national and transnational features that constitute the very place). This paper attempts to uncover the implications for social integration of the two Koreas by analyzing the experiences of contacts among people from the two Koreas taking place in these two different locations. Concomitantly, it also unveils that these two locations have been produced in relation to one another.

Work Cited:

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. "Arts of the Contact Zone" *Profession* 91: 33-40

Keywords: Inter-Koreas, contact zones, identities

Relational Approaches to the Study of Korean Societies--P-03

Rethinking Anti-Poverty Activism in South Korea: Dialogues with China's Labor NGOs

Mun Young Cho

Yonsei University

Whenever I visited labor NGOs in China, activists brought up Chun Tae-il, whose suicide protest in 1970 awoke South Korean workers to a political awareness of their miserable conditions. Other NGOs who receive support from the Chinese government often refer to "Korea" by focusing on the country's social entrepreneurship or community-building programs, which are massively supported by corporations and governments. By contrast, among labor NGOs who face repression from the party-state due to their claim for workers' rights, *minjung* (people) politics under the military rule constitutes an indexical image of "Korea."

In this paper, I examine the seemingly anachronistic translation practice made by China's labor NGOs, and propose it not as an example of incomplete comparison between the Korean past and the Chinese present, but as an opportunity for challenging South Korean discursive landscapes of rendering solidarity activism invisible or outmoded. In ter-referential dialogues with China's labor NGOs enable us to see civil "societies" in South Korea, in which grassroots activists and social entrepreneurs are living in coevalness (Johannes Fabian) despite varying degrees of recognition. Particular attention is given to interviews with South Korean anti-poverty activists who struggle with the ignorance of the public.

Keywords: anti-poverty activism, social entrepreneurship, labor NGO, China, South Korea

Relational Approaches to the Study of Korean Societies--P-04

A Relational Approach to Transitional Justice involving South Korea: Gendered Violence in the Asia-Pacific War and the Second Indochina War

JESOOK SONG

University of Toronto

This paper engages in a relational approach to transitional justice that explores a reconciliation of international war crimes focusing on two historical contexts that involved South Korea in gendered violence, either as victims or as aggressors. By relational approach, it supposes events, practices, and processes that might appear

comparable need to be fully contextualized in their respective geohistorical contexts. However, each experience is not isolatable within the global context. Rather, they are interlinked and can generate insights for broader forms of understanding. Based on this premise, this paper juxtaposes Japanese redress politics of Korean “comfort women” of the Japanese military during the Asia Pacific War (1941-1945) and South Korean reconciliatory acts for Vietnamese women raped and/or murdered by the Korean military during the Second Indochina War (1955-1975), or better known as the Vietnam War. Building on Lisa Yoneyama’s *Cold War Ruins*—a book that deals with the ways in which “comfort women” issues became a catalyst of the 1990s redress culture in transpacific context – this paper focuses on the ideological wars that rationalized gendered crimes during the war and attempted to make reparation in the post-1990s era. It does not only trace how state-to-state resolutions have been attempted or carried out, but also focuses on ways in which non-state actors were involved in the process of redress efforts especially through memorialization of the war through material objects. These included a statue of a young girl that represents Korean “comfort women,” as well as the Vietnam pieta tribute to Vietnamese women and children victims. This paper aims to situate the complex layers in the growing movements of transitional justice in non-western regions that challenge extant understandings of reconciliation in the dichotomy of west and non-west or white and non-white. At the same time, it seeks to offer insights on how those two different spatio-temporal processes were interconnected through the interests of global military security and ideological contestations.

Work Cited:

Yoneyama, Lisa. 2016. *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Keywords: gendered violence, memorialization of war crimes, reconciliation

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period

Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period--P-01

On the Books about the Names of Things in the Late Joseon Period and their Cultural Historical Significance: Centering on the Jaemulbo (才物譜)

Jung min Kim

The Academy of Korean Studies

The purpose of this study is to reveal the background of the written books about the names of things in the late Joseon period, and to discuss their value as a material for research of the names

of things and their role in the cultural history of Joseon. This study will mainly focus on Jaemulbo (才物譜) which was written in 1798 by Lee Man-yeong (李晩榮). The reason for this is that Jaemulbo contains the most comprehensive vocabulary, and it has become a model of the later book because of its very systematic format. The 18th century, when the Jaemulbo was written, was a time when scholars who were engaged in Confucian Classics (經學) and Neo-confucianism (性理學) began to devote themselves to the things around their own life from the extant metaphysical studies. At the same time, a new academic tendency emerged as a form of study on the names of things, and the interest in things led to a comprehensive compilation of vocabulary like Jaemulbo (才物譜). This study will clarify the reason why the books about the names of things appeared in this flow and what the value of the books is as a material for research of the pre-modern names of things. Furthermore, this study will deal with how such books led the direction of the future scholarship and how they affected the culture of Joseon.

Keywords: names of things, Late Joseon Period, vocabulary, culture of Joseon, pre-modern names of things, Jaemulbo

Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period--P-02

Naming things [Mulmyeong] by unique Korean Chinese language in the books of Naming Things in the late Joseon Dynasty

DONGSURK KIM

The Academy of Korean Studies

"Naming things by unique Korean Chinese language in the books of Naming Things in the late Joseon Dynasty"

The purpose of this study is to reveal the characteristics and values of naming things by unique Korean Chinese language, which is different from original Chinese language, in the late Joseon Dynasty. 'Naming things by original Chinese language' occupies a big part of naming things in Korean words; however, 'naming things by unique Korean Chinese language' also occupies another big part of naming things. 'Naming things by original Chinese language' is what is commonly understood in the East Asian region that shares Chinese characters. On the other hand, 'unique Korean Chinese language' is composed of distinctive Chinese characters (Koreanized Chinese character) that are used only in Korea around the East Asian region that shares Chinese characters, and 'naming things by unique Korean Chinese language' also consists of special vocabularies used only in Korea. Therefore, it is necessary to study the general phenomenon, the character system, and the feature and the value of naming things by unique Korean Chinese language appearing in the books of Naming Things in the late Joseon Dynasty. Unique Korean Chinese language was widely used in naming things because it had accuracy, convenience, practicality and rapidness in general communication. In addition, naming things reflects a system of thought that contains the Korean unique customs and cultures. This study will help to understand naming things in the late Joseon Dynasty and will be a reference to the naming method of new things in the future. Furthermore, it will help foreigners to understand the Korean language and Korean culture easily and deeply.

Keywords: Naming things by original Chinese language, The Koreanized Chinese characters, The unique Korean Chinese language, The the books of Naming Things in the late Joseon Dynasty, the Korean language and Korean culture.

Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period--P-03

A Study on the Characteristics of Ordinary Names of Things in the Korean Old Vernacular Letters (諺簡)

Jeong-a Jo

Kyungsung University

The purpose of this study is to reveal the characteristics and values of ordinary names of things appearing in the Korean old vernacular letters (諺簡), and furthermore to illuminate the material value of the Korean old vernacular letters for the study of the names of things (物名). In the Korean old vernacular letters, there are many everyday and colloquial names of things, which are meaningful because they are invisible in the officially published materials. Since they are used in the actual process of communication between the sender and recipient, there is an advantage that they can vividly capture the context in which the name is used. On the other hand, by comparing the names of things appearing in the Korean old vernacular letters with the other materials including printed edition, it is possible to clarify the differences in usage and to identify the influence relationship between names. In addition, by examining the process of changing the names of things to the contemporary Korean, it is possible to grasp the changing type or tendency of the names of things according to the age.

Keywords: the Korean old vernacular letters (諺簡), the names of things (物名),

Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period--P-04

Royal Archives (王室 발기[件記]) and their Value as a Material for Research of the Names of Things

Pooja Park

Sungshin Universty

The royal archives refer to the documents that list the objects related to various events of the royal family in the late Joseon Dynasty. The purpose of this study is to reveal the material value of the royal archives and to examine the lexical characteristics of the names of things in them. The royal archives have been used mainly in the history of royal rituals, the history of royal costumes and the history of royal food, but since they contain a variety of names of things, they should be examined in studying the names of things in terms of vocabulary. In particular, there are many cases in the royal archives where the same names of things coexist in both Korean and Chinese character. Therefore, it is easy to look at the origin or change of the names, the different notation of the same name, and the borrowed writing system from Chinese character (漢字借用表記) related to the name of thing. Through this study, if the value of royal archives is revealed as the material for research of the names of things, the study of royal language will

be enriched, and the study of the lexical history and the borrowed writing system of the names of things will become more active. Furthermore, it is expected that the interdisciplinary studies with neighboring sciences that make the royal names of things a common subject of study will also deepen.

Keywords: Royal Archives (王室 발기[件記]), the Names of Things, the borrowed writing system from Chinese character (漢字借用表記), the lexical history, the origin or change of the names, the different notation of the same name

Fundamental Studies on the Names of Things (物名) in the Materials of the Late Joseon Period--P-05

On the Comprehensive Collection and Database Construction of the Names of Things in the Late Joseon Period

Moon hwan Hwang

The Academy of Korean Studies

In this presentation, I will discuss how to build a database based on the comprehensive collection of the names of things in the literature of the late Joseon period. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries of Joseon Dynasty, there was a time of full-fledged interest in our own names of things, which are denoted as vernacular characters (諺文) beyond Chinese characters. Therefore, this period has an advantage of being able to capture the correlation between 'the names in Chinese characters' and 'the names in vernacular characters.' Focusing on this advantage, this presentation searches for a systematic method of collecting the names of things through 'selection and concentration,' and discusses how to construct such collectibles as a database. In DB, the metadata of the individual names of things in the original materials is created and organized in XML format. In this way, it becomes possible to search and arrange according to various criteria such as headword, time, classification, and source. This can lead to various academic and cultural ripple effects by maximizing the utilization of the names of things without simply staying in the data collection. The research on the names of things has been one of the fields in which the interdisciplinary research is most desperate because the study of 'real things (實物)' and the study of 'names (名稱)' have been carried out separately. It is expected that the research achievements of each field will be reflected as metadata when the DB is made, and the interdisciplinary exchange and cooperation will also be further enhanced.

Keywords: Collection and Database Construction, the Names of Things, the Late Joseon Period

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Panel - Gender and Crime

Gender and Crime--P-01

Popular Imaginations of the Bad Girl: Criminalizing Women in Romance Novels in Colonial Korea

Jooyeon Rhee

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In the early 1930s, Korean writers met a series of challenges in producing their literary works. On the one hand, the colonial state's increasingly tight censorship severely limited the freedom of their expression. On the other hand, the competitive environment of the publishing industry imposed economic difficulty on them since the publication venues shrank considerably. In this politically and economically difficult time, the literary scene witnessed the increasing popularity of popular literature, namely, romance fiction, historical fiction, and detective fiction. The seemingly non-political "popular fictions" [*taejung sosŏl*] in the 1930s, however, contain critical perspectives on the pressing socio-economic conditions in the colony. Often veiled under the intense drama of love and money, popular fictions reveal the immense gap between the colony and the metropole and cities and rural areas in colonial Korea. Popular literature, romance novels in particular, deserves a better scholarly attention; first, because it helps us to understand how the environment motivated writers beyond popular novelists to rethink about the concept of the masses [*taejung*]; second, because it shows how stories of romance provided both writers and readers to publicly identify their social reality when such critical voice was suppressed.

This paper focuses on Pang In'g ŭn (1899-1975), the founder of one of the most influential literary magazines in colonial Korea, *Chosŏn mundan*, whose literary career spanned over five decades. He attempted to reach the wide readership by concentrating on romance novels since the early 1930s in which his melodramatic narratives are often imbued with crime and punishment. It examines Pang's two romance novels, *The Incense of the City of Devil* (*Mado ŭi hyangppul*, 1932-3) and *A Wandering Musician* (*Pangnang ŭi kain*, 1933) by focusing on women who are criminalized for their sexual deviance and immoral social behavior. The overriding concern of crime and deviance in Pang's plays a dual function. Criminalizing women's pursuit of sexual desire and material accumulation resonates with the colonial state's control of consumption behavior and domestic order. And at the same time, deviant women are a cultural site in which the collective anxiety over the uneven colonial reality and the desire for modernity was manifest. The bad girl, in other words, embodies the fantasy of modernity in late colonial Korea, more specifically, the imagination of non-acceptable Others, or "hysterical desire," as Žižek terms it, in order to sustain the seemingly self-evident reality that was under constant attacks. By applying Žižek's theories of fantasy, and by placing the novels in the socio-economic context as well as in the literary climate of the time, this paper analyzes female criminality reflected in the figure of bad girl in Pang's novels as an embodiment of the fantasy of modern desire that ought to produce Others within as a response to colonial capitalism.

Keywords: romance novels, female criminality, romance novels

Gender and Crime--P-02

Narratives of Illicit Sex and Murder: Two Cases of Adulterous Women Killing Their Husbands in Late Chosŏn

Hyejong Kang

Yonsei University

In 1866 Chosŏn, there were two cases in which women in their twenties killed husbands with their illicit lovers and were thus sentenced to dismemberment. The cases are recorded in Ch'uan'gŭpkugan 推案及鞫案, Ch'ugugilgi 推鞫日記 and Ch'ujogyŏlokrok 秋曹決獄錄, because they were considered as part of the "Samsŏngch'uguk 三省推鞫" cases – crimes against the ethics of the Three Bonds and Five Virtues 三綱五倫. "Samsŏngch'uguk" means an interrogation by officials of the Cabinet (Ŭijongbu, 議政府), the King's Court (Ŭigŭmbu, 義禁府), and the Censorate (Office of Taegan, 臺諫) to deliberate on the cases violating the Three Bonds and Five Virtues disciplines such as murdering one's parents or husband, a chattel slave murdering one's master, and a government slave murdering a government official. Thus the act of conspiracy and murders by adulterous women received as much attention as high treason cases.

The records are valuable since they contain relatively detailed information of the female criminals including their confession considering sources on criminal cases in nineteenth-century Chosŏn are scarce, thus posing a challenge for a thorough examination of the details of diverse individual cases compared to the earlier period. The kyŏlan 結案 (the formal documents of finalizing the death sentence) of the two cases in particular enable us to examine the identities and confessions of the two low class women. The writing of the kyŏlan was a mandatory process when sentencing death, thus the voices of the women had to be reflected in order to specify the crimes and (justify) the punishment. A close examination of the writings in kyŏlan shows us the ways in which female criminals were portrayed and female criminality was determined as seen in the legal process.

Therefore, this paper focus on official accounts of the interrogations and testimonies of the two cases dealing with other cases and fictional stories on women's adultery or murder, which provide us a comprehensive picture of the legal culture and legal writing of late Chosŏn. First, by reading between the lines of legal documents of these cases and reconstructing the narratives, this paper identifies critical factors which generated and reinforced female criminality in Confucian society of Chosŏn. Second, this paper argues that the comparison between legal documents and fictional narratives expands our understanding of gendered practice of law and that it also illuminate the way in which female criminality was mediated through fictional forms of writing such as prose on the life of person (Chŏn, 傳) and quasi-fictional tales (yadam, 野談).

Through these argument, the feature of female criminals and the narrative of female crimes in legal texts will be examined finding the deliberate attempt to patch up social disintegration and conflicts that could challenge Confucian norms by authorities or literati.

Keywords: female criminality, husband killing, female adultery, legal documents, Ch'uan'gŭpkugan, the nineteenth-century Chosŏn

Gender and Crime--P-03

Representation of Japanese Women in Detective Fiction Penned by Japanese Residents in Colonial Korea

Jaejin Yu

Korea University

All women who appear in modern Japanese detective fictions are beautiful, and they are either villains who commit murders or victims of crimes. It is rare to find female characters who have traits of ordinary women in real life in the genre. The representation of women in such dichotomy in detective fiction has a lot to do with the male-driven authorship and consumption of the genre in modern Japan. Although it has not been widely known to this date, a number of male Japanese residents in colonial Korea produced a number of detective fictions in Japanese. Most of them were not professional writers, but these amateurs actively published their works individually in Japanese print media including newspapers and magazines while some established a literary club such as “Keijō [Seoul] Detective Fiction and Hobby Circle” through which they published their works. Most of these writers in the circle were men, and similar to the detective fictions produced in Japan, female figures were main objects of representation in their works. In their works, it is rare to find Korean characters: most of their characters, including female characters, were Japanese residents who lived in colonial Korea. This paper examines the representation of Japanese women in colonial Korea by analyzing a relay detective fiction serial, *The Death of a Female Spy* [onna supai no shi], which was published at a magazine, *Chōsen kōron* (1931). Four different writers from the Keijō Detective Fiction and Hobby Circle wrote this work in five installments consecutively. Its narrative revolves around the murder of the main host of a bar called “Café Senorita.” During the detecting process, it turns out that the bar was a hideout for Japanese socialists in Seoul; and also reveals that she was a pervert [pyōnt’ae] and a spy who worked for the Japanese police. The murdered woman had double identities: she was the ‘madam’ of the bar and faked as her twin sister when spying out and controlling men. At the end, she is murdered by the police: she is a mere tool of the empire and an object of male desire who can be replaced by another female spy at any time. Three female characters appear in *The Death of a Female Spy* including the murdered woman and all of them are doomed to fall. The stories of their misfortune reveal how the lives of Japanese women outside Japan such as China, Manchuria, and Korea deteriorated in contrast to the power of the Japanese empire that manifests in its imperial expansion in the regions. It cannot be said that these women represent ordinary Japanese women who lived in the colony at the time but they were mysterious objects of male desire that is constructed within the imperial order of things.

Keywords: detective fiction by Japanese residents in colonial Korea, Keijo Detective Fiction Club, female spy

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Panel - The State of Democracy in South Korea

Roh 2.0? The Moon Jae-in Administration and the Integral State

Jamie Doucette

University of Manchester

This paper situates the Moon Jae-in administration within the terrain of the integral state: the complex relationality within and dialectical unity of political + civil society identified by the Italian theorist and political activist Antonio Gramsci. It does so by examining the role that former democracy movement and civil society activists have played in both formulating and contesting Moon's domestic policy agenda and by examining this experience in light of the dynamics of the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-2008). As such, the paper pays particular attention to the dynamics and discourses of dissent as well as to the strategic choices made by former activists in their attempt to address what they saw as the shortcomings of Roh's participatory government. How do activists view the changed nexus of state and civil society following the Candlelight Revolution? What lessons have been learned from the challenges of past administrations? How have the dynamics of protest and dissent shifted since the mid-2000s? These questions and more are analyzed by building upon new research among civil society organizations, democratic reformers, and social movements activists.

Keywords: integral state, Korean social movements, democracy, civil society organizations, Moon Jae-in, South Korea

"South Korea's democracy in danger? Assessing the state of democracy in South Korea between consolidation and backlash."

Antonio Fiori

University of Bologna

Scholars and policy makers in the West have long touted Korea as a shining example of the third-wave of global democratization. For more than a decade, Freedom House has endorsed the country as a fully consolidated liberal democracy. The Economist Intelligence Unit has also rated Korea as one of the three most advanced third-wave democracies (with Spain and Uruguay being the others) for years. Accordingly, the country is widely recognized as one of a few that "established liberal democracy so quickly" and consolidated it "rapidly". Since October 2016, however, this non-Western icon of consolidated liberal democracy has suddenly become a target of ridicule in the global news media, due to President Park Geun-hye's impeachment, prosecution and detention. Even before these stories became public news, however, Freedom House began to downgrade the country's overall level of freedom from 86 in 2013 to 82 in 2017.

In her impeachment trial, the Constitutional Court unanimously ruled that President Park "seriously impaired the spirit of representative democracy and the rule of law." The most notorious of her undemocratic and illegal deeds was to allow Choi Soon-sil, a personal friend holding no government position, to freely meddle in the formulation and implementation of domestic and foreign policies. The president enabled this friend to enrich herself by forcing 53 companies to donate more than \$69 million to the two foundations under her control. She also

had her government agencies blacklist as many as ten thousand political opponents and progressive artists who were critical of her presidency or her government's policies, and also tax audit news media that published negative stories about her government as well as private businesses which refused to cooperate with it.

Why could these and many other marked practices of the authoritarian past resurge even after nearly three decades of incessant democratic rule? Why did many highly educated citizens and government officials collaborate with the president and her personal friend, violating the fundamental norms of democracy and capitalism? Why did the leaders of many powerful multinational corporations, such as Samsung, become accomplices in those corrupt and illegal practices? Why did opposition parties, civic groups, and the news media fail to serve as countervailing forces against the imperial presidency?

In order to give an answer to these questions we propose to investigate cultural legacies of the authoritarian past as a powerful force promoting the resurgence of authoritarian political practices while impeding the growth of democratic citizenship. Those legacies lurk beneath the façade of free elections and other democratic institutions long after the demise of authoritarian rule. As habits of heart and mind, they often encourage political leaders to resort to various methods of authoritarian governance, which leads to the resurgence of autocratic politics and subsequent deconsolidation of Korea's liberal democracy. At the same time, those habits motivate citizens to welcome the resurgence of those methods, which impedes the growth of democratic citizenship.

This investigation also examines the first year of Moon administration and confirms its assumptions by examining the recent rumors of a possible mobilization of the army in the wake of Park Geun-hye's impeachment.

Keywords: democracy, South Korea, Park Geun-hye, scandals, impeachment, arrest, backlash

The State of Democracy in South Korea--P-03

South Korea's 'foreign policy dilemma' and Moon Jae-in's new old-policy

Marco Milani

University of Sheffield

The election of President Moon Jae-in marked a clear change in South Korea's foreign policy, in particular for what concerns relations with North Korea, but also with the United States and China. Following the progressive political tradition, from the onset of his presidency Moon implemented a conciliatory approach that was aimed at reinstating inter-Korean dialogue and cooperation and at enhancing cooperation in the region. This new policy was largely considered as an attempt to restart the so-called 'Sunshine Policy' which was pursued by his progressive predecessors Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun.

In just a few months, this shift in managing the country's foreign policy brought about relevant results in terms of relations with North Korea. After the first conciliatory gestures during the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics, the leader of the two countries met in April for the third inter-

Korean summit. A few weeks later, the first historical meeting between the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un and the American President Trump took place. Furthermore, South Korea has rebuilt good relations with China, after several months of tensions related to the deployment of the American anti-missile system THAAD on the peninsula. At the same time, unlike his progressive predecessor – and political mentor – Roh Moo-hyun, Moon has been able to pursue this conciliatory approach without undermining the alliance with the US, thus ensuring a higher degree of efficacy to his policy.

In this perspective, Moon seems to have successfully addressed the ‘dilemma’ of South Korea’s foreign policy, especially for what concerns progressive governments, traditionally caught in the middle between the security alliance with the US and regional cooperation.

This paper analyses Moon Jae-in’s foreign policy, focusing on the existing dilemma between a conciliatory approach toward North Korea and China and a strong alliance with the United States. The first part assesses the differences of the progressive and conservative foreign policy tradition, explaining how the current administration can be considered in line with the former. Then, the paper examines the historical roots of the current administration’s approach. Finally, it argues that Moon’s strategy of combining cooperation and reassurance can represent a viable option to reduce tension on the peninsula without undermining South Korea’s alliance with the US.

Keywords: South Korea, foreign policy, inter-Korean relations, Moon Jae-in, US-South Korea relations, China-South Korea relations.

The State of Democracy in South Korea--P-04

Moon Jae-in's 'Diplomacy with the People': Reconnecting with the Domestic Public to break the Middle Power Impasse

Francesca Frassinetti

University of Bologna

The victory of the liberal candidate Moon Jae-in in the 2017 presidential elections saw the third transition of power between the opposition and the government since South Korean democratisation in the late 1980s which had marked a watershed moment also for the country's foreign policy reconfiguration towards domestic and international audiences. As a matter of fact, it brought about a contestation process among foreign policy elites regarding the roles the country should play to overcome the then-dominant Cold War narrative which had framed Seoul foreign policy as heavily reliant on its alliance with the United States and almost exclusively engaged with the Peninsula question. Since then the country has used its growing capabilities to pursue a more autonomous course in its foreign policy under the leadership of progressive and conservative presidents at the regional and global level respectively, finally succeeding in being acknowledged as an emerging middle power.

President Moon shares with both his liberal and conservative predecessors the aim of bolstering Seoul middle power credentials given that middle power has become the concept with which South Korean contemporary practitioners want the country to be associated. Nevertheless, his administration's bandwidth for an ambitious middle power statecraft is severely reduced by the hurdles pertaining to the domestic realm and the volatile geostrategic environment which have prevented South

Korea from fully translating its aspirations into coherent and consistent foreign policy initiatives at either levels, leading to the current slowdown in the middle power diplomatic momentum.

The paper draws a connection between the domestic and the international arenas to evaluate the degree of continuity in Moon Jae-in's foreign policy initiatives against the backdrop of the institutional and bureaucratic constraints of South Korean foreign policy making which are likely to hamper further efforts to graduate from being the always 'emerging' middle power of the Asia-Pacific context. Particular attention is paid to the impact of Park Geun-hye's impeachment on the relationship between the government and civil society with regard to the latter demands for more transparency in the conduct of foreign policy, including in South Korean activism as a middle power. For Moon, the task of improving governmental accountability in foreign policy will be instrumental to strengthen public consensus on South Korea's national role as a middle power.

Keywords: Moon Jae-in, foreign policy, middle power

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Individual papers - Korean History

Korean History--I-01

Late Chosŏn-Tokugawa Period Intellectual Exchange and Formation of Ancient History Discourses: Focusing on Written Conversations of 18th Century Chosŏn Missions to Japan

JINYOUNG JANG

KOREA UNIVERSITY

This presentation will examine how Chosŏn and Japan discussed their countries' ancient histories in the written conversations (p'ildam, 筆談) of Chosŏn's missions to Japan, which were the result of direct exchange between the late Chosŏn and Tokugawa intellectuals.

Since the early 20th century, the field of ancient history has been the main theater in which East Asia's nation-states engaged in the "history wars." Much ink has been spilled about how nation-states have mobilized the invented tradition of ancient history to make claims based on the "tradition" or towards nationalist/fascist aims. Many of these studies also assume that the nature of these mobilized memories remained unchanged since premodernity. In fact, however, such memories in the premodern period did not exist as self-evident historical truths, but were excavated and remembered by specific agents, or created and reanalyzed from a certain perspective. Such memories were again transformed with the advent of modernity, and finally assimilated into each nation-state's body of knowledge.

To cite one example, one of the recurring topics in the conversations are the life and accomplishments of the Paekche scholar Wang In (王仁). However, according to Chosŏn literati at the time, there was no evidence at all in either the official (jŏngsa, 正史) or folk histories (yasa, 野史) on the truth about Wang In. His existence was made known to Chosŏn thanks to written conversations with Japanese scholars, who persistently investigated whether

or not he existed as transmitter of learning to Japan, and at times fabricating and spreading written conversations on Wang In as proof he had existed for Japanese readers. Although it seems strange from a modern perspective to attribute the origins of Japan's culture to an outsider, Japan's Confucian scholars sought to demonstrate the existence of a "bearer of advanced civilization" rivaling Chosŏn's Kija (箕子). It is interesting that Wang In, a person portrayed as demonstrating ancient Korea's cultural superiority in modern history, was in fact "discovered" according to the "needs" of Tokugawa Japan's literati.

In addition to this example, the written conversations also discuss individuals and historical incidents ranging from Ah Chikki (阿直岐), Tangun (檀君), Kija (箕子), Empress Jingū (神功皇后), the Three Han States (三韓), and wars and exchanges between the ancient Korean states and Japan. This presentation introduces significant issues on ancient history discussed across 140 18th century written conversations, while focusing on some examples that demonstrate the process of memory adoption and their changes in meaning over time. By examining the role which direct exchange between 18th century Chosŏn-Japan scholars played in the formation of both countries' ancient history discourses at the time, this study vertically delineates the key memories of East Asian memory spaces.

Keywords: late Chosŏn dynasty, Tokugawa Japan, Chosŏn missions to Japan, written conversations, ancient history

Korean History--I-02

The First Professional Korean Language Teacher in Europe Kim Byeong-ok (1874 – after 1917): his life and activities

Sergei Kurbanov

St. Petersburg University, Russia

Russian Empire has concluded official diplomatic relations with Joseon (Korea) in 1884. In 1896 Korean delegation headed by Min Yeong-hwan took part in the coronation of the emperor Nicolas the 2nd, and after that the delegation has moved to St. Petersburg for Russian-Korean talks. During the talks the Russian government has asked Korean delegation to send to St. Petersburg a Korean language teacher.

The next year, in 1897, when Min Yeong-hwan visited St. Petersburg for the 2nd time and officially has opened Korean legation in the capital of the Russian Empire, he brought with him a young man whose official position was a Korean-Russian interpreter. When Min Yeong-hwan continued his mission to other European countries (May, 1987) Kim Byeong-ok remained in St. Petersburg, being the only official of the diplomatic mission, residing in Russia.

Since autumn 1897 Kim Byeong-ok began his career as a lecturer at the St. Petersburg Emperor's University. Until present time there were found no records describing life and activities of this first professional Korean Language teacher in Europe.

The paper unveils some of very interesting information about life of Kim Byeong-ok. Most of the information was obtained from archives and primary sources. Thus it was possible to discover:

- The age of Mr. Kim Byeongok. The paper discusses the issue of origin of Kim Byeong-ok. Some sources indicate that he was a Korean of Russian roots. Some sources claim that he was an original Korean who even served as personal interpreter of king Gojong.
- His marital status in Russia, his creed, his Russian name (god's name) etc., addresses where he lived in St. Petersburg and many other information.
- His personal relations with Korean diaspora and his private life in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century. This information was never presented before in any research and is based on archives sources.

The most interesting part of the paper is a primary source material, discovered by the author in 2018 and unknown before. This is an interview of Kim Byeong-ok published in a Russian newspaper at the beginning of the 20th century. The interview reveals the character traits of Kim Byeong-ok, and also presents the most acute problems of Korean studies of the early 21st century.

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Keywords: Kim Byeong-ok, Russian-Korean relations, 19th century, King Kojong, Korean Legation in St. Petersburg, life of Koreans in Imperial Russia, official and clandestine activities, Korean Language teacher, Russian students, tutorial, teaching methodology.

ZHANNA SON

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In the Far Eastern party documents and the mass media in the 1920s had used the term “Easterners.” This term means Chinese and Koreans. Despite their active participation in the revolutionary movement in Russia after the establishment of the Soviet power in the Far East, Chinese and Koreans had problems arose related to civilizational communication with the Russian-speaking population.

In the mid-1920s, the masses of migrants from different regions of Central Russia and Ukraine had come to reclaim the expanses of the Far East. Harsh weather conditions and economic crisis were exacerbating inter-ethnic problems. Despite the fact that the Chinese and Koreans were familiar to the Far Eastern climate, and for many years successfully worked in all spheres of the economic life of the Far East, the newly arrived Russian population did not want to recognize them and showed chauvinistic and nationalistic sentiments.

These sentiments were manifesting in mockery on Koreans and Chinese sometimes reaching a beating with a fatal outcome. The Communist and Komsomol members were showing chauvinistic sentiments, considering the Easterners as inferior people, and they oppressed them not only physically, but also economically. Easterners had a low salary, received worst food and clothing compared to the Russian population.

The economy of the region was in need of the cheap labor of Chinese and Koreans. In particular, in the gold industry of the Far East the Chinese and Koreans numbered 6, 591 people (51, 2% of the total number of workers in the industry) by 1923. In 1924, the amount of taxes on the gold industry as compared with 1914 increased from 12, 6% to 31, 8% it was extremely advantageous for gold mining enterprises to use the cheap labor of the Easterners. In the 1924/25 operational year 3, 715 peoples there were engaged in gold mining in the Sretensky District, including 1, 724 people from the eastern workers (46%); in the 1925/26 operational year 4, 063 people, including 1, 514 people from the eastern workers (37%).

The population quality of the Easterners, especially the Chinese, was unequal; workers in the gold fields were former Chinese mercenary soldiers, bankrupt traders, artisans, and the peasants who did not create sufficient capital in the homeland, as well as Chinese beggars and the unemployed.

In the 1920s, a similar situation was observed among the Korean population. Nevertheless, the Koreans differed from the Chinese in that they were moving to Russia with whole families and forever. The mainstreams of Koreans were engaged in agriculture, and the Chinese were coming to Russia without their families, were hiring as workers for industrial enterprises, and all earnings were sending to China. This outstanding feature of the Koreans, to move to Russia and to take their roots was approved as far back as in tsarist times and was strongly encouraged by the authorities.

The attitude of the Soviet authorities to the “Easterners” was more than positive, since the Soviets saw in China and Korea space for revolutionary activity and communist propaganda. Nevertheless, in contradistinction from the Koreans, more stringent measures were applied to the Chinese population.

Keywords: Koreans, Chinese, chauvinism, nationalism, the USSR, the Far East

Korean History--I-04

Utsunomiya Tokuma (1906-2000)'s perception of and impact on the two Koreas – The "lone wolf" in Japan's Liberal Democratic Party

Juljan Biontino

Chiba University

Having suffered from Japanese colonialism and national division, both Koreas stood on opposing sides in the Cold War. For Japan, which not only held responsibility for the events on the Korean peninsula, but also was home to a Korean minority that could not return to Korea after the war, dealing with Korea was a top priority for national stability and necessary for reentering East Asia. For both Koreas, Japan equally held a strategic value because of rifts in Chinese-Soviet-US relations.

During his career, Utsunomiya Tokuma (1906-2000) as pacifist and pan-asianist became the uneasy voice of LDP policy-making. As son of Japanese Army General Utsunomiya Tarō (1861-1922), who was stationed as commander of Japanese troops in Korea during the March First Movement, Utsunomiya Tokuma spent parts of his childhood in Korea. His father, asianist and militarist, was responsible for the crackdown of the March First Movement, also taking his share in meddling with Japanese policy on China and Korea. Similar in terms of their engagement with East Asia, Tokuma's career however took a very different path. Prior to the war, Tokuma was jailed as marxist under the Police Security Laws. After serving his prison term, he reemerged as a capitalist and liberal post-war politician with a quite unique agenda: contrary to party mainstream, he vigorously fought for disarmament, good relations to Asian neighbors, and the protection of the Japanese constitution. Close to Ishibashi Tanzan (1884-1973), Utsunomiya belonged to a minority group inside his party, with whose corruption and political stubbornness he had a fall-out after the kidnapping of Kim Tae-jung and Lockheed scandal.

Only few remember Utsunomiya for his contribution to the establishment of peaceful relations with the People's Republic of China, and his efforts for the two Koreas. By his convictions, he despised Park Chung-hee as well as Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan for being militarists. Positioning himself against the Japanese-South Korean normalization of 1965 for it prevented further Japanese reconciliation with North Korea, he lost his remaining confidence in the South Korea government after the abduction of Kim Tae-jung. From then, he worked on closer ties with North Korea, which led to a series of official visits to Kim Il-sŏng. Repeatedly being denied visas to South Korea, Tokuma continuously supported Kim Tae-jung and his efforts from afar, paying amounts of money to an extent that Kim Tae-jung had to justify whether these essentially were bribes.

Utilizing Utsunomiya's writings and unpublished manuscripts, this paper will first outline Utsunomiya Tokuma's view on both Koreas during his political career and his judgment of the Koreas and Japan in their role in world politics during the Cold War. Then, by scrutinizing the media of the day, this paper finally seeks to see how Utsunomiya's actions were perceived in

Korea as well as criticised in Japan in order to conclude about his impact on Korea-Japan relations during the Cold War period.

Keywords: LDP, Utsunomiya Tokuma, Cold War East Asia

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Panel - State, Political Power and Knowledge

State, Political Power and Knowledge--P-01

Power and the Compilation of Knowledge: The Publication of *Nupango*(鑊板考) and Its Features during King Jeongjo's Reign

Ho-hun JUNG

KIKS-Seoul National University

Academic activities during King Jeongjo's reign differed greatly from that of the previous era, due to the strong government policy on collecting and distributing knowledge. The Kyujanggak was established as the primary agency for collecting and compiling domestic and foreign books, as well as publishing new books.

The government initiative of compiling knowledge was based on two pillars: collecting books and print-blocks produced within Joseon and managing the various books from East Asia. Books such as *Kyujangchongmok* (奎章總目), a bibliography of Chinese books kept within the Kyujanggak, and *Nupango* (鑊板考), a faithful record of print-blocks for books around the country, are important works; the two provide details of the effort and output during this era. The government published the two books in order to gain maximum access to the knowledge and information attainable in Joseon, since it was urgent for the government to categorize such information based on a single system. Through such effort, the Joseon government was finally able to confirm what books had been published in Joseon and to learn the topography of knowledge within the state.

This presentation analyzes *Nupango* to examine the academic policy during King Jeongjo's reign and identify its implications. *Nupango*, the bibliography of 304 books and printing blocks, includes Confucian classics, historical books, and collections of personal writings and contains information regarding the author or editor of the book, as well as a summary, the whereabouts of the book's printing blocks, and the amount of paper needed to print the book. It sums up well the information on nationwide publishing during the Joseon era. All the information found in the book is pivotal to understanding the academic level of Joseon. This book shows that the producers of books, in particular, varied from government institutions, district public schools, private academies, to individuals. The fact that many of the costly printing blocks, which had been mainly produced by the government previously, were produced by the private sector could be a

sign that the agents who produced and cherished knowledge began to appear in various circles of society.

Through such projects, the Jeongjo government attempted to acquire a comprehensive outline of book publications and academic activities within the capital and throughout the country, and it was, presumably, aimed at attaining the knowledge power necessary to lead the state. Once the government gains an overview of the nation's accumulated knowledge, it gains more opportunities to create new knowledge and to rule the state with more power. The publication of *Nupango* will have significant implications for understanding how knowledge was collected, as well as the relation of the compilation of knowledge to the concentration of power. Further research on this topic will help understand the changes in the Joseon society after the death of King Jeongjo in the nineteenth century.

Keywords: the Compilation of Knowledge, the concentration of power, King Jeongjo's reign, Kyujanggak, *Nupango*(鑄板考), *Kyujangchongmok* (奎章總目)

State, Political Power and Knowledge--P-02

Books as Grave Goods in Royal Tombs of King Yeongjo and Jeongjo

Kyeyoung Cho

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The purpose of books that were printed via a woodblock or type printing press was to distribute the same knowledge to a number of readers. Contrary to this conventional purpose, there are books from the Joseon dynasty that were created for permanent enshrinement (奉安) in certain places. Moreover, there are books, called *eoramgeon* (御覽件), that were created exclusively for a single reader: the king. As such, the value of books containing the same information could differ.

The royal tomb was not only considered to be a place to hold the body of the dead (亡者) but also a place for the living; thus it was called the *hyeongung* (玄宮). The *hyeongung* consisted of a room for the body, called the *jeonggwang* (正壙), and the *toegwang* (退壙), which was a space for storing the grave goods needed for the afterlife. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the king's writings (御製) were also enshrined (奉安) in the royal tombs.

This study focuses on the books buried in the royal tombs of two kings, Yeongjo and Jeongjo. In *Wolleung* (元陵), King Yeongjo's tomb, and *Geolleung* (健陵), King Jeongjo's tomb, the kings' writings were buried with them, as well as the books the two kings cherished during their lifetime. The books were bound differently for enshrinement, and separate containers for the books were prepared. There were also special parades to mark the occasion of moving the books to the royal tombs. The state funerals (國葬) of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo were different in many ways, in particular due to the establishment of *Gyujaenggak* (奎章閣), which was created to compile and enshrine the king's writings (御製).

Once a king passes away, a government office, the *Gukjangdogam* (國葬都監), is installed to oversee the state funeral, as well as the *Salleungdogam* (山陵都監) to manage the construction of the grave. King Yeongjo passed away on March 5th, 1776; his *jaegung* (梓宮), which was kept at the *binjeon* (殯殿), was moved to the royal tomb on July 26th. The parade held for this occasion is called the *barin* (發輓), and the painting portraying this parade is called the *barinbanchado* (發輓班次圖). The *barinbanchado* of King Yeongjo's state funeral includes the *eojaechaeyeo* (御製彩輿), the cart which carried the king's writings. This, however, cannot be found in the *barinbanchado* of King Jeongjo's state funeral.

Books that were to be enshrined were generally managed by the *Gukjangdogam*, and the stone box (石函) needed for storing the books at the *toegwang* was created by the *Salleungdogam*. However, the books that were enshrined in King Jeongjo's grave were entirely managed by the *Gyujanggak*. This, therefore, led to changes as *Gyujanggak* took charge of management instead of the *Dogam*. This study aims at examining the books buried in the royal tombs of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo to identify the usage of books during the Joseon dynasty, as well as the roles *Gyujanggak* played during this era from the point of view of this panel.

Keywords: eoramgeon, royal tomb, enshrinement, king's writings, Gyujanggak, Gukjangdogam

State, Political Power and Knowledge--P-03

Whom Did the King Consult for Rituals at Jongmyo(宗廟)? - The Implications of Publishing *Maesamun* (每事問) during King Jeongjo's Reign -

Wook Lee

The Academy of Korean Studies

In Jongmyo, the largest shrine in the Joseon dynasty, the main hall which houses the ancestral tablets (神主), is surrounded by walls on all four sides. Along the east wall, there is a *Subok Bang* (守僕房), the dimension of which is four *kan* (칸). This room is the official residence of the *subok*, which is a type of miscellaneous government post (雜職) in charge of guarding and cleaning the national altars, shrines, and tombs. The thirty *suboks* working at Jongmyo are the servants who protect the holiest space at the closest distance. Their room was initially within the four walls. However, concerns were raised that the residence of the "impure" *suboks* were too close to the holy shrine. The building was thus moved; a part of the wall was torn down to make room for the new *Subok Bang*. Joseon government officials always looked down on the *subok*, considering them "impure."

Jongmyo experienced various changes in the late Joseon dynasty. Jongmyo was reestablished after the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 and continuously expanded thereafter. The expansion of Jongmyo made the rituals longer. A longer ritual led to a loss of respect towards the ceremony itself. King Jeongjo (正祖) introduced various reforms to overcome this issue, and the *subok* was an integral part of this process. Jeongjo consulted the *suboks* when reforming the system of Jongmyo. Furthermore, the king trained the *suboks* on the ceremonial process in Jongmyo. Such was the situation in 1796 (the 20th year of King Jeongjo's reign) when the textbook, known as *Maesamun* (每事問), was published. "Maesamun" reflects the careful attitude Confucius took when entering the grand temple and participating in the ceremony. He questioned everything before acting. Why did

King Jeongjo want to ask about all the things to the *subok*? This is related to the question of who the bearer of the ceremonial knowledge is. How did the “impure” *subok* become the bearer of the ceremonial knowledge?

This presentation will compare this issue with the change in the position of government officials in the operation of the Jongmyo ceremonies during the Joseon dynasty. One characteristic of the religious culture in Joseon is the “governmentalization (官權化) of the ancestral rituals.” The government shunned the religious spirit of shamanism and Buddhism and practiced ancestral rituals directly through government officials. However, performing the ancestral rites was a temporary task for the officials. Government officials who managed Jongmyo had to rotate between different provinces at the end of set terms. As such, only the *subok* who guarded Jongmyo were able to gain the permanency and expertise in all things related to the rites held in Jongmyo. The general knowledge of the rituals, which was initially considered necessary for all officials, transformed into a professional knowledge with time. During the late Joseon period, national ceremonies left the hands of government officials and became marginalized.

Keywords: ancestral rituals, ritual officials, subok, Maesamun, Jongmyo, secularization

State, Political Power and Knowledge--P-04

Collection of foreign news in Joseon Korea in the late 19th century and the will to knowledge - focusing on *Hanseong sunbo*

Miji Kim

Kyujanggak Insitute for Korean Studies, SNU

Hanseong sunbo(漢城旬報), published from 1883 to 1884 in every ten days by Joseon government before the break of Gapsin coup(甲申政變), was the first newspaper which covered more than 70 percent of the total pages with the latest news from all around the world. Although this newspaper was written (printed) in classical Chinese and therefore the target readers were confined to the traditional intellectuals, it penetrated to the minds of those people with keen awareness that the knowledge of the West and the world was the most important assets for them at that time. *Hanseong sunbo* was also a product of the era in which the understanding of western and other global worlds became more necessary than ever, as Joseon signed a trade treaty with the Western countries in the early 1880s after the first opening of 1876.

This study regards *Hanseong sunbo* as a transition stage of media before the emergence of a modern newspaper with its own agenda as a press, and focuses on the point where the traditional knowledge accumulation system of Joseon dynasty and King Kojong's government meets the forms, contents and systems of modern newspapers from abroad. It appeared that *Hanseong sunbo* collected a large amount of information, circulated around East Asian countries, especially ones produced by China's trade port newspapers. And it seemed that the paper devoted to the function of rearranging and providing the multifaceted foreign information and opinions collected widely and extensively. The fact that every issue of *Hanseong sunbo* carried scores of foreign news shows the editor(publisher)s' will to know the other world and the desire for accumulating and providing of knowledges about the 'world' and the 'west' as much as possible. It can be said that the knowledges include not only new information and contents from another world but also methods and forms in which these knowledges were provided and circulated by media like newspapers.

It is known that two third of foreign news in *Hanseong sunbo* had come from Chinese newspapers published in Shanghai and Hong Kong, especially from *Huibao* 滬報, *Shenbao* 申報, etc. And the year 1883 and 1884 can be characterized by the French invasion to Vietnam and the resultant Sino-French war. Consequently, it reveals that *Hanseong sunbo* was related and involved in the particular historical fields and discourse of the imperialist war, therefore the world captured by *Hanseong sunbo* was that of imperialism in those days. So to analyze the *Hanseong sunbo* properly as it is, it is also important to understand the circumstance of East-Asian mass media and the news production system which produced wartime news, and to examine how *Hanseong sunbo* was involved in them. Through this study, it would be possible to reflect on the interrelation and competition between 'tradition' and 'modernity' in Korea, having been undergoing a remarkable transition.

Keywords: first newspaper in Korea, foreign news media, modern Chinese newspaper, field of East-Asian mass media, Sino-French War, Imperialism in East Asia

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Refiguring Life in late 1960s-1970s South Korea

Refiguring Life in late 1960s-1970s South Korea--P-01

No Room for the Live-in Maid: Reorganizing Domestic Labor in 1970s South Korea

Yukyung Lim

Yonsei University

It is impossible to ignore the role of apartments within the social landscape of modern Korea. Today apartments are the most pervasive form of housing in South Korea, exceeding 60% in most urban areas. Beginning in the 1970s, apartments came to be associated with a middle-class identity and proof of one's rise in the world, a repository for the dreams and desires of urbanites. The rising popularity of apartments also generated unforeseeable changes in family dynamics and labor relations. For example, the architectural segmentation of living space in apartments—master bedroom, living room, veranda, utility room, indoor toilet, elevator, playground, and guard's office—restructured the way in which its inhabitants conducted themselves socially and how they related to each other.

This paper examines the shifting notions of labor and interpersonal relations that were affected by the reorganization of living space in apartments. In particular, the focus of this paper will be the Sikmo, a live-in maid who was a common constituent of middle-class families. With the surge of apartments that removed the Sikmo's room from the floor plan and reshuffled families into the nuclear form, the Sikmo faced the threat of going extinct. By the mid-1970s, the number of Sikmo began to drop, and in her place a new type of "commuter maid", the P'ach'ul kajöngbu emerged. The widespread use of electric appliances also changed the face of middle-class homes, doing domestic chores previously performed by the Sikmo. The Sikmo's place was

precarious, deemed a “quasi” family member but also a source of marital breakups and family feuds. By engaging with journalistic and literary sources on the Sikmo, I situate her at the center of a shifting discourse on the home and family in the 1970s. Unlike factory workers and bus ticket collectors, the Sikmo did not enter the official census of laborers. She was a gendered domestic worker, untapped and often underage. The Sikmo’s position required no credentials, but her job responsibilities required wide-ranging tasks, from childrearing to doing just about any domestic chore around the clock. She was the byproduct of a massive migration of the rural population to the cities. As a member of the unskilled floating labor pool, her best chance for success was the position of Sikmo, which offered room and board in a “quasi” family setting. Based on 1965 statistics, there were 50,000 Sikmos in Seoul alone. She was one of the most vulnerable yet available workers during this era, standing at the nexus of South Korea’s spatial and conceptual transformation of the home, the labor industry and the public at large.

Keywords: 1970s, Korean literature, sikmo, urbanization, apartment, middle class, female laborer

Refiguring Life in late 1960s-1970s South Korea--P-02

Marketing Happiness: *Kungmin kayo* (Citizens’ Songs) in the late 1960s and 1970s

Helen J. S. Lee

Yonsei University

In 1969, a theme song for Seoul aired in South Korea. Composed by Korea’s most famous producer Kil Ogyun and sung by his partner, the legendary Korean diva Patti Kim, “Seoul Changa” echoed an uplifting message full of hope. The song’s lyrics combine a love plea as is expressed in “Please don’t leave me” with a welling affection for the city of Seoul, repeated in the final line of both verses, “I shall live in beautiful Seoul.” This song was part of a much larger campaign of *Kungmin kayo*, or *Kŏnjŏn kayo*, which filled the acoustic sphere of Seoulites and other listeners throughout South Korea. Interestingly, the timing of song’s release coincided with an exodus of the rural population into cities. From 1966 to 1970, South Korea saw a population growth in urban areas over 7 percent. This was also a time when South Korea launched monumental development projects in the Kangnam area, commenced building the Seoul-Busan Freeway and, incidentally, began sending thousands of South Korean men to fight in the Vietnam War in order to earn dollars.

By engaging with *Kungmin kayo* from the late 1960s to 1970s, I examine this musical genre as a means of marketing happiness and shaping popular sentiment. In an era of developmental nationalism that prioritized the State over the individual and national interest over individual happiness, the city of Seoul, indeed, was undergoing major cosmetic changes and subsequent confusion that was unkind to new urban dwellers. South Koreans were transitioning into a new mode of living, largely generated by mega-scale developments symbolized by apartment complexes. With the backdrop of this transition, a popular family drama called *Kkottongne saedongne* aired from 1970-1972. Its theme song, another prime example of *Kungmin kayo*, projects a life in the perfectly harmonious utopian hamlet of *Kkottongne saedongne* by describing how those hamlets overcame hardships together and self-generated laughter and happiness. Against the tide of developmentalism and migration, the song insists on a perfect communal life. At a time when urban middle-class culture started to take shape, and the desire

for personal happiness began to materialize through consumption, the government promoted songs such as Seoul Changa and Kkottongne saedongne, commanding sentiments that were far from realistic but appealed to most listeners nonetheless. Be it a love for the city or a longing for an ideal communal life, these were the apolitical and comforting affect that struck a chord with those who hoped for happiness in an ever-repressive, chaotic time.

Keywords: From the late 1960s to 1970s South Korea, Happiness, Kungmin kayo, and Singers

Refiguring Life in late 1960s-1970s South Korea--P-03

The Birth of *Pokpuin*: Feminizing Real Estate Speculation in 1970s South Korea

Bong Gwan Jun

KAIST

In the 1970s, the full-scale development of the area now known as Kangnam commenced, ushering in the era of real estate investment on apartments which transformed housing styles in South Korea. Apartments were pitched as the most ideal type of housing, putting them in a competitive market of high demand and skyrocketing prices. The apartments were also viewed as a means of quick asset investment among middle-class Koreans. Within this apartment frenzy stood the female real estate speculator, the *Pokpuin*, who frequented real estate agencies, fanning the flames of greed and dreams for overnight riches.

This paper seeks to locate the *Pokpuin* in the real estate development market during the 1970s. The apartment speculation boom cannot be attributed to the *Pokpuin* alone, yet she became the target of public anger and criticism, singled-out as being responsible for fueling illegal and unethical investments. The apartment boom of the 1970s was in fact generated in large part by the government, developers, construction companies and realtors. While their pursuit of profit was deemed as legitimate, the *Pokpuin*'s conduct was mostly tainted by presumed illegitimate and greedy motivations. By comparing Korea's *Pokpuin* with Japan's "Mrs. Watanabe" and China's "Da Ma", all of whom represent female investors, I problematize this gendering of real estate investment and treat the *Pokpuin* as a byproduct of the family-centered culture in East Asia.

The poisonous existence of the *Pokpuin* emerged in the late 1970s. Behind the defamed *Pokpuin* there were actually two diverging types. On one hand were the *Pokpuin* who pursued a life of luxury and decadence, amassing their fortune from unethical, opportunistic investments. On the other hand were the *Pokpuin* married to salarymen, whose motives were to maintain their status within the middle class, effectively manage savings and accumulate assets. Im Kwon Taek's 1980 film *Pokpuin* highlights the former type of *Pokpuin*, while Park Wan Seo's 1984 novel, *Sŏul saramdŭl* stars the latter—a woman married to an incapable man and, lacking alternatives, ends up gambling in the real estate market to improve her family's financial standing.

Given the family dynamics of South Korea in the 1970s, the responsibility of lining-up for lottery tickets to purchase apartments and visiting realtors' offices fell upon the wife, who was also responsible for the children's education and living environment. It was within this context, under this division of labor, where the *Pokpuin* participated in real estate speculation while her husband was at work. Her pursuit was not hers alone; it was the collective pursuit with her

husband for the enhancement of family finances. I argue that the *Pokpuin* embodied the thickly misogynistic climate of the 1970s that projected the chaotic rise of greed onto the woman.

Keywords: Pokpuin, feminizing real estate speculation, misogyny

Refiguring Life in late 1960s-1970s South Korea--P-04

Menacing Heaps of Waste: The Politics of Public Hygiene Control

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Institute of Korean Studies, Yonsei University

In April 2018, South Korean cities experienced a chaotic pile-up of plastic trash, due in large part to China's ban on the importation of certain types of solid waste. The recent "waste chaos" lasted for few weeks and, for the time being, this waste management issue has subsided. Or so it seems on the surface. This paper investigates South Korean waste management from the late 1960s, an era when the issue was institutionalized within the central government and local bureaus. The maintenance of growing urban centers and public hygiene and health were directly linked to waste management, which became one of the most significant public services having a direct impact on everyday life. What had been initially conceived as part of the public hygiene rubric has recently developed into an environmental issue, expanding into a broader spectrum of concerns affecting the public's daily well-being.

In my examination of the discourse on public hygiene, I explore waste management as one of the primary sites of the government's implementation of hygiene control measures that gave rise to a new spatial order. This signaled the emergence of a regulatory discourse on hygiene which was highly logical and scientific in nature, and aimed to standardize everyday life. To put it in Foucauldian terms, it meant a systematic subjugation of modern individuals through the production of knowledge on hygiene and health. When the influx of rural population and growing number of apartment complexes defined the urban-scape, the central government worked in tandem with local bureaus for the common good of achieving hygiene control, under which new experts and staff—the waste collectors, transporters, hygienists, and administrators—were hired and trained. They were the ones who surveyed waste, monitored waste disposal, responded to problems, drafted new policies and administered new projects. A prime example of this government effort materialized with the completion of the clean-up of Nanjido in 1977. This once appalling, gigantic waste dump only 10 kilometers from the center of Seoul completely disappeared, later transformed into the eco-friendly World Cup Park in 2002. For current visitors to Seoul, the connection between the World Cup Park and a giant waste dump is inconceivable. Here, we see an ironic connection between a waste dump and an eco-friendly park, as they are two sides of the same coin. Under the surface of this eco-friendly park rots a waste heap emanating methane gas. Utilizing sources such as published hygiene policies, government reports, and proposed bills along with journalistic debates and commentary, I examine the processes through which standardization and normalization take shape in the discursive formation of public hygiene that subjugates and dictates our daily routines.

Keywords: Public policy, Waste, Hygiene

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Mobilities and their Historiographies in Modern Korea

Mobilities and their Historiographies in Modern Korea--P-01

Korean War Refugees Interviewed and in *Kukje sijang* ('Ode to My Father' 2014)

Janice Kim

York University

Commemorated in Je-Kyoon Yoon's 2014 film *Kukje sijang* (Ode to My Father), the best-known case of refugee migration during the Korean War was the evacuation of Hŭngnam (December 12-23, 1950). EUSAK LSTs or landing ship tanks transported 91,000 (of roughly 300,000 at the wharf) North Koreans south. The largest of these was the SS Meredith Victory, the last ship to leave the port of Hŭngnam on December 23.

This presentation explores the fictional life story of Yun Töksu, the protagonist of *Kukje sijang*, who was on board the vessel. I compare features of his biography with those of contemporaries I interviewed between 2004 and 2010. Sin Hyŏnhak, Sin Hyŏnjŏng, Yi Sŭnghŏn, Kim Sŭnghu, and Kim T. also migrated south through the Hŭngnam evacuation. Though their combined narratives, I will test two inferences the film projects about changes in postwar South Korean social life: the rise of cosmopolitanism and the persistence of familism over individualism

Yun Töksu, despite leaving behind his father and younger sister, readjusts to life in Pusan living with his aunt and uncle, mother, younger brother, and younger sister. In his twenties, to help fund his brother's education, Töksu goes to Germany to work in a coal mine. There, he meets Yŏngja, a fellow migrant worker and nurse, who he marries later in Korea. Just as he did in Germany, a decade later, Töksu joins the ROK forces as a civilian worker in the Vietnam War. There, he earns enough to fund his sister's wedding and buy back the family business.

A prominent theme in the film is Korea's cosmopolitanism, depicted as a coming of age story. Both Koreas lose their innocence through warfare, but its consequences in the north and south differed drastically. Whereas in the north, citizenship bound mobility, in the south, citizenship and military service took people abroad. This freedom might have paralleled a rising sense of social individualism, but the film makes explicit Töksu's prioritization of the wellbeing of his family over his own self-care. Individual identity was defined neither by nation nor self but the family.

When compared to the life stories of some thirty-eight people I interviewed for a book manuscript, Yun's cosmopolitanism seems exceptional. Though several of my informants participated in the Vietnam War, most in Yun's generation (born in the 1940s) never went abroad. The film also exaggerated the prioritization of the family since civil war, by definition, separated families. Two informants, brothers Sin Hyŏnhak and Hyŏnjŏng, did display a strong sense of family identity and unity. Similarly, Yi Sŭnghŏn came south with his father but left behind his mother and other siblings in the north. But for others, such as Mr. T. Kim and Kim Sŭnghu, their flight separated them from most if not all of their family members. Kim Sŭnghu left his entire family - his mother, wife, son, and daughter in Yŏnghŭng County- indicating that

familism was a privilege, not a norm. My presentation will offer these and other alternative interpretations of the Korean War refugee experience.

Keywords: evacuation, film, North Korea, oral history, refugees

Mobilities and their Historiographies in Modern Korea--P-02

***Dongju: A Portrait of a Poet* : Transnational Memory and Imaginary Female Agency**

Hyangjin Lee

Rikkyo University

Dongju: A Portrait of a Poet (2016) is a biographical film of Yun Dong-ju (1917-1945), who is often considered Korea's most beloved poet. His poem, *Seoshi*/Prologue is referred to as "the masterpiece of national resistance poems" in school textbooks. The film is a low budget film made by Lee Joon-ik, the director of *King and the Crown* (2005), which is the ninth highest-grossing film in Korea. Sacrificing his reputation as a director of "10 million audience," Lee kept his transnational reading of the historical memory detailing the story of this famous poet's life.

Despite being an independent film, *Dongju* gained a remarkable commercial success to lead the great public attention to the poet's little known personal life. On the other hand, literary critics and historians criticized the biographical inaccuracy of the cinematic adaptation. In *Dongju*, Yun meets Kumi in Tokyo, who is eager to read his poems and tries to publish them in English despite the strict surveillance of the Japanese imperial military police. The creation of this imaginary Japanese woman character, as "*the transnational reader of Yun's poetry*," was a focal point of much criticism.

Born and raised in North Manchuria, Yun moved back to Pyongyang and Seoul to study in the 1930s, and to Tokyo and Kyoto after Korea. In 1943, Yun was arrested by the Japanese imperial military police in Kyoto for violating the security order. Yun was sentenced to two years imprisonment in Fukuoka where he died before Korea's liberation. Historians have raised the possibility that the poet was a victim of medical experiments on live humans conducted by the Kyusyu Imperial University's medical school and the imperial military. As a colonized subject, writing a poem in his native language was considered a serious crime. Yun's friends published his poem collection, *Sky, Wind, Star and Poem* in Korea only after its liberation from Japan. There is no historical evidence suggesting Yun had a romantic relationship with any woman.

Dongju depicts him a pure humanist rather a national resistance poet. It even suggests that professor Takamatsu and Kumi encourages his writing talent and ameliorates his agony and loneliness. In Kyoto, despite the impending arrest by the Japanese imperial military police, he postpones his departure to Korea and meets Kumi. This imaginary female agent as the transnational reader of Yun's poem is critical in Lee's portrayal of the historical memory conveyed by the story of Yun's life. The characterization of Kumi reminds the audience of Japanese Hallyu fandom. Furthermore, The subtle romance with Kumi adds depth and color to Yun's diaspora identity and the trans-nationality of his poetry. This paper will examine the significance of female agency as the reader of transnational historical memory formed by Yun's movements from China to Korea and Japan in *Dongju*. The creation of female agency aims to express and highlight Yun's diaspora identity as articulated in his poems.

Keywords: Film, Yun Dong-ju, Diaspora, Transnational Memory, Female Agency, Japanese Hallyu Fandom

Mobilities and their Historiographies in Modern Korea--P-03

Journeys from “Home”: Travels of Koreans between the Far East, Central Asia, and North Korea

Alyssa Park

University of Iowa

This paper explores the journeys of Koreans who found themselves at the crossroads of Soviet, post-colonial, and North Korean politics from the late 1930s to 1950s. Born in colonial-era Korea, these Koreans migrated to Russia’s Maritime Province as children and experienced the early years of socialism under the Soviet regime, only to be removed from their homes during Stalin’s campaign of “terror” in 1937. Fears of internal and external enemies fell on this borderland population, and they, similar to other ethnic groups in border areas, were branded as a disloyal people and conspirators of the Japanese. That fall, the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs carried out a mass resettlement of 170,000 Koreans from the Russian Far East to the sparsely inhabited lands of Central Asia. Koreans established collective farms and built new lives in this remote place. Yet, for a group of Koreans, their time in Central Asia was brief. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the Soviet government sent four hundred of these “Soviet Koreans” to North Korea to help establish a new regime. Most were middle-level elites—former school teachers and local officials. Once in North Korea, they were swept up in the euphoria of state-building and later in factional strife in the upper echelons of power. Some were purged, others returned to the Soviet Union.

This paper moves beyond analyses about the political significance or insignificance of this group to high-level politics in North Korea, and examines them as individuals whose stories must be told through the lens of migration. Their journeys transected multiple states, mirroring both the ordinary and extraordinary travels undertaken by millions at the height of a world war and in the aftermath of decolonization. Drawing upon a collection of autobiographies, Russian archival materials, and published sources in Russian and Korean, this paper explores their subjectivity as individuals in the Far East, their memories of forced resettlement, and experience as participants in the building of socialism in what could be considered their original “home.” It closely examines the ways in which they described themselves and their surroundings in disparate places. It also compares their language to that employed in histories written by South Korean scholars, who, often with the financial support of the ROK government, began to conduct oral history projects of the “Soviet Korean” community after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the early 1990s. The historiography that emerged focused on the static national position of these Koreans—as loyal to the

Soviet and/or North Korean regimes—and involuntary nature of their movement to Central Asia. Both narratives overlooked their fluid position between several regimes and places. By centering themes of mobility, this paper offers a transregional perspective on the emergent political order in northeast Asia and its impact on people who traversed the socialist world.

Keywords: Migration, Koreans in the Soviet Union, Oral history

Mobilities and their Historiographies in Modern Korea--P-04

Socialist Mobility in the First Decades of the DPRK

Andre Schmid

University of Toronto

Conventional wisdom on the socialist bloc defined their citizenship by complete and chronic immobility. In contrast to the ‘free world,’ the people of East-Central Europe, the USSR, and parts of East Asia were governed by the state and North Korea was no exception. Two authoritative works on North Korea, the General Survey and Communism in Korea, made immobility a dominant feature of state control over daily lives. As I’ve noted earlier, the current emphasis on mobility and human rights in North Korea traces its genealogy back to these works.

This first generation of scholars on socialist states were hindered by a literal reading of state reports, conflating intentions and outcomes. Much of this new knowledge was found by historians of Eastern Europe and the USSR. Narrowing their focus to the microhistorical and the everyday, scholars including Alf Ludtke have shown the limits of state control and the potential for the assimilative and subversive power of individuals and groups.

Though informative, recent scholarship on the DPRK does not portray these contests of power in its formative years. A close reading of a variety of sources, from economic journals to women’s magazines, newspapers, bulletins, and pamphlets, indicates that such negotiations of power existed in the first two decades of the North Korean state. Taking rural-urban mobility as an example shows that the state’s control over movement, particularly in the first twenty years of the DPRK’s founding, was not as rigorous as previously thought.

Detailed evidence is far from widespread, but Kim Unjong, in an article in a 1959 volume of a North Korean economic journal noted that roughly 30 percent of 380,000 laborers in urban industries originated from the countryside. How did this happen? In the decade or so after the Korean War armistice, called victory in the DPRK, the regime faced various challenges. Though North Korean leadership purportedly valued urban and rural labor equally, postwar reconstruction amid dire labor shortage made industry and construction most important. Coupled with tensions between macro- and microeconomic policies and contests between federal and local power engendered a system that allowed people to move without much surveillance.

This data from the 1950s and 1960s has a temporal significance in its conclusion that regulating the mobility of the population was a challenge for the DPRK central authorities in the postwar reconstruction years (1953-1965). It has broader spatial or situational implications in that it illustrates a dissonance in the beliefs and actions of the state, local officials, groups, and individuals – a practice that could continue today in everyday North Korea.

Keywords: historiography, mobility, North Korea, socialist living

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - The Formation of Literary Classics in Korea

The Formation of Literary Classics in Korea--P-01

The Formation of Modern Korean Classics

Byungsul Jung

Seoul National University

Classics ceaselessly change according to religious or political circumstances. The biggest recent change regarding the classics happened with the rise of nationalism. It was modern nationalism that formed national classics. *Inventing the Classics: National Identity, Gender and Japanese Literature* (1999) shows very well how national classics were formed in modern Japan. Similar studies on Korean classics started to appear recently.

In modern Korea classics underwent three huge changes. The first was the collapse of Chinese classics, including the Confucian Classics that used to belong to the very core of the classics. The second was the influence of Western classics that replaced the Chinese classics. And the third was the appearance of new national classics. The formation of national classics took a different course in each country in East Asia. China tried to reform its classics, and Japan aimed at broadening its classics, while Korea had to find its classics for the first time. China, as the centre of civilization for a very long time, was used to regard its own classics as classics. So, China decided to reform its classics. Japan used to value the Chinese classics, but had also been aware of its own classics due to the efforts of *kokugaku* (“national studies”). Japan thus chose to broaden its own classics. Korea, however, even lacked the concept of national classics and had to find its own classics for the first time.

The Korean classics were invented in the second half of the 20th century after the Japanese colonization and the Korean War, but this process is still going on. Among the new classics we find works that were popular and influential even in premodern times, like *Songgang kasa*, *Kuunmong*, or *Ch’unghyang-jŏn*, but there are also works like *Hanjung-nok*, which had not received much attention before. In the beginning and middle of the 20th century the idea that Korean classics have to be written in Korean was extremely strong, but in the second half of the 20th century also works in literary Chinese, like *Yŏlha ilgi* were included in Korean classics. The category of the classics became broader and embraced genres that had not

belonged to the conventional idea of traditional literature before, for example shamanistic songs like Paridegi became part of it.

To become a classic traditional Korean literature has to compete with works like *The Three Kingdoms*, with *Hamlet*, but also with Ch'oe Inhun's *Kwangjang*. There has to be something we can learn from them, but they also need to be aesthetically excellent. National classics continue the tradition of a national community. A competition between literary works will decide which work survives as a classic. At the same time the formation of the classics will depend on the way Koreans perceive their culture and construct their identity.

Keywords: national classics, aesthetic excellence, Korean identity

The Formation of Literary Classics in Korea--P-02

Policing Technology: Making the Literary Canon in 18th century Korea

Jamie Jungmin Yoo

Korea University

What would be the most influential factor in defining “great” literature? Who judges the value of a given work, worthy of being recognized as a masterpiece? This study explores how the government attempted to control the production of literature in early modern Korea. This study particularly emphasizes that the practice of “censorship” is closely related to the process of canon-making. How to exercise censorship reveals the way in which the value systems of a society change. The state and policymakers distinguish right texts from bad ones; in doing so, they try to keep bad texts under control as a way to cope with the threat they might pose. As articulated in Foucault's notion, “episteme,” all periods of history, particularly literary history in my study, have possessed epistemological assumptions that determined what is to be acceptable or to be excluded and punished. In this circumstance, those who have produced texts, labeled improper or bad, constantly struggle to free themselves from the constraints the authorities have imposed. While the authorities attempt to control improper knowledge, producers and consumers of literary works negotiate with this order or they engineer tactics to resist it.

By analyzing *Kyujang Ch'ongmok*, *Kunsŏ P'yogi* and many other book catalogues from eighteenth-century Korea, this study demonstrates the politics of technology and the publication projects promoted by governmental fiat. Late Chosŏn Korea witnessed an unprecedented increase in foreign books. The border-crossing material conditions, such as the print industry of Jiangnan and the active book trade in Beijing market in China, significantly influenced late Chosŏn intellectual communities. How to classify the imported books was a challenging task for many intellectuals of the day. This study explores the cross-cultural communication and the making literary canons of late Chosŏn in two ways. First, it examines how the government tried to channel the circulation of books and control the flow of new information. In particular, how the government organized the new books as well as how this bibliographical practice shaped the reception of texts will be the core of analysis. Second, this study looks into how the government selected certain literary canons and standardized them through publication projects. My analysis of the annotated bibliographies attests to the way in which the government classified literary works and disseminated their interpretations using print technologies.

Keywords: literary canon; 18th century Korea; technology; censorship; Kyujang Ch'ongmok; Kunsŏ P'yogi; book catalogues;

The Formation of Literary Classics in Korea--P-03

The Literary Motif of the Superhero in Popular Classics of the Chosŏn dynasty

Dongwook Kim

Keimyung University

The Confucian Classics officially served as ideological fundament and were promoted as the authoritative canon in Chosŏn. While fiction was widely read and discussed it was never given classical status, but was rather condemned as the source of all evil. Breaking away from the traditional frame of ideological classics, this paper sets out to explore the field of popular classics in Chosŏn. In contrast to the Confucian Classics, popular classics had no agents who promoted them for ideological purposes. Literary works of fiction had to compete with each other in order to gain popularity and to become popular classics. But how could literary works of fiction gain popularity? This paper argues that one of the literary motifs that made fiction popular was the motif of the superhero. I will discuss *The Tale of Cho Ung* (Cho Ung-jŏn), *The Promise of Wanwŏl* (Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn), and *The Tale of Ch'oe Koŭn* (Ch'oe Koŭn-jŏn) as three examples of popular classics that all highlight a superhero as protagonist.

The protagonist of *The Tale of Cho Ung* learns his superhuman abilities from his master and also comes into the possession of mysterious weapons. *The Tale of Cho Ung* is a representative example of so-called kundam sosŏl, or war narratives that were read by common people. They all have in common that the protagonist is totally helpless at the beginning and only becomes a superhero after he meets a master. In contrast to *Cho Ung*, the superhero in *The Promise of Wanwŏl* possesses superhuman abilities from the moment he is born, since his whole family is said to consist of immortals who were used to live in heaven. *The Promise of Wanwŏl* was widely read by women belonging to the aristocratic class or the royal family. There is a whole group of similar literary works of fiction in Korean that all highlight these kinds of born superheroes. The protagonist in *The Tale of Ch'oe Koŭn* is abandoned by his father the moment he is born. He grows up on his own and studies in order to gain his abilities. *The Tale of Ch'oe Koŭn* is based on narratives on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, the famous Silla literati. Due to its Daoist influence it was especially popular among intellectuals who were interested in Daoism. We have several other superhero stories with Daoist influence in which the protagonists all have to work hard to become the superheroes they are.

While the superhero motif is highlighted in all three examples above, the development of the stories varies according to the contexts and readership. While all three stories were popular classics for a certain period of time in Chosŏn, the literary motif of the superhero never vanished from Korean literature. We might even want zoom out of whole narratives to zoom in on motifs and call the superhero a classical literary motif of Korean literature.

Keywords: Confucian Classics, popular classics, superhero motif

An Approach to *The Journey to the West* as a Korean Classic

Barbara Wall

University of Copenhagen

We usually perceive literary classics like *Cinderella*, *The Three Kingdoms*, *Mulan*, *Odyssey*, *The Tale of Genji* or *The Journey to the West* as stable works with single authors, a precise date of publication and a clear nationality. In this paper I focus on *The Journey to the West* and suggest understanding literary classics instead as what Roland Barthes would call dynamic texts that are comprised of their variations spanning centuries and ignoring the boundaries of national literatures. While traditional reception studies tend to evaluate variations of literary classics as confirmation of the extraordinary accomplishments of an alleged original, I deny the existence of an original and examine Korean variations of *The Journey to the West* from the 14th century to today as equally creative recombinations of certain elements that are affiliated with the narrative. This approach makes it possible to perceive *The Journey to the West* as a Korean classic, while it can also be read as a Chinese, Japanese or Vietnamese classic.

The Journey to the West, as one of the most popular classical narratives in East Asia, is traditionally identified with the Shidatang edition of the 100-chapter novel allegedly written by Wu Cheng'en at the end of the 16th century. In popular culture, though, the title is usually associated not with the 100-chapter novel but with various shorter retellings in which certain elements of *The Journey to the West* recur in ever new combination. To help visualize which of the elements of *The Journey* can be found in the variations, I make use of radial tree diagrams created with a PHP/JavaScript application. In my presentation I will leap from the established perception of *The Journey to the West* as static work to that of dynamic text and free the narrative from the frames of time and space.

Keywords: dynamic texts, reception studies, radial tree diagram, PHP/JavaScript application

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Transnational Histories of Design and Visual Culture in Twentieth-Century Korea(s)

Transnational Histories of Design and Visual Culture in Twentieth-Century Korea(s)--P-01

Collecting things Korean: The trajectories of early twentieth century Korean collectables

Ji Hye Hong

Royal College of Art

The turn of the century brought Korea into the arena of international rivalry and 1910 marked a pivotal turning point with its annexation by Japan. At the same time, railway construction across the length of the peninsular provided contemporary

globetrotters an encircling route connecting China, Korea and Japan. Collectors seemed to have travelled along similar routes and shared information. The increased presence of foreigners in the first quarter of the twentieth century resulted in new wave of object collecting as well as in the emergence of curio shop dealers in Korea.

The development of curio shops was closely intertwined with that of the tourist business. Promotional materials, such as advertisements, sales catalogues and business cards were produced by some of the dealers, specifically targeting an Anglophone clientele. These can be found outside of the peninsula alongside overseas Korean collections, and are worth examining as they reflect the customers' demand at the time, changes in manufacturing processes, as well as the ramifications of colonial policies.

Among the popular items in the sale catalogues were the Korean chest, cabinet and *pandaji* (a 'half-closing chest'), better known as 'cash box' among foreigners. In the early days of collecting, it was difficult for foreigners to discern authentic, antique furniture from Korea. By the 1920s, a 'new' type of furniture was introduced, distinctive from the antique, to supply the Westerners' tastes. This signalled a turning point in the way curio shops operated. Furniture could now be commissioned or ordered from catalogues, implying that a concept of design was developed among the manufacturers. Furthermore, the furniture was tailored to suit Western interiors. Examples from the sale catalogues show that *pandaji* have been heavily embellished with additional brass-trimmings and that they could be converted into a writing desk.

The starting point of my study lies in trying to locate this type of furniture today as examples are so rarely found in public collections, and why this is the case. It is generally considered that this early twentieth-century furniture came up short of being representative of Korean traditional furniture, fame for their inclination towards nature as seen in the wood grain left visible on the surface. However popular this furniture might have been as a collectable, it faced a thorny issue of authenticity when it arrived to Europe and the US to be part of Korean collections.

Since the late nineteenth century, matters of authenticity have been controversial for collectors and curators in Britain, particularly in the field of ceramics as these were the most coveted objects and invoked skilful craftsmanship. Raising awareness of modern productions such as this altered furniture should bring a new perspective on the reality of the early twentieth-century Korea while giving value to the production and consumption of such commodities. Thus the current neglect of those modern production seems somewhat unjustifiable as its value is closely intertwined with how we view and accept the reality of the early twentieth century Korea.

Keywords: 20th century tourism in Korea, curio shops, Korean furniture

Visual Form of Ideology: Russian Constructivism in Colonial Korea of the 1920s-1930s

Sun-A Jeong

Seoul National University

Russian constructivism initially functioned as a visual form of socialism, an ideology that occupied half of the world for a century. The avant-garde features of Russian constructivism affected the design culture of many countries regardless of this ideology. This study focuses on the influence of constructivism in Korea in early 20c, which has been rarely studied despite of its importance in the formation of Korean visual culture. It will investigate the pathways through which Russian constructivism was introduced to Korea during the Japanese colonial era, particularly between the 1920s and the 1930s. It will also explore the subsequent modern sensibility generated by this new visual form, focusing on graphic design materials such as magazine, newspaper etc. The route will be traced in two tracks: through Japan which was the mainland of the colony, and through Primorsky Krai (Russia) which was the base of the overseas Korean independence movement.

Russian constructivism operated as the visual form and symbol of socialist revolutions. It could be said, the form of design embraced in an age reflects the social atmosphere of the era. Roughly to say, the design features of constructivism are intense colors and color contrast, geometrical figures, photo-montage etc. Especially, sans-serif typeface played a significant role to deliver people 'the sense' of socialist ideology: the sense of transnationality.

In the history of western-centric typography, a serif conveyed the individuality. It was formed by a combination of the writer's physique (overall posture, pressure from the hand among other factors) and the writing tool. Furthermore, a serif could even hint at the nationality of the writer through the selected writing tool, such as a brush, quill pen, etc. and the writing manners. Serif was a trace of hand-writing, but functioned same in the mechanic and digital printing era. As a result, the absence of a serif meant the absence of individualism, which then ensured a 'transnationality' that would rally and symbolize the proletariat around the globe. In other words, the sans-serif typeface promoted and achieved an effective, transnational communication by excluding stereotypes of national characters. For this reason, the sans-serif typography had a significant meaning in the constructivist graphic design.

This correlation between ideology and constructivist design (including both image and typography) was not applied in the similar manner in colonial Korea. Unlike the transnational quality of the sans-serif embraced by the constructivist design in Russia, many socialist propaganda design in Korea combined non-figurative images with traditional calligraphy. Even if the Korean typography appeared geometrically refined like the sans-serif at first glance, it still bore some national traditional features like the calligraphic swoosh-mark (regarded as the eastern equivalent to the serif of the Latin alphabet). The transnational nature of the socialist ideology has donned a national, traditional stylistic form in colonial Korea to appeal to, and draw in, people who lost their nations.

Keywords: Russian constructivism in Korea, Korean typography design, serif

Displayed Modernity: Design Letters in 1920s-1930s Korean Advertising as a Visual Representation of the Modern

Yongkeun Chun

Royal College of Art

This paper examines stylistic and technical changes of advertising in colonial Korea from the mid-1920s to 1930s. It further explores broader social and colonial implications of the design changes in advertisements, by elucidating the relationship between Korean and Japanese advertising. During the period under examination, ‘design letters’ (expressive, decorative, and hand-drawn letterforms, distinct from both movable type and traditional calligraphy) appeared in newspaper advertisements by Korean companies. Design letters (zuan moji) had emerged in Japanese commercial art from the mid-1920s, as a typographical style that represented the modernity of an expanding consumerist culture. As design letters gained popularity in Japan, pioneering Korean advertisers, such as Kyōngbang and Seoul-based cinemas Tansōngsa and Chosŏn Kŭkchang, quickly adopted this stylistic vocabulary, and spread it among Korean advertising more generally in the 1930s. As in Japan, design letters seem to have represented a modern consumerist culture, and their appearance in Korean advertisements might suggest an existence of a modernity that was seemingly comparable to that in Japan. But I argue that modernity in Korea was displayed in a sense that it was superficial rather than realised systematically; there existed a dissonance between the image of affluence and actual level of consumption, which may be a default in any advertising, but was particularly significant in colonial Korea; more importantly, despite the stylistic refinement on the page, local production technologies (in terms of general business and advertising design) to sustain the creation of the images themselves were limited and reliant on those in Japan.

Keywords: colonial modernity, Korean design history, advertising design

Transnational Histories of Design and Visual Culture in Twentieth-Century Korea(s)--P-04

The Birth of New Symbolism: To be an "Ideal Nation" of North Korea

Jung Eun Lee

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“The national progenitor is Dan-gun, but the father of socialist chosŏn is the great leader Kim Il Sung.”
– *Rodong Sinmun*, 2008. 9. 7.

This study explores the origins and characteristics of the visualizing method of key national symbol designs (national flag, coat of arms, stamps, etc.) established during the building period of the DPRK’s regime (1945-1972). The visual symbols were established in accordance with the modern system, and were to symbolize national identity. Moreover, the national symbolism got ‘the ideological density’ and ‘semiotic architecture’. Through the analysis of new symbols, this study identifies their apparent link to politics, culture, propaganda and visualization methods.

In 1945, the Korean Peninsula was liberated from the Japanese occupation but was soon divided in two under the Soviet and US military rules, generating two different regimes. The western military presence was the starting point of the territorial division and the subsequent military regimes, the persistence of the Cold War leading to the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-53). Socialist activists – including

partisans (ppalch'isan) of Kim Il Sung – who were dispersed throughout East Asia started to mobilize in North Korea following their ideology. They promptly readied themselves to establish own government with the Soviet support. North Korea's national symbols were to be developed in a similar vain.

North Korea's aimed early on to take advantage of the political instability on the peninsula to seize sovereignty over the whole territory and build a new socialist nation. It required to an independent government with new set of symbols that were different from those of the feudalistic system of the Great Korean Empire, thus, traditional symbols such as the T'ae-gŭk, rose of Sharon and plum (O-yat) blossom that were later adopted by South Korea. Thus new inspirations were drawn from the Socialist Realist art from the Soviet Union, with elements such as the red star, sickle and hammer, etc. and their design readily assimilated into North Korean national symbols and arts. However, this translation went beyond the stylistic appropriation to later start incorporating new meanings into these symbols. North Korea used imagery based on local nature and regional features and folktales to create, explicit illustration of the 'ideal nation' rather than using implicit and abstract imagery. In this way, the government devised a propaganda strategy that communicated to its people its vision of the 'ideal nation' in an intuitive, unambiguous and efficient manner.

To a regime that is isolated from other countries like North Korea, the national symbols are an important medium of communication that carries the nation's past, reflects its identity, and epitomizes its vision of the future. This symbolism is an important case of national identity and historical narratives visualization with the aim of building a new nation. Through transnational exchanges, these symbols were specifically designed to be accessible by all, and provided the foundation stone of a nation, that is still powerful to this day.

Keywords: North Korean design history, National Visual Symbol, National Identity of North Korea

Friday, 12 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 18:15 - 19:30

Other events - AKSE General Meeting

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Violence, Policing, Labor, and Marginality in the Cold War Koreas

Violence, Policing, Labor, and Marginality in the Cold War Koreas--P-01

Aborted Decolonization: State Violence in South Korea before and during the Korean War

Dong Choon Kim

Sungkonghoe University

From the Jeju 4.3 incident in 1948 and mass killings during the Korean War, the Korean police and army terrorized and killed their brothers and sisters like the occupying forces of the former Japanese Imperial Army. Even though some subordinated soldiers doubted and hesitated to

follow these irrational orders, they had to obey their commanders. Part of the paramilitary force, the anti-communist North Korean Youth treated suspicious South Koreans like the colonized population before the Korean War. Most members came from the rural poor class and joined as a way of subsistence and were thus liable to inflict dehumanized harm on civilians. While armies are the most authoritarian organizations in all societies, the Japanese Imperial Army may stand above the rest, and Korean officers who had been trained under the Japanese army demonstrated this trait after the liberation. Aborted liberation on the Korean peninsula by the U.S military's occupation and the global Cold War both worked to embolden the former Japanese military leaders in committing vengeful acts of killing against nationalists, socialists, and even innocent civilians.

Keywords: Cold War, post-colonialism, South Korea, policing, military, criminality

Violence, Policing, Labor, and Marginality in the Cold War Koreas--P-02

The Cold War Politics of Collective Culpability

Heonik Kwon

University of Cambridge (Trinity College)

One thing that is commonly found in the two Korean societies during the long era of the Cold war is a set of remarkable punitive practices. Referred to as *yŏnjwaje* in South Korea and known as "guilty by association" in the Western legal tradition, this particular technology of societal control stipulates that punishment against individual actions, if these are deemed to be a threat to state security, should be shared with that individual's close relations. This paper compares the distinct ways in which this highly efficacious disciplinary technology was put into action across the 38th Parallel. The discussion will focus on how the experience of the Korean War is taken into account in the penal system. It will also include a critical review of Michel Foucault's rendering of the history of disciplinary techniques, which assumes a radical break between modern and traditional forms.

Keywords: Cold War, South Korea, North Korea, criminality, policing, guilt by association

Violence, Policing, Labor, and Marginality in the Cold War Koreas--P-03

Transgender Sex Work and Hetero-Patriarchal Policing in the Making of Early South Korean Capitalism

Todd Henry

University of California, San Diego

All too often, social scientific studies of South Korean capitalism have unproblematically championed the "miraculous" accomplishments of a bourgeois state and its managerial purview over a proletarianized citizenry. In this research, the working classes tend to appear as collateral damage to a nationalist agenda of anti-communist development, one said to have generally benefited most South Koreans. In recent years, feminist and Marxist-inspired critiques of authoritarian development have exposed the androcentric and necro-political underside of this "Miracle on the Han," demonstrating the highly

unequal benefits of a militarized, sexualized, and racialized modernity under state-dominated modes of capital accumulation. Drawing on the insights of queer and transgender studies as well as critical criminology and carceral studies, this presentation adds to these ongoing debates by focusing on the dimorphic, cisgender, and hetero-patriarchal norms of national development in early South Korea. To this end, I trace how the police, whose enforcement powers frequently appeared as sensational fodder for mass media consumers, exceeded the execution of existing laws, spilling over into anxious debates about the (im)propriety and (dis)privilege of Cold War citizenship. I show how the regular roundup, prosecution, and incarceration of transgender sex workers became strategic chances to delimit the contested parameters of extramarital sexuality, bourgeois masculinity, and gender-appropriate labor for an anti-communist population of worker-consumers. To be sure, stigmatizing articulations of cross-identified streetwalkers worked to minimize the violence of ensuring the bourgeois and heterosexual privileges of married (or marriable) male customers over the precarious position of female-bodied sex workers. Ironically, however, efforts at taming these “deviant” laborers worked to solidify a public culture of perversity in the urban fabric of early South Korea. Here, female-identified men and other marginalized subjects congregated, worked, lived, and created subcultural communities that thrived in the abject cracks of capitalist development.

Keywords: Cold War, South Korea, capitalism, transgender, sex work, policing, labor, embodiment

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Remaking Koreanness: Labor, Gender, and Aspirations

Remaking Koreanness: Labor, Gender, and Aspirations--P-01

Malehood in shared space: labor and self of South Korean men in self-employment

Antti Leppänen

University of Turku

In this paper I discuss the practices and discourses of malehood in South Korean family-operated food manufacturing shops, which are usually operated by a team of husband and wife, a most common arrangement in Korean self-employed business keeping. I will argue that especially in the setting of a shared space of a food manufacturing establishment, in which female and male work are often regarded as indispensable, malehood is constructed and reproduced in multifaceted ways in regards with capitalist market economy, cultural notions of the foodstuff in question (*ttôk*, or rice cakes), and the socially recognized concept of “skill” (*kisul*). I pay specific attention to the fact that “skill”, in the case of food manufacturing an ability and knowledge to produce a merchandize that receives social recognition in the form of “taste,” is not a gendered concept. Among rice cake manufacturers, it is common that husbands are de facto and de jure assistants to their spouses, being what in official South Korean labor statistics is categorized as “unpaid family worker.”

Running a manufacturing shop by wife and husband remains a pronounced ideal, as attested during a recent research visit. An interlocutor in his late 50s, widowed a few years earlier, when asked how long he intends to keep his shop now that he has been running it alone, answered that up to 10 years if he “finds someone,” but on his own, no more than 3–4 years. Another

interlocutor, who had operated a rice cake shop with his wife but is currently an office manager of a purchase cooperative related to his trade, is worried about the shop and his wife in charge of the shop only with his niece, because “a rice cake business needs a man.” However, my paper aims to show that behind the apparent fixture of a married couple or nuclear family and ensuing gender roles, there is considerable leeway to construct and practice malehood in culturally appropriate ways under tangled relations of local-level capitalism, social status, class, and entrepreneurial success.

Keywords: masculinity, gender, labor

Remaking Koreanness: Labor, Gender, and Aspirations--P-02

Performances of Ideal Fatherhood in Rural Spaces in *Dad, Where Are We Going?* (Appa, ōdiga?)

Bonnie Tilland

Yonsei University

Since South Korea’s rapid industrialization beginning in the 1970s, an uneasy relationship has existed between the city and the country. From the 1970s into the 1990s the countryside emptied of young people, who moved to Seoul or other metropolitan areas for higher education and employment. However, most TV dramas and other media products in the 1990s through 2000s heavily featured Seoul life. Recently, as the domestic tourism industry has become savvy about promoting travel, more TV programs have featured locales beyond Seoul. This paper examines the relationship between urban and rural South Korea as shown in Korean reality programs, and in particular focuses its attention on depictions of parenting, gender roles, and idealized family life outside of the city. Analyzing the reality show “Dad, Where are We Going?” (*Appa, ōdiga?*), I argue that South Korean reality travel shows are mediating the gap between urban and rural through the trope of “healing together through hard work,” illustrating a clash between capitalist industrial modes and communal modes. Moreover, the performances of celebrity fathers—who have strictly controlled public personas—are scrutinized and pleurably viewed for their “authenticity,” as their on-screen interactions with their young non-celebrity children cannot be entirely scripted. Both the “healing” and “authentic” qualities of this genre of travel reality shows chart new directions in Korean and East Asian media studies.

Keywords: masculinity, fatherhood, television

Remaking Koreanness: Labor, Gender, and Aspirations--P-03

Cold War Commodity: The Transpacific Geopolitics of Pork in *Okja* (2017)

Jih-Fei Cheng

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This paper engages in the study of Korea by comparing and examining how the colonial conquests of the United States (US) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) have transformed the social, economic, and physical landscapes of Korea, namely through the spread of the global pork industry and the importation and farming of pigs. It analyzes the film *Okja* (Bong Joon-ho, 2017) to investigate the film’s cautionary tales regarding industrial pork production, which

entails the conversion of land and social relations, the eugenics of animal husbandry, and the national branding of pork on the world market stage. To do so, this paper takes stock of the historical migration of boars brought by Spanish settlers across the Americas and Han (sinic) settlers across the Pacific, which have displaced local ecosystems and food sources. This has led to the dangerous overpopulation of a variety of pigs and boars in sites across the world, including the enduring demilitarized zone where disturbances to the local ecology caused by US military occupation has forced the waning presence of animals that once served as predators to the increasingly abundant wild boars. In turn, the boars are reportedly attacking Korean residents.^[1] Meanwhile, as pork products become pivotal in the most recent tariff wars between the US and the PRC, ^[2]the epidemic spread of viruses borne by industrial farming—like the case involving the swine flu—continue to pose major threats to global security, as dramatized by the film *Contagion* (Steven Soderbergh, 2011). By analyzing the narratives of trauma and loss foregrounded in *Okja*—including diminishing cross-generational family and interspecies interdependence, alienation from land and home, and the gendered and sexual violence of eugenics and nationalism—this paper seeks to understand how pork serves as a transpacific cold war commodity. Tracing the film’s commentary on the chain of pork production also traces how the historical and ongoing geopolitics and self-determination of Korea are hemmed-in by the intensified competing corporate and military interests of the US and the PRC.

[1] Kim, Grace (2018) “ Wild Boars Threaten Many S. Korean Cities.” *The Seoul Times*. June 2. URL: <http://theseoultimes.com/ST/?url=/ST/db/read.php?idx=6806> . Accessed: June 1, 2018.

[2] Dewey, Caitlin (2018) “ China proposed a tariff on U.S. pork. But the largest U.S. producer is owned by a Chinese company.” *Washington Post*. March 28.

URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/03/28/china-proposed-a-tariff-on-u-s-pork-but-the-largest-u-s-pork-producer-is-owned-by-a-chinese-firm/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.0c882138e6c2 . Accessed: June 1, 2018.

Keywords: pork, eugenics, farming, industrialization, militarization, China, United States, trade, kinship

Remaking Koreanness: Labor, Gender, and Aspirations--P-04

The Softening of Butches: The Adoption of Korean “Soft” Masculinity among Thai Toms

Dredge Kang

University of California San Diego

This paper examines the recent influence of the Korean Wave in Thailand. Specifically, the paper argues that young Thai *toms* (butch lesbians) have softened their masculine sartorial aesthetic as they have adopted K-flower boy style. In so doing, they resemble young feminine gay men, who often also model themselves on Korean stars. The embodiment of a softer female masculinity may also have shaped the development of new sexual practices and sexual sub-identities such as the *tom-gay* or *tom two-way*. The former represents a relatively new relationship among two *toms*, as opposed to a *tom* and a *dee* (femme partner of a *tom*). The latter references a new lexification of sexual versatility. I suggest that these new sexual forms are made possible because of changes in *tom* gender norms. Additionally, the symbolic resources of the Korean wave create a “white Asian imaginary,” or an emergent cosmopolitan “Asian” identification, that provides a new means for young queer Thais to imagine affinity with each other and

other queer Asians outside the political discourse of universalized Western human rights. Thus, the paper does not interrogate representations of gender and sexuality or a teleological advancement of LGBT rights, but rather demonstrates how media images in transnational popular culture can be productive of new gender and sexual practices enacted in everyday life.

Keywords: Korean Wave, gender, sexuality

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Chosŏn and Japan relations, 15th to 18th centuries

Chosŏn and Japan relations, 15th to 18th centuries--P-01

Sōda Saemontarō, piracy and trading networks in East Asia

Damien Peladan

Université Paris Diderot

The end of the Koryŏ dynasty saw the emergence of a new phenomenon of massive piracy emanating from the Japanese archipelago. Starting in 1350, these pirate fleets, gathering at times up to several hundred ships and thousands of men, plundered year after year the Korean coastline, sailed up the main fluvial arteries and raided nearby towns and villages, launching raids deeper and deeper inland. They soon became a major issue for the Koryŏ authorities. Not only did they inflict considerable damages on the Korean population, many men and women being either killed or taken as slaves to be traded on the Japanese market, they also blocked the transportation of taxes from the southern provinces to the capital, which were ordinarily carried out by sea. This dealt a huge blow to the court's finances, which was at times unable to pay stipends to its officials. This situation went on for some four decades, and ultimately became one of the reasons for the fall of the Koryŏ dynasty.

Several strategies were explored in order to put an end to the problem. The first was of course the military solution, as the Korean court made huge efforts to rival the pirate fleets at sea. They also started developing diplomatic ties with different political actors within Japanese society, enticing them to repress piracy, an approach which yielded significant results. But, at the beginning of Chosŏn, a new strategy was attempted: allowing the pirates to 'surrender' to Chosŏn, they employed some of them as a tool to control other pirate groups and also encouraged them to turn into legitimate traders, opening trading ports on the Kyŏngsang coast. All these strategies combined together were instrumental in bringing down piracy on the Korean shores. Yet, the large pirate fleets remained active, only they avoided the Korean peninsula and concentrated their campaigns on the Chinese coast.

Amidst these rapid changes was a pirate from Tsushima, called Sōda Saemontarō 早田左衛門太郎 (?-1428?). Saemontarō is a rare and precious case to gain insight into pirate networks in early Chosŏn, as he is one of the few pirate leaders for whom we have some information on their life and activities. He appears for the first time in historical texts at the end of 1396, when he came to Chosŏn at the head of a fleet of some sixty ships and offered his surrender in exchange for land and titles in the country. He remained in the service of the Korean court until 1411, when he asked to retire and went back to Tsushima, where he became a trader and a local authority, gaining significant influence within the island until his death in 1428 or 1429.

Even though Sōda Saemontarō is one of the most emblematic figures of Japanese piracy of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, some aspects of his life are still shrouded in mystery. Making use of both textual and archaeological sources, this presentation will focus on some of the less-studied aspects of Saemontarō's activities, especially his links with Tsushima during his time in Korea, his role in local society and his relations with the lords of Tsushima after his return, and his relations with the pirate fleets as he (supposedly) became a peaceful trader. In doing so, I hope to provide a clearer picture of the development of Korea-Tsushima relations in early Chosŏn.

Keywords: Tsushima, Korea-Japan relations, piracy

Chosŏn and Japan relations, 15th to 18th centuries--P-02

The Machiavellian side to Amenomori Hoshu's 1728 *Kōrin teisei*: Background and commentary to incidents of prostitution and riots at the Pusan Waegwan

James B. Lewis

Oriental Studies, University of Oxford

The paper begins with an overview of Amenomori Hōshū's life (雨森芳洲, 1688-1755), addresses his political and diplomatic activities between Tsushima and Chosŏn, and examines in greater contextual detail his depiction of two of the most critical issues in Tsushima's relations with Chosŏn: prostitution and rioting. Hōshū was occasionally an actor, but better known as a well-informed commentator on Japanese-Korean relations. He was known among Korean literati for his linguistic and scholarly talents and is famous today as a 'cosmopolitan' Japanese, even a Koreophile, who was acutely aware of the Korean perspective. Contemporary hagiographers in Japan and South Korea extol Hōshū for his cultural relativism and his 'tolerance' and argue that Hōshū can be understood as something of a pacifistic humanist, akin to Erasmus or Voltaire, when, in fact, Hōshū's *Kōrin teisei* (交隣提醒, 'Sober advice on relations with Korea', 1728-1729) makes the argument for cultural sensitivity from a purely pragmatic perspective: if we understand Korean views and take note of changing power relations between Tsushima and Chosŏn, then we can obtain more that is of benefit to us. The real wisdom Hōshū sought to communicate to his lord was that foreign relations must not be animated by prejudice or wishful thinking; it had to be moved by a calculated realpolitik based on a deep cultural understanding of the other party and a cold-eyed assessment of changing power relations. Realpolitik in Hōshū's day meant acknowledging (1) the dependency of Tsushima's economy and social and political capital on Chosŏn Korea's largesse and (2) recognising the evaporation of Korean fears of Japanese and their potential for violence. A close examination of how major incidents (prostitution and rioting) at the Waegwan in Pusan were handled and what interpretive commentary Hōshū applied to these incidents reveal a Machiavellian mind at work.

Keywords: Amenomori Hōshū, *Kōrin teisei*, Waegwan, prostitution, riots

Chosŏn and Japan relations, 15th to 18th centuries--P-03

Tokugawa politics through Korean accounts: on the 1764 Murder of Ch'oe Ch'ŏn-jong

Kangziyi Xia

As the historical diplomatic and trade mediator between Japan and Korea, Tsushima domain is widely acknowledged to have enjoyed a high level of discretionary power independent of the Tokugawa *bakufu* when interacting with Korean officials and merchants. In the mid-eighteenth century, however, Tsushima's agency faced *bakufu* challenges as the domain faced a growing financial crisis and became dependent on the *bakufu* for survival.

The murder of a Korean official, Ch'oe Ch'ŏn-jong, in Osaka by a Tsushima interpreter during the Korean Embassy (朝鮮通信使) to Edo in 1764 illustrates how the Tsushima domain and the *bakufu* interacted with each other and with the Korean Embassy in this time of changing dynamics. Examining mainly Japanese records, previous studies have concluded that the Tokugawa *bakufu* took over Tsushima's diplomatic responsibility during the investigation and enthusiastically accommodated Korean needs so as to recover Japan-Korea relations. Meanwhile, Tsushima is thought to have been sidelined in diplomatic interactions and unable to exercise discretion beyond following *bakufu* orders. However, Korean accounts of the investigation, particularly the journal of the chief Korean ambassador Cho Ŏm 趙礪, depict a more complex picture. Cho's previous experience as the Tongnae 東萊 magistrate responsible for regulating Korea-Japan interactions allowed him to make informed observations of Japanese politics during his trip. His daily journal not only confirms and completes details of the incident found in Japanese sources but also provides a valuable outsider's perspective. It reveals that the *bakufu*'s primary intention was domestic rather than diplomatic—the *bakufu* sought to ease its financial burden by relieving Tsushima of its duty and creating a direct channel of communication with the Korean Embassy and, by extension, the Korean government. It was, in fact, the Tsushima domain that was more interested in maintaining an amicable relationship with the Embassy so as to appeal for Edo recognition of its diplomatic importance. Despite having formally forfeited its diplomatic authority, the domain was still capable of manoeuvring between the *bakufu* and the Embassy by informally exploiting its linguistic advantage. Moreover, the Korean accounts point out the significance of the Korean opinion in the contestation for diplomatic authority between Tsushima and the *bakufu*.

When studying the dynamics between the Tokugawa *bakufu* and the Tsushima domain in early modern Japan-Korea relations, archival materials kept by Japanese domains, particularly Tsushima, often take the centre stage because of their colossal volume and candid details. Korean primary sources are mostly utilised to evaluate the peninsular end of the relations, such as the operation of the Japan House (倭館) in Pusan and the Korean perception of Japan. However, Korean officials were also participants in and informants about Tokugawa politics as they interacted with Tsushima and *bakufu* officials, particularly during the trips of the Korean Embassies to Edo. Identifying and utilising their observations of the Japanese political scene in specific diplomatic incidents offer comprehensive insights on the archipelago end of Tokugawa Japan-Korea relations and open into post-East Asian War Korean views of Japan.

Keywords: T'ongsinsa, Tsūshinshi, Tsushima, Ch'oe Ch'ŏn-jong, Osaka, murder

David Weiss

Rikky? University

This paper examines the reception of the sinocentric *hua-yi* 華夷 distinction in seventeenth-century Chosŏn and Japan. After the Middle Kingdom was conquered by Manchu forces, who established the Qing 清 dynasty in 1644, Confucian scholars in both Japan and Chosŏn started to question the *hua-yi* 華夷 concept, which contrasted China as the civilized ‘Central Flowering’ (*zhonghua* 中華) with the surrounding ‘barbarian’ (*yi*) peoples. According to the *hua-yi* ideology, the Manchus – like the Japanese and Koreans – belonged to the barbarian peoples. The Manchus’ overthrow of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644) led to a relativization of the terms *hua* and *yi*, of which Confucian scholars in both Chosŏn and Japan took advantage by claiming centrality for their own countries.

On the Korean peninsula, Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–1689) proclaimed Chosŏn the sole legitimate heir to Ming culture, whose duty it was to maintain the Confucian teachings and the customs of the Zhou 周 period (c. 1046 BC–256 BC), which had allegedly been forgotten in China. In Japan, such different figures as the Neo-Confucian Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋 (1619–1682) and the proponent of Ancient Learning Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–1685) claimed the title of ‘Central Flowering’ for their own country. For Yamazaki Ansai, who greatly admired the work of the eminent Chosŏn scholar Yi Hwang 李滉 (1502–1571), the key lay in declaring Neo-Confucianism to be nothing more than the Chinese formulation of universal truths that were already known in Japan before the advent of Confucian teachings. Sokō, on the other hand, was critical of Neo-Confucian teachings, which – in his eyes – distorted the ancient truths contained in the Confucian classics. For him, the emergence of Neo-Confucian teachings in Song 宋 China (960–1279) already marked a decline of the Way in the Middle Kingdom. The defeat at the hands of the Manchus, then, proved China’s unworthiness once and for all. Sokō also explicitly refuted Chosŏn claims to centrality in the Confucian world by emphasizing the neighbouring country’s alleged military weakness and its scholars’ shallow understanding of the Confucian classics.

Considering the regular advent of Korean embassies in Japan during this period, Ansai’s admiration of Chosŏn scholarship, and Sokō’s refutation of Chosŏn scholars’ claims, it seems highly likely that there was a direct connection between Chosŏn and Japanese discourses on this question. This paper attempts to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the discourses in the two countries and explicate possible sites and backgrounds for intellectual exchange. It also draws attention to the importance of Ansai’s and Sokō’s claims in the context of the emergence of a national consciousness in early modern Japan.

Keywords: Confucianism, *hua-yi* distinction, early modern Korean-Japanese intellectual exchange

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Norms and Ordinary lives in Chosŏn Dynasty seen through Old Documents

Norms and Ordinary lives in Chosŏn Dynasty seen through Old Documents--P-01

Lawsuit Document, Caste system, and Ordinary Lives under Chosŏn Dynasty

KYEONG SOOK KIM

SNU

Lawsuits in Chosŏn dynasty show us its norms regulating people's ordinary lives, their desires bringing forth their struggles for their own lives, and the subsequent compromises negotiated between the norms and the desires. A judgement document called 'Kyŏlsong iban' in Korean leads us the historical potentials the litigation in the Chosŏn dynasty carried within itself.

Chosŏn dynasty is known to be based upon a caste system, and nobi or slave in usual English translation is imagined to be the case which conformed that the Chosŏn was the dynasty based upon a caste system. Nobi was the lowest caste to which all kinds of legal, social discriminatory practices, rules, and measures were applied. Interestingly, however, nobi in the lawsuit documents presents a picture totally different from our usual imaginations.

As litigants(complainant or defendant) with legal independence from caste constraints, they firmly stood against their masters by bringing up laws and employing strategies in the emphasis of the factuality of their proofs in order to realize their interest in the case. Despite the difference in their caste between nobi and master, there were no discrimination against nobi during the judicial process and judgement at the legal court. The legal court demonstrates an existence of a 'place where caste did not work' within a caste society.

The lawsuits examined here suggest that the caste did not work in the every fields of daily lives at all times. The non-working of the caste system at the lawsuit leads us to a critical reflection upon the usual, established imagination of the caste system under Chosŏn dynasty. Our further reflection is the problematic of this presentation.

Keywords: Lawsuit, Nobi, Caste

Norms and Ordinary lives in Chosŏn Dynasty seen through Old Documents--P-02

Economic Status of Separated and Divorced Gentry Women in Chosŏn

Kyoung Park

Yonsei University

This research examines the economic status and lives of divorced women or separated women who still maintain their marital relationship. By record, divorce in Chosŏn was practiced in the form of the husband abandoning his wife. Emphasizing the Confucian norm of righteousness between husband and wife, Chosŏn government punished those officials and official candidates who abandoned and mistreated their wives, and restrained their access to officialdom; nevertheless, those practices did not disappear. Also, although the act of abandoning and mistreating the wives were regulated by the government, the actual life of those abandoned

women were not their object of interest. This research attempts to trace their lives through old documents which are largely unrecorded in official records and history books.

Unlike widows, it was unlikely for abandoned women to receive financial support from their husbands or husband's family. Therefore, their economic status would have changed from early Chosŏn period when equal inheritance of properties among siblings was practiced to late Chosŏn period when the eldest son and sons succeeded to the more properties than daughters. This research attempts to examine their economic status according to women's inheritance rights in their natal family and other inheritance principles through written judgement of legal cases related to property issues of a divorced women and records of dividing properties.

Keywords: Inheritance, Economic Status, Separated and Divorced Women

Norms and Ordinary lives in Chosŏn Dynasty seen through Old Documents--P-03

Marriage and Family in Chosŏn through Marriage Documents and Diaries

JEONGUN KIM

Kyungpook National University

Wedding is a ritual that involves the process of marriage gaining social recognition and that process is made by social agreement. Marriage is a personal issue, but since the wedding ceremony is practiced according to social norms, the process of marriage involves both extremely personal factors and normalized social consciousness. Therefore, during the process, a variety of documents were produced based on individual's daily life and social needs. This is a common phenomenon across the ages and in all countries of the world. For instance, marriage documents written in Egypt 4000 years ago demonstrate the history of wedding ritual and marriage documents. Choson Dynasty established institutions for running the state based on Neo-Confucian ideology, and family rituals and related institutions followed the Family Rituals by Zhu Xi, the Neo-Confucian philosopher from Song China. However, since Family Rituals was produced in accordance with China's family concepts, it differed with those of Choson. According to Family Rituals, the bride and groom have a wedding at the groom's house and live there afterwards. However in Choson, they have a wedding at the bride's house and live there until they find a new residence. Therefore, the procedure of Family Rituals could not be practiced as it was written, which led people in Choson to pursue their lives by adopting normalized procedure of Family Rituals within their traditional family routine. In this sense, in wedding rituals, their daily life and norms harmoniously coexisted. This research suggests that marriage consists a daily life of an individual but at the same time it is a ritual that reflects social norms, and shows the aspects of family in Chosŏn where norms and daily life were intertwined with one another by examining marriage documents and diaries.

Keywords: Wedding ritual, Family, Marriage Document

Norms and Ordinary lives in Chosŏn Dynasty seen through Old Documents--P-04

Grading Method of Civil Service Examination in Chosŏn through Answer Sheets

Hyun Soon Park

Kyujanggak Institution for Korean Studies, Seoul National University

Sigwŏn refers to an answer sheet of civil service examination. In Chosŏn, at each level of the exam, answer sheets were given back to successful candidates who passed the exams. Answer sheets were kept preciously for generations as a certificate, and a large volume of answer sheets still remain to this day.

Civil service examination is based on meritocracy through fair competition. To realize this idea, various institutional devices were adopted in the whole process of the exam in order to secure fairness. We can find some traces of those institutional devices in the answer sheets submitted by the candidates.

In order to realize meritocracy, the answer sheets would have to be graded strictly with much fairness. Ideally, officials would not miss talented candidates while grading their answers. However grading was one process of administration, and in order to grade as much answers as possible in a short period of time, it required great efficiency. The grading method of Chosŏn was significantly determined by administrative efficiency and convenience. This also affected the test taking strategy of the candidates, and furthermore their answer sheets, results, and grades.

The grading method of the exam was a result of the compromise between the ideal of the exam and administrative efficiency. It became determined more by efficiency with the increasing number of candidates. However, they did not entirely give up the ideal of the exam. Then how would they have negotiated between the ideal and reality? And how was this justified?

This research examines the grading method of the civil service examination and their logic of justification through candidate's answer sheets. First, institutional regulations, its ideal, and realistic constraints will be discussed. Secondly, actual grading process and its logic will be examined through answer sheets and diaries. This will lead to the understanding of selecting talented men through civil service examination in Chosŏn dynasty.

Keywords: Answer Sheets, Civil Service Examination, Grading

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Geographical perspectives on the ROK

Geographical perspectives on the ROK--P-01

Revolution Economics? Korea's Candlelight Revolution and the Post-developmental State

Jamie Doucette

This paper examines the opportunities that South Korea's Candlelight Revolution of 2016-2017 and the election of the Moon Jae-In administration have provided to challenge the enduring legacies of the developmental state. Spurred by corruption, collusion, and expanding socio-economic inequality, Korea's Candlelight Revolution of 2016-17 created an historic opportunity to deepen democratization through the transformation of political and economic institutions that have long subordinated organized labour, expanded non-standard work and enabled collusion between the state and domestic conglomerates. This paper interrogates the efforts of democratic reformers and civil society organizations to address these problems, and outlines some of the new spatial and territorial imaginaries they have produced and strategic dilemmas they have encountered. By doing so, the paper reframes developmental state analysis away from territorially trapped, Weberian conceptions of bureaucratic coherence and elite planning towards a more spatialized and historicized account of popular politics and intellectual intervention. The paper argues that such a perspective can help to better account for processes of state rescaling, multi-scalar and networked articulations of state-civil society relations, and territorial restructuring at the regional, Northeast Asian scale.

Keywords: Gramscian geography; developmental state; territory

Geographical perspectives on the ROK--P-02

Structural Transformation of the Seoul Agglomeration: Trajectory for Polycentric Development

Pavel Em

1. Leiden University, 2. Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Seoul has been playing the role of pre-eminent center for the Republic of Korea. Patterns of its polycentric development have already been identified, as Kangnam and Yŏngdŭngp'o districts became alternative economic foci to the traditional focal point located in the center. The de jure territorial expansion of Seoul almost finished in 1963, but huge flows of internal migration directed toward Seoul led to a rapid increase in its population and instigated further land grabs on the periphery of the de facto city through suburban development.

The Seoul agglomeration includes Seoul, Inchŏn and the greater part of Kyŏnggi Province. It concentrates about 50% of the country's total population and produces an almost equal share of its gross domestic product. Many of the suburban satellite cities are large nowadays: Suwŏn has more than one million inhabitants while Sŏngnam, Koyang and Yongin are very near to surpassing this number. The role of the cities surrounding the capital is critically under-studied, while their growth indirectly points to tendencies in polycentric development overlooking Seoul in favor of Kyŏnggi Province. The aim of this presentation is to examine the appearance and role of alternative centers in the Seoul agglomeration.

The commuting flows between Seoul, Inch'ŏn and the cities of Kyŏnggi Province have intensified in recent decades due to the express development of the public transport system. As a result, about 75% of commuters spend less than one hour travelling from home to work, mainly by public transport. However, men are still more willing to undertake longer commutes than women.

The majority of internal migration is now oriented not to Seoul, but rather towards the cities surrounding it. High demand has caused the fast rise of real estate prices, comparable now to some parts of Seoul. The author has made an analysis of commuter traffic flows directed in and out of the elements of administrative division, as well as the value of difference between them. This analysis, based on the Korea Statistical Information System database, has showed that inhabitants of the cities surrounding the capital mostly prefer to work in Seoul, while the bulk of those commuters who live further work in the cities surrounding the capital, and only a minority of them in the capital itself. Meanwhile, the daytime population density, for example, in Suwŏn is less than that of nighttime because the commuter outflow is higher than the inflow despite its attractiveness to the residents of cities located afield from Seoul. However, the simulations show that the daytime population density within central Inch'ŏn is almost two times higher than at nighttime. This city is not deeply involved in regional labor commuting, as it hardly attracts commuters and most of its residents work within the city.

This demonstrates that polycentrism is now manifest not only within Seoul itself, but has expanded into the Capital region by forming a set of alternative economic centers around the capital which are able to intercept migrants and commuters on their way to Seoul. Their further development is the logical and necessary path to decentralization, not only for industry but for economics and population in general.

Keywords: Seoul agglomeration, polycentrism, commuting

Geographical perspectives on the ROK--P-03

Geo-political economies of the industrial city formation in Korea

Bae-Gyoon Park

Seoul National University

In the western academia, the Korean industrial cities (e.g. Masan, Gumi, Pohang, Changwon, etc.) have been widely seen as the outcome of the developmental states' strategic policies for national industrialization and regional development. This paper aims to overcome this state-centric view to the industrial city formation in Korea. In particular, the existing explanations on the Korean industrial city formation, emphasizing the role of the state, are criticized for its neo-Weberian assumption of the state-society separation and methodological nationalism. Alternatively, this paper tries to explain the development of the Korean industrial cities in the 1960s and the 1970s on the basis of the strategic relational understandings of the state, as well as in relation to the cold-war geo-political economies in East Asia. More specifically, it will focus on the following three elements in explaining the Korean industrial cities; 1) legacies of the Japanese colonial industrialization, 2) the role of the trans-national elite networks of the USA, Japan and Korea that had been established under the context of the cold-war geo-political economies, and 3) the center-local tensions and the associated politics of scale. Also, this paper argues that the economic geographies of the East Asian industrial cities are better understood by more political and multi-scalar readings of the state actions, instead of apolitical institutional analysis on government policies or the coupling/de-coupling between the state and global production networks.

Keywords: developmental state, industrial complex, Masan, Ulsan, geo-political economy, cold-war alliance, growth coalition, Hyundai, local politics, colonial industrialization

Geographical perspectives on the ROK--P-04

Songdo, moving scales of a mega-project in the making: digitalized power and the fabric of a new residential space.

Valérie Gelézeau, Suzanne Peyrard

EHESS

Near Seoul (South Korea), a new city emerges on a vast reclaimed zone from the sea: Songdo, a mega-urban project that is to house about 200 000 inhabitants by 2020. In the globalized competition of large metropolises and global cities (Sassen 1991), this new “International City” is part of the South Korean public policies that try to promote the Seoul capital region as a major hub in North East Asia. The development of Songdo also derives from the opening to foreign investments that followed the financial crisis of 1998 and is at the core of so-called “IFEZ” (Incheon Free Economic Zone). In the programmatic or analytic discourse of planners and developers, Songdo appears as an urban utopia of the 21st century, combining digital technologies (“U-City”, “smart city”) and sustainable development (“green city”). Today, over 70 000 people already settled in – and live between construction sites, brand new skyscrapers, or a public space often referring to foreign locations (the “Central Park”).

Based on the research of a senior scholar and her Ph.D. student, and elaborating on critical geographical theories from Henri Lefebvre's production of space (Lefebvre 1974) to David Harvey's spatial fix (Harvey 2001) and Edward Soja's discussion of spatial justice (Soja 2010), this paper intends to expose the preliminary findings of a research aiming at analyzing the process of place construction in a mega-project considered typical of Asian contemporary urban development within globalization (Kim Jun-Woo & Ahn Young-Jin 2012, Shin Hyun-bang 2016). It associates the perspective of cultural geography grounded on ethnographic research crossing planning narratives with dwellers' residential trajectories, collected by the senior scholar in 2016, with the knowhow of the Ph.D. student who has worked in urban planning and experienced first hand the use of digital techniques in city planning, and now brings a critical eye on those practices. Overall, the paper will attempt to illuminate the production process of residential neighborhoods where the planning of housing and public facilities meets (or not) the actual practices of the pioneering residents of the new city (Yi Hyosik 2012).

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Keywords: Korea, Songdo, megacity, mega-project, capital region, globalization, residential neighborhood, housing

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - The Creation of Historical Narratives in the Korean Peninsula (1945-2018)

The Creation of Historical Narratives in the Korean Peninsula (1945-2018)--P-01

The periodization of Korean archaeology: Kim Wŏnyong and Han'guk Kogohak Kaesŏl

Luis Alberto Botella Sanchez

University of Malaga

This paper focuses on Kim Wŏnyong's manual of archaeology, Han'guk Kogohak Kaesŏl and its role in reframing Korean archaeology within universal schemes in the post liberation era. Kim Wŏnyong is rightly considered one of the fathers of Korean archaeology. He was the first professor at the Department of Archaeology at SNU, where he produced intense research activities in the form of excavations and publication. In 1966, his teaching and research activities led him to publish Kogohak Kaeron, the first survey of Korean archaeology post 1945. In 1973, he reviewed and expanded the work, which became the first university manual on Korean archaeology in Korean, Han'guk Kogohak Kaesŏl. This new manual organized Korean archaeology through an innovative periodization scheme that continues to be used today.

Through this periodization, Kim Wŏnyong created a new narrative for Korean archaeology independent from the legacy of colonial archaeology. This paper aims to look at how Kim Wŏnyong creatively utilized different sources of influence in his attempt to place Korean archaeology at the level of international research, and at the same time presented an alternative to the colonial discourse on Korean archaeology. This analysis will examine Kim's sources of influence, demonstrating that they were not only of the colonial era but further incorporated contemporary international debates on archaeology. Thus, this paper will analyze how Kim Wŏnyong designed an interpretative framework that tried to overcome colonialism by using the intellectual instruments available to him at the time.

This analysis will consider two fundamental aspects: the configuration of the historical subject of the narrative, and the categories used for the division of time periods. Kim's periodization entirely revised the imperial narrative of archaeology, that had premised a hierarchy of peoples, to instead establish a model of single Korean people across time. Imperial archaeologists

expected their research to contribute to a larger knowledge of the peoples of the Japanese empire, wherein Japanese were given premier status. Kim rejected this approach by recasting what had been a region of empire to an autonomous nation, and thus established Korean archaeology on its own national terms.

The second element of analysis examines the chronological framework Kim employed in order to organize his historical subject diachronically. This comprised arguments emphasizing the continuity within a racialized narrative of Korean archaeology inherited from the colonial period with a few key changes in terms of the definition of the historical subject. This paper will argue that in fact Kim moved away from regional practices in the periodization of archaeology in East Asia based on idiosyncratic names to make the Korean framework compatible with European models based on the three technological periods developed by Thomsen. It will be argued that this decision aimed to break away from colonial archaeology while at the same time relocating Korean archaeology into a universal path of development.

Keywords: Kim Wönyong, Han'guk Kogohak Kaesöl, Periodization, Archaeology, Historical Subject

The Creation of Historical Narratives in the Korean Peninsula (1945-2018)--P-02

Building the Heroic Past

Codruta Sintionean

Babes-Bolyai University

In 1961 when it was created, the Office of Cultural Properties (Munhwajae Kwalliguk, hereafter the OCP) started its work under the assumption that history had been distorted by Japanese historians, archaeologists and cultural managers during the colonial era. The OCP heritage managers – many of whom had been trained as historians and museum staff – regarded the correction of history as their most important mission, and therefore set to reimagine the past through heritage. This paper investigates the work of OCP managers in replacing the feared ‘imperialist historical view’ (hwangguk sagwan) with the ‘national historical view’ (minjok sagwan) that was endorsed and closely tailored by the Park Chung Hee regime during the 1960s-1970s. I claim that the most important feature of this national historical view was the ‘history of overcoming national difficulties’ (kungnan kükpoksa), a discursive trope rooted in the writings of colonial era historians such as Sin Ch’aeho, and developed by the Park regime into an ideological tool that shaped citizens as national subjects able to fight any historical vicissitude.

Since the 1960s, academic and heritage discourses alike have represented Korean history as a series of struggles that tested the endurance of the Korean people, strengthened their determination and prepared them for whatever hardships may come – a historical representation that has proven long-lasting and highly influential in South Korean society. In order to construct this view in material, palpable and visual ways, the OCP selected historic sites (sajök) associated with Korean bravery (i.e. battle sites, fortresses, tombs of warriors, shrines and birthplaces of great military heroes) and invested a considerable amount of their budget in the remaking and promotion of these heritage sites. In order to narrate the ‘history of overcoming national difficulties,’ the OCP created museum displays, explanation boards, monuments, statues, and memorial plates, and strategically displayed them around historic sites. A common denominator

for the sites selected by the OCP was their ability to convey nationhood, a glorious past, and values such as patriotism and self-sacrifice that could serve as ideological tools. The historical representation created through these heritage projects has proven so influential, that these historic sites are still classified today under the category of sites illustrating the ‘history of overcoming national difficulties.’

My analysis is informed by two main categories of sources: heritage practices of the OCP, and confessions, interviews and memoirs of prominent OCP staff who participated in the creation of these historical representations. These sources provide answers to important questions: who were the people selected in decision making committees, who selected the historic sites, thus participating in the creation of historical narratives? And what were they actually doing, as managers of heritage, in order to create and then deploy these narratives? In discussing their agenda, my paper emphasizes the role played by political and ideological factors in the creation of historical representations.

Keywords: Park Chung Hee, national heritage, ‘history of overcoming national difficulties’

The Creation of Historical Narratives in the Korean Peninsula (1945-2018)--P-03

From the Legends to Fairy Tales: the evolution of theories of ethnogenesis of Korean people in the DPRK

Akulenko Vadim

Far Eastern Federal University

This paper focuses on the historical transformation of theories on the Korean people’s ethnogenesis in the DPRK. It provides an archetypal case study of the gradual distortions of Korean history made by North Korean scholars, who strive to follow the orders of the Great Leader and the Workers' Party of Korea. In our study we have also sought to analyze the system of creating historical narratives in North Korean and methods which the regime has used to spread these narratives, though we did not evaluate its effectiveness.

We analyze six types of sources: North Korean scientific journals, monographs and dictionaries, several editions of “General History of Korea,” Kim Il Sung’s Works and different internet sources, connected with North Korea directly or made by its ‘ideological friends’. Through this analysis, we identified four evolutionary stages.

In the first stage, from 1947 to the beginning of 1960s, there were three main hypotheses of ethnogenesis: “Northern” (Sushen origin theory), “Western” (Chinese origin theory) and “Multi-origin”. During this period all historians could more or less freely discuss their views, unless they contradicted Marxist ideology. In the 1950s many historians used ethnographic sources such as legends to uncover the origins of Korean people, because the archaeological data was not widely introduced.

In the second stage, from 1960 to 1970, hypotheses of ethnogenesis were much influenced by the Juche ideology. The North Korean Social Science Academy held several scientific seminars in order to criticize the traditional foundation myths of Tangun and Kija characterizing them as

relics of the feudal past. Simultaneously, the figure of Wi Man was declared Korean. These seminars functioned to legitimize the distortion of Korean history in the name of Juche ideology.

In the third stage, from early 1970s to 1994, North Korean archaeologists continued their excavations and finally discovered remains of Paleolithic inhabitants of Korea. These findings inspired them to form the indigenous theory of Korean people's ethnogenesis in which a direct genetic link between the Paleolithic Age population of the Korean Peninsula and the modern Korean people was established. Most works, which 'proved' this theory, were authored by Prof. Jang Ujin and he remains one of the most influential DPRK scholars in the domestic discourse. During this period North Korean academics sought to spread their 'discoveries' over the globe by means of scientific seminars, conferences and translation of their history books and journals; they even attacked Soviet scholars who criticized their 'findings'.

The fourth stage starts from 1993 year, when scholars 'discovered' 'the Tomb of Tangun' following direct orders of Kim Il Sung. Soon after DPRK archaeologists 'discovered' the Taedonggang culture, claimed to represent one of the five civilizations of the ancient world. The latest theory of Korean ethnogenesis in the DPRK asserts the Korean people as the oldest genetically homogeneous nation on Earth. In addition to conferences and publications, the discovery of the Taedonggang culture has been further propagated through films and internet, including through postings to social networks sites.

Keywords: DPRK, Korean people ethnogenesis, evolution of theories of ethnogenesis

The Creation of Historical Narratives in the Korean Peninsula (1945-2018)--P-04

Spreading the Word: Institutions of Pseudohistory

Andrew Logie

University of Helsinki

In 21st century South Korea, the pursuit of early and pre-history is strongly colored by the societal influence of a pseudohistorical narrative that imagines ancient Korea as having been a vast continental empire bequeathing civilization to Northeast Asia. The individual authors of this "empire scheme" are well known such that a genealogy of their ideas may be constructed tracing back to foundational figures of the colonial period, and to earlier antecedents. However, the institutions, both formal and informal, that have since worked to promote this, originally revisionist, narrative have received limited critical attention.

This is particularly the case for those presently operative, yet during 2014-2015, they came to wield enough political influence within a National Assembly special committee as to force the termination of two flagship projects funded by the government's own Northeast Asia History Foundation. In addition to the shared fantasy of ancient empire, advocates are motivated by an accompanying polemic that defames the domestic academic establishment as a "pro-Japanese, treasonous cartel" promoting colonial era historiography in order to diminish Korea's ancient grandeur. Against the context of ongoing history disputes with China over the heritage of early Manchuria, and postcolonial nationalist indoctrination directed against Japan, this paper argues it is the political efficacy of the historiography polemic that enables the spread of pseudohistory.

Synchronically the empire scheme is promoted by a range of mutually reinforcing institutions

and agents that include segments found across: the popular publishing industry, civic associations, religious organizations, universities, and the National Assembly. The content of the empire scheme is conveyed through two channels: the apocryphal history *Hwandan kogi* (1979), and a regular flow of popular histories that recycle a basic canon of arguments. Written in literary Chinese, *Hwandan kogi* has long been associated with the Tangun worshipping religion of Taejonggyo, however, in recent years, the most visible edition is a supplemented translation by An Kyŏngjŏn, patriarch of the millenarian new religion of Chŭngsando, which maintains the Sangsaeng publishing house and broadcast channels, through which An's mix of pseudohistory and millenarianism is disseminated. In the mundane world, the most prominent iterations of the colonial historiography polemic, are authored by Yi Tŏgil, a prolific popularizer of the empire scheme. Heading his own research institute, Yi is also a leader of Misahyeop, a civic umbrella organization claiming to represent over a hundred sub-associations concerned with patriotic history. In the introduction to An's *Hwandan kogi*, Yi's works are cited alongside British pseudoarchaeologist and promoter of "lost civilizations," Graham Hancock.

Nested within Inha University, meanwhile, is a professor of archaeology, Pok Kidae, who argues for continental locations of the Koguryŏ and even Koryŏ capitals. At Inha, Pok heads the Kojosŏn Yŏnguso (Old Chosŏn research institute), the email address for which is hongsan@inha.ac.kr. The neolithic Hongshan culture straddling Inner Mongolia and Liaoning, is claimed as evidence by advocates of continental Korean empire. Hongshan features in both Yi's works and An's *Hwandan kogi*. Yi and Pok, meanwhile, both testified as experts to the National Assembly special committee hearings.

This paper seeks to shed light on this web of interconnected institutions that currently supports the promotion of pseudohistory pertaining to ancient empire.

Keywords: Pseudohistory, pseudoarchaeology, popular history, Hongshan, *Hwandan kogi*, Old Chosŏn, An Kyŏngjŏn, Yi Tŏgil

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Modes of Rejection and Strategies of Acceptance: Chosŏn Literati and the State

Modes of Rejection and Strategies of Acceptance: Chosŏn Literati and the State--P-01

***Saga toksŏ* : a royal patronage of Sage Learning in Chos ŏn?**

Isabelle SANCHO

CNRS-EHESS

The *saga toksŏ* 賜暇讀書, literally meaning "to be bestowed a leave to read books," was a system officially created in 1426 by king Sejong, according to the *Annals of Chosŏn*. It might be understood and explained in modern terms as a "sabbatical leave," an "ongoing training," or even an "induction program" for a handful of newly recruited scholars-officials. Considered as a privilege, it was bestowed from time to time by Chosŏn kings upon some of the most successful candidates of the highest civil service examination, *munkwa*. Without any equivalent in China or Japan, where such a practice had neither a formal and institutionalised form nor a

specific name like in Korea, the *saga toksŏ* can be regarded as one of the most salient Korean attempts to put into practice all together the ideals of Confucian kingship, officialdom and Learning. It is a symbol of the ideal quest for a balance of power between the kings and the bureaucratic elite –a constant problem in the course of Korean social and political history. It also provides us a few interesting insights into the reality of the culture, sociability, and ideology of the Chosŏn period. This paper will start by examining the broad lines of the practice of *saga toksŏ* from the 15th to the late 18th centuries, taken as a royal attempt at managing the bureaucracy and Confucian scholars. It will then shift the focus by looking at the emblematic remaining text of the *saga toksŏ*, the *Tongho mundap* (*Questions and Answers at the Eastern Lake*). Written during a monthly exercise and submitted to the young king Sŏnjo in 1569 by Yulgok, Yi I (1536-1584), the text might help us deepen our understanding of the actual role, function, and use of the *saga toksŏ* by the Confucian literati.

Keywords: *saga toksŏ*, Confucian Learning, study leave, royal patronage, balance of power, *Tongho mundap*, Yulgok

Modes of Rejection and Strategies of Acceptance: Chosŏn Literati and the State--P-02

Private Academy or State School? Dilemmas of Confucian Education

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Freie Universität Berlin

Confucian Academies (sŏwŏn) are often understood as a “private” equivalent, or even as a foil, to state schools outside the capital (hyanggyo) and as a rejection of state education. Therefore, the academies form an interesting object of study to understand the views of Korean literati towards the state. Rhetorically adhering to Chinese models of Confucian academies from the Song dynasty, the founders of Korean academies often emphasized the local and independent character of their institutions. At the same time, however, academies relied heavily on economic support from the state (through land, slaves, etc.) and actively sought out recognition by the central government. The literati involved with the academies also took somewhat contradictory positions towards the state administered civil-service examinations, on one hand criticizing the examinations as diverting from real scholarship, while on the other hand relying on students seeking success in the examinations to enroll in the academies. Besides such relations with the state, Confucian academies also formed a space for direct interaction between local elites and officials through their shrines and the worshipped scholars therein. For officials dispatched by state to regional posts, the founding of an academy or the act of paying respects and performing rituals at an already existing ritual space quite often established access to local elites and thus was a crucial link to secure local resources and power.

This paper will look at the interactions between Korean literati involved with Confucian academies and the state from the viewpoint of the literati. Special focus is put upon their views towards the function of their academies vis-à-vis state institutions and officials as well as the practical interactions between both sides. By looking at various records of academies from the mid-16th century onward, several issues that augment our understanding of the academies should be raised.

The present paper will thus focus on the relation between academies on one hand and various levels of the state education on the other, i.e. local schools (hyanggyo), the four schools in the

capital (sahak), and the Sōnggyun'gwan. The questions focus on the topics to which degree those institutions operated or competed, how their teaching curricula overlapped or differed and what modes of personal mobility, both on the level of students and teachers, existed between them. Given the regional differences which have existed in the structure of local elites and the economic conditions of the communities those questions will be analyzed on the example of the academies and local schools from the Honam, Yōngnam, and Yōngdong regions from the second part of the 16th century until the onset of the Imjin War.

Keywords: Confucian education in the Chosŏn dynasty, academies (sŏwŏn), local schools (hyanggyo)

Modes of Rejection and Strategies of Acceptance: Chosŏn Literati and the State--P-03

Protesting scholars through refusal of public positions: the case of Kim Sisŭp

Diana Yuksel

University of Bucharest

The lives of Chosŏn literati revolved largely around the state examinations and the appointment to public positions. The foundations of the bureaucratic system, resting firmly on Confucian moral precepts, implied that holding a public position meant showing one's loyalty to the king, the government and the people. However, many scholars retired from the positions they had been appointed to or simply refused to accept a position or even to answer the royal summoning. Some of these scholars refused public involvement in government and retired from public life as part of a subtle protest against the politics of their times. The case of Kim Sisŭp (1435–1493) in the beginning of Chosŏn is relevant because it determined a significant change in the views on Confucian ethics over the centuries. His refusal of public positions and the adoption of a life of a recluse has sparked many debates during the 16th century, but it was only in the 18th century that he was seen by the Confucian literati as a “loyal scholar” (義理之士 *ŭirijisa*). The later scholarship allowed the hypothesis that Sisŭp adopted the just position by not accepting to serve under King Sejo, not only for his obvious gesture of loyalty towards the rightful heir, King Tanjong, and of piety for the respect he paid to the martyred ministers (死六臣 *sayuksin*), but also for his views on the principles of conduct, which reshaped the theory of morality.

This paper will analyze Kim Sisŭp's views the role of the Confucian scholar and his theory of ethics, starting from the importance he assigned to the “principle of just positioning” (義理 *ŭiri*). Inspired from the Confucian classics, Kim Sisŭp understood 義理 *ŭiri* as the right positioning of the individual in the world and the principle that subsumed many of the core elements of Confucian ethics such as humanity, loyalty, reverence, filial piety and authenticity. His attachment to the supremacy of the principle of just positioning made him retire, become a recluse, take up a Buddhist path and never take office during the reign of King Sejo, who, as Prince Suyang daegun, had forced his nephew, King Tanjong, to abdicate from the throne. For Kim Sisŭp, *ŭiri* is the basis of all belief systems and all actions and perceptions, becoming, on an individual level a set of rules of conduct that have primacy over and replace propriety (禮 *ye*). Positioning oneself correctly in a given social context is necessarily related to the concept of authenticity (誠 *sōng*), understood as the sincerity of one's moral convictions, which is a necessary condition for the practice of *ŭiri*. This paper argues that Kim Si-s ŭ p's theories on authenticity and right positioning have had an impact on the later approaches to Confucian ethics and

the role of the scholar, especially since they are reflected in the works of the 19th century scholars, such as Hwasŏ Yi Hangno.

Keywords: Confucian ethics, government positions, refusal, Kim Si-sŭp.

Modes of Rejection and Strategies of Acceptance: Chosŏn Literati and the State--P-04

Houses for Sages: 16th century enshrinement policy and its contradictions

Vladimir Glomb

Freie Universität Berlin

Enshrinement in the Confucius Temple both in China and Korea was understood as the highest honour for a Confucian scholar. Chosŏn literati were since the beginning of the dynasty attempting to introduce new figures into the Seoul Munmyo shrine. Their first successful candidate was Chŏng Mongju in 1517 and for almost one century Confucian literati concerted their effort to press another five candidates, who were accepted into Munmyo in 1610. Another area, where the idea of enshrinement was active was the rapidly growing community of Confucian academies, which (unlike in the case of their Chinese models and counterparts) established shrines venerating local scholars, as their spiritual centres, within their compounds. But what was the relevance of such steps? In the light of the numerous rejected proposals for Munmyo enshrinement and frequent critique of already enshrined figures it is necessary to ask to which degree this state sanctioned evaluation of the Confucian scholars was relevant and how this seemingly very serious performative act was understood among individual scholars. It is necessary to ask a similar question also concerning other forms and places of veneration of the past scholars i.e. Confucian academies, local shrines or local schools.

The present paper analyses the problem of enshrinement and its relevance on example of T'oegye Yi Hwang and Yulgok Yi I, who have left a rich corpus of documents on the enshrinement policy on various levels. Both thinkers often commented not only the individual cases of enshrinement, but formulated general opinions on the meaning and value of enshrinement in various institutions as such, often significantly differing from the state position and majority literati opinion as well. T'oegye and Yulgok on one hand strived to enhance the Confucian agenda on an official and a popular level and in certain cases supported candidates for Munmyo or other forms of the enshrinement, while at the same time they expressed (often in the private correspondence) doubts on the quality of such candidates. The present paper argues for the separate notions of enshrinement and its criteria, developed by T'oegye and Yulgok and tries to provide description of their attitudes in contrast to both state and literati understanding and strategies of enshrinement.

Keywords: Munmyo, shrine, Yulgok, T'oegye, ritual, sage, Confucian academies

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Diverse approaches to perceptions of linguistic variation in the Korean-speaking realm

A Perceptual Approach to the Linguistic Geography of Central Asian *Koryo Mar*

Simon Barnes-Sadler

SOAS, University of London

The contemporary study of linguistic variation has come to cover not only the documentation of variable linguistic forms and the analysis of their distribution, but includes a number of approaches concerned with the perception of variation. Korean has been an intermittent focus of such research, and the language has been the subject of perceptual dialectological work dating back to the 1980s (Lee 1981) which continues to the present day (e.g. Long and Yim 2002; Jeon and Cukor-Avila 2015). More recently, perceptual approaches to Korean have expanded to encompass social, as well as geographic variation, within the framework of socio-phonetics (Lee et al. 2017).

In addition to their central object of enquiry, the perception and evaluation of the linguistic variation of Korean, a further common feature of such research has been its concentration on the perceptions of those residing in the Republic of Korea with regard to varieties of Korean used in the contiguous Korean speaking area of the Korean peninsula and its adjoining islands, with only minimal reference to varieties of Korean spoken in transplanted contexts. This paper presents early-stage research exploring the perceptions of Central Asian Koreans (*Koryo Saram*) with regard to the Korean language of their region.

A map drawing survey was carried out by 49 people of varying ages, social backgrounds, and levels of proficiency in Korean, all of whom self-identified as *Koryo Saram*, resident in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Respondents were invited to identify areas where Korean was spoken and, if possible, comment on the features of that variety. A qualitative analysis of these survey results reveals a high degree of variation in the responses; for example one respondent reported that Korean was spoken widely over the whole country, while another explicitly claimed that Korean was not spoken in any part of Kazakhstan. In contrast with more recent perceptual dialectological work on the Korean peninsula, respondents generally did not associate the dialect areas they had identified with particular linguistic features or social evaluations. Their responses also showed a widespread lack of common folk terminology for referring to specific dialect areas, with the exception of the area surrounding the city of Ushtobe, generally considered to be the point of arrival for the *Koryo Saram* in Central Asia.

The results of this survey have been aggregated for cartographic presentation and quantitative analysis. A notable finding of the quantitative analysis is the apparent high awareness of regions in which Korean is spoken, despite its on-going shift to Russian. This is demonstrated by the strong correlation between the self-reported population of Korean speakers in the administrative areas of Kazakhstan and the frequency of inclusion of those areas in respondents' perceived dialect areas. This is demonstrated by the strong, positive correlation between the self-reported population of Korean speakers in the administrative areas of Kazakhstan (Statistical Agency of Kazakhstan 2011) and the frequency of inclusion of those areas in respondents' perceived dialect areas, which was determined using a Kendall's tau-b correlation ($\tau_b = 0.57, p = 0.006$).

In addition to its empirical findings, this research represents an expansion of Korean perceptual dialectology. Furthermore, it introduces methods and display maps rarely seen in traditional, point-symbol Korean dialect cartography.

Keywords: Perceptual dialectology, *Koryo Mar*, Central Asian Korean

Perceptions of code choice by Jeju islanders: a language ideological view

Soung-U Kim

SOAS University of London

This paper aims at providing a complimentary view on perceptual dialectology through the lenses of a language ideological study, with specific reference to the region of a variety known as ‘Ceycwu/Jeju dialect’ (henceforth Jejuan) in South Korean dialectology. Jejuan has surfaced in a number of dialectometric (Barnes-Sadler 2017, Lee S.2015) and perceptual dialectological studies (Jeon 2013, Long and Yim 2002) as being highly distinct from mainland Korean varieties to the extent that mutual intelligibility with other varieties is not given (cf. Brown and Yeon 2015, O’Grady 2014).

While such studies usually identify a few characteristics that are attributed to Jejuan from a folk-linguistic perspective, they do not take into account the fact that such characterisations are usually part of an individual’s language-ideological worldview (cf. Irvine 1989, Kroskrity 2000 among others). Language ideologies are often understood as “cultural system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255). Given that such ideologies are inevitably linked to broader issues such as monolingualism and linguistic nationalism (e.g., Heinrich 2012 on Japan), the question is whether so-called ‘perceptions’ may be examined systematically as a sense-making whole.

In order to do this, I conducted a set of qualitative interviews asking Jeju islanders what aspects they commonly associate with either Standard Korean and Jejuan code choice. I employ a thematic coding analysis (Auerbach and Silverstein 2013) in order to unmask the systematic and common-sensical nature of those perceptions. What emerges from the analysis is the emotional nature of the rationalisations given by speakers, alongside interwoven levels of citizenship and nationhood, hegemony and power, and other social meanings that Jejuan and Standard Korean are ascribed.

This means that eventually, I will suggest that broadening our view on the issue of ‘perception’ in the study of Koreanic varieties will lead to their examination from a language-ideological perspective. I close the analysis not only with a reflection on the ramifications of such an approach to relevant fields, with a suggestion that the present language-ideological perspective can enrich and deepen the findings of a perceptual-dialectological approach by embedding those very ‘perceptions’ into an ideological web.

Keywords:

Jeju/Ceycwu/Cheju
Jejueo,
Jeju
language ideology

Jejuan,
dialect,
language,

Attitudes towards & perceptions of Korean language held by North Korean defectors in South Korea

Jennifer Hough

University of Oxford

Over 30,000 North Korean defectors have entered South Korea and South Korean government policy is designed to facilitate their resettlement. However, research suggests that they struggle to integrate into South Korean society, with their distinctive styles of speaking marking them out (Jeon et al. 2003; Sung 2008; Hong et al. 2010; Bell 2013). Although scholars have drawn attention to North Koreans' distinctive accents, they have often been analysed in passing as one in a series of challenges that North Koreans face in adapting to life in South Korea (e.g. Jeon 2000; Suh 2002). Moreover, scholarship on North Korean language has tended to consider language policy and ideology, and highlighted the ways in which North and South Korean language varieties differ (Kumatani 1990; Lee 1990; King 2006a; Song 2015), with a common tendency to focus on textual language usage, for example by analysing newspaper text. Neither the views of North Korean language users nor changes in North Koreans' own perceptions of their linguistic practices have garnered significant attention.

This paper addresses the cultural meanings that North Korean defectors bring to their linguistic practices, and considers how they have changed over time. Many young North Koreans actively attempt to assimilate by adopting more South Korean styles of speech, with speakers of the distinctive Hamgyŏng dialect – spoken in the North Hamgyŏng and Ryanggang Provinces neighbouring China from where over 62 percent of North Koreans in South Korea originate (Korea Hana Foundation 2016) – placing particular emphasis on this active assimilation work. Although dialects differ in certain respects including pronunciation, intonation and vocabulary, Korean dialects are broadly intelligible (Brown & Yeon 2015). Scholars have noted that non-standard varieties of Korean are heavily corrected and characterised as inadequate, and the desire of many young North Koreans to change their accents suggests that they quickly accept the delegitimation of their own North Korean varieties of Korean language when in South Korea (King 2006b). However, research on language attitudes in the Korean context has overwhelmingly focused on South Korean-born speakers, with the views of North Koreans largely unknown. Moreover, this leaves open the question of how they viewed North Korean – and, for that matter, South Korean – language prior to leaving North Korea.

Through the use of semi-structured interviews, this paper specifically explores current attitudes that North Korean defectors hold towards North and South Korean language varieties which, by extension, suggest attitudes they hold towards speakers of these varieties and potentially point to reasons for underlying social tensions. Moreover, by asking about their formative experiences of formally learning Korean as children in North Korea, I aim to chart changes in North Koreans' language attitudes from prior to leaving North Korea until the present-day. In doing so, this paper bridges a gap by focusing on language attitudes of North Koreans, and contributes to improving understanding of social dynamics which could be used to better develop resettlement policies.

Keywords: North Korean defectors, language attitudes, resettlement

Diverse approaches to perceptions of linguistic variation in the Korean-speaking realm--P-04

Age estimation from Korean adult voices

Yoon Jeong Seo, Jiyoung Shin

Korea University

Many studies have shown that listeners can perceive a speaker's age with a reasonable degree of accuracy (Shipp & Hollien 1969; Ryan & Burk 1974; Linville 2001). As the human voice continuously changes due to aging, listeners can accurately predict a speaker's age based on the acoustic cues of age-related changes. Previous research has shown the accuracy of listeners' responses depends on how precise an age is required and on the duration and type of the speech

sample (Ptacek & Sander 1966; Schötz 2007; Harnsberger et al. 2008). Although there are studies of many different languages and using a variety of research methods, in Korea these perceptual studies have not yet been performed. In this study, we aimed to examine the correlation between chronological age and perceived age for Korean language speakers, and to specify the information that affects a listener's judgement. Three perception experiments were conducted to measure the accuracy of 70 Korean listeners when presented with different types of speech. All stimuli were speech samples of native Seoul Koreans who ranged in age from 20 to 79. The first experiment presented 40 stimuli of spontaneous speech with an average duration of 11.8 seconds (SD 2.48). The second experiment presented 40 stimuli of read speech, comprised of three sentences extracted from a passage about cats and dogs designed by Shin et al. (2015). The mean duration of these stimuli was 9.6 seconds (SD 2.18). To control for ordering effects, experiments 1 and 2 were alternately conducted first. The third experiment presented 80 stimuli of sustained phonation /a, i, u/ with an average duration of 5.7 seconds (SD 2.76). In all the experiments, participants listened to speech samples and gave their estimate of the speaker's age in figures. After the perception tests, participants answered a voluntary survey about the respective experiments. It was found that Korean listeners, like listeners in previous studies, are able to gauge the age of a speaker fairly precisely. Chronological age and mean perceived age were positively correlated in all three experiments. Moreover, the experiments revealed that the amount and type of information included in the voice samples affected the accuracy of a listener's judgement. The results of experiments 1 and 2 were not significantly different, but the participants' accuracy decreased in experiment 3. Most listeners judged experiment 3 to be the hardest, because there was little information given upon which to estimate age. In addition, we discuss the accuracy of individual speakers and individual listeners, in order to identify reasons why differences occurred between them. The results of the three perception tests suggest that most listeners can accurately judge the age of a Korean speaker solely from listening to their voice. This study has found that listeners use various pieces of speech information like acoustic cues, speaking rate, and utterance content in order to guess at an unknown speaker's age. Furthermore, we determine which acoustic features are typical characteristics of different age groups.

Keywords: Korean language, age estimation, perception test

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Panel - North Korea at a Crossroad: The Past, Present and the Future for Sustainable Development

North Korea at a Crossroad: The Past, Present and the Future for Sustainable Development--P-01

The DPRK at 70: Forecasting Development Strategies

Virginie Grzelczyk

Aston University

North Korea is notable for its political and economic isolation yet has maintained a number of close relationships over the past decades with large powers and small states alike. Scholarship on North Korea has in general focused on Pyongyang's 'high

profile' relations with China or Russia (Shambaugh 2003; McCormack 2004; Wu 2005) or with nations seeking weapons of mass destruction (Berger 2016). North Korea's survival has now ignited a new strand of studies that look at how the DPRK develops and seeks investment (Jung and Rich 2016) or that re-examines relationships that were not seemed important while Pyongyang was assumed to be collapsing. Thus, North Korea's foreign partnerships are more visible than in the past due to globalized media and have started to spark interest: from police training force in Uganda to technical cooperation with Iran to Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2012 with Fiji at the Non-Aligned Summit, Pyongyang appears to be providing services to a number of countries.

While contemporary research tools allow for more analysis of both North Korean daily media sources and foreign outlets reporting on Korean activities, the DPRK's engagement behavior with other parts of the world, especially the African continent, is not new: following up on recent cataloguing of diplomatic sources acquired and made available by the Wilson Centre, it is possible to retrace Pyongyang's engagement strategies almost upon it's the DPRK's inception.

This paper suggests that an in-depth archival look at North Korea's development strategies in the 1950s and 1960s shows on the one hand a sustained engagement to gather political support around the world, and on the other hand a pragmatic policy to derive economic gains by exploiting the Sino-Soviet rift.

The paper argues that looking back at such strategies can be illuminating to provide a contemporary analysis and understanding of the DPRK in the age of economic sanctions and global political shifts, and provides avenue for thinking about economic and sustainable development instead of considering the DPRK only via reductionist denuclearization lens.

Keywords: DPRK, Development, Sustainable, Economy

North Korea at a Crossroad: The Past, Present and the Future for Sustainable Development--P-02

North Korea and the United Nations: Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the Context of Fragile State

Sojin Lim

University of Central Lancashire

In September 2015, the United Nations (UN) agreed to begin a new journey of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In other words, all UN members, regardless of whether they are a donor or recipient country, are obliged to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. The 17 global goals of the SDGs, with 169 indicators, include all aspects of social, economic, political, security and environment issues. Upon this, the UN has conducted various efforts to support the achievement of the SDGs in developing countries, and especially for fragile states, it has imposed various principles and strategies, such as the New Deal Principles and the Acceleration and Policy Support (MAPS).

However, implementing the SDGs in a time of fragility has not been any easier for both policy makers and practitioners in the scenes of development cooperation. For instance, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has provided a 2018-2021 Strategic Plan to support ending poverty and reducing inequality in North Korea, and has incorporated SDGs goals 1 (no poverty), 2 (zero hunger), 7 (affordable and clean energy), 8 (decent work and economic growth), 12 (responsible consumption and production), 13 (climate action) and 15 (life on land) in line with the strategic plan. Yet, without any breakthrough, this will remain as an ambitious plan for both UNDP and North Korea.

In this light, this research aims to provide an underpinning study in this discourse for the future development of North Korea, by focusing on SDGs and North Korea in the context of fragile state development. While there is an increase interest by the international development community on how to engage more fragile states into SDGs processes, North Korea has been one of the most challenging cases. Nevertheless, there has been very limited academic research conducted in this context, especially with a case of North Korea. With this in mind, the research will expand the theoretical discussion on fragile states and SDGs, and examine how to reflect it into the process of mapping the best cases and failed cases of UN approaches in fragile situations. It expected that the findings and implications from this will make a prominent contribution to both academic discourse and to international development policy and practice in the context of SDGs and fragile states.

By using interview method for data collection with North Korean specialists, UN and NGO practitioners, bilateral donor policy makers, and think-tank researchers, this study will examine the main reason for fragility in North Korea in theory, and how to address each fragile component in the context of SDGs in practice. Considering its nature of closed society, this paper will provide the most feasible policy implications for both academics and practitioners.

Keywords: North Korea/DPRK, development, United Nations, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and fragile states

North Korea at a Crossroad: The Past, Present and the Future for Sustainable Development--P-03

«The closest of friends»? North Korean economic development and the evolution of the North Korean-Soviet alliance in the 1950s.

Natalia Matveeva

SOAS University of London

While the relationship between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the USSR, unlike the Sino-North Korean alliance which has often been dubbed "as close as lips to teeth", has been given no poetic description, the Soviet Union from the very beginning of the North Korean state and for many years to come has been its chief political and economic partner and ally. However, unlike the common perception, their relations have not always been smooth, and the disputes over what course the North Korean economic development should take played a very important role in the cooling down of the bilateral relations by the early 1960s.

This paper looks at the Soviet-North Korean alliance from the end of the Korean war and the death of Stalin in 1953 to the process of setting the targets for the Seven-year plan (1959-1960), with a focus on the often understudied connection between international politics and economic development strategies. Based on the declassified documents from the former Soviet archives, the North Korean periodicals, and

the speeches and publications of Kim Il-sung, this paper aims to look at how the changes in the relations between North Korea and the USSR, and in the international situation in the 1950s, were reflected in the strategies of North Korean economic development.

Kim Il Sung, just like the Soviet leaders, attributed great importance to the matters of economic reconstruction and development. But where in the 1940s his ideas and visions of the path that the development should take coincided with those of the Soviet Union, in the 1950s they started to clash. The Soviet leadership no longer viewed the continuation of the Stalinist-style, heavy-industry-first autarkic policies which Kim Il Sung insisted on as optimal, for various reasons. For his part, Kim Il Sung was also dissatisfied with the CPSU's "new course" in economics. It seems no coincidence that Kim's self-sufficiency and self-reliance rhetoric, which was to become the *Juche* ideology (as well as the broad introduction of the term *Juche* itself) occurred in the mid-1950s. On the other hand, at that time he was not yet ready to openly broadcast his dissatisfaction with the USSR, as that would have meant the cutting down of the much-needed Soviet aid; but this in turn only added to Kim's desire to distance himself from Moscow's influence and further complicated the bilateral relations.

This paper traces and aims to explain the evolution of the Soviet-North Korean relations in the 1950s through the lens of economic relations and policies. This period is extremely important for the understanding of the political and economic issues of the North Korean history and its relations with its allies in the later years, as the rationale behind many of the decisions and actions taken by both sides in the 1960s and further, including the origins of the *Juche* ideology, traces back to the 1950s.

Keywords: North Korea, USSR, North Korean-Soviet alliance, economic development, political development, development strategies, 1950s

North Korea at a Crossroad: The Past, Present and the Future for Sustainable Development--P-04

Industrialisation and Proletarianisation at the Hŭngnam Fertiliser Factory, 1945-1960

Owen Miller

SOAS, University of London

In this paper, I examine the reconstruction and development of a Japanese-built fertiliser factory in the North Korean coastal city of Hŭngnam during the 1940s and 1950s. This locus of colonial and postcolonial industrialisation on the Korean peninsula was first established by the Japanese conglomerate Chisso in 1927 and went on to employ thousands of workers and play a key role in the modernisation and transformation of Korean agriculture. The chemical complex at Hŭngnam has continued to be central to the DPRK's industrial and agricultural economies up to the present day and the drastic decline in production capacity there in the 1990s appears to have been an important factor behind the famine of that decade.

The particular focus of this study is on the way in which workers were made and remade at the fertiliser factory in the first decades of the DPRK, as the country attempted to recover from colonialism and war and establish a firm foundation for rapid state capitalist development. Using North Korean sources from the 1950s I investigate the ways in which new workers came into factory life and how existing workers were shaped and disciplined into

becoming productive subjects. The paper additionally examines official representations of factory workers at Hŭngnam in North Korean texts in order to understand the relationship between the rhetoric of the DPRK state concerning the working class and the underlying processes of proletarianisation and industrialisation that were taking place in the period immediately after the Korean War.

The central source material for this investigation is a long article published in 1960 by the DPRK Institute of Science and authored by Ri Kuksun, with the title “The victorious path trodden by the workers of the Hŭngnam fertiliser factory” [홍남 비료 공장 노동자들이 걸어 온 승리의 길]. In addition, the paper makes use of articles from contemporaneous North Korean journals such as *Kyŏngje kŏnsŏl* and *Kŭlloja* as well as newspaper articles from the time. While there are obvious limitations to official materials produced in North Korea, they should not be overlooked as valuable historical sources which can provide rich information on both the views and intentions of the DPRK state and the problems and tensions that it encountered in its attempt to carry out forced industrialisation and proletarianisation on a mass scale.

This paper attempts to set the processes of industrial development and proletarianisation at this crucial North Korean industrial facility within the broader context of East Asian development in the post-war period. In doing so it aims to normalise North Korea’s economic development as one example of a much wider phenomenon of state-centred economic development in late 20th century East Asia, which had many commonalities as well as differences with its neighbours, China, South Korea and Japan.

Keywords: North Korea, DPRK, development, industrialisation, proletarianisation

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Individual papers - Rituals | Buddhism

Rituals | Buddhism--I-01

Consoling the dead: exploring the path and background of Palgwanhoe(八關會) in Goguryeo(高句麗)

DAHAE BAIK

EWHA WOMANS UNIVERSITY

The purpose of this study is to explore the path and background in which Palgwanhoe, one of the Buddhist rituals, was accepted in the Korean Peninsula, particularly Goguryeo. Rituals are considered as the three elements that constitute religion in addition to doctrine and denomination. Rituals based on actual visual behaviors have absolute impact on believers, and they also have a more devout belief in religious experience through rituals.

As Buddhism originating in India was sent eastward to China and East Asia, "rituals" that visualizing doctrines were distributed together as well as doctrines and scriptures. Among them, Palgwanhoe is one of the representative Buddhist rituals sharing various spatial temporal and spatial categories. This was a ‘national ceremony’ that

contributed to the consolidation and stability of an ancient state by consoling soldiers who were killed in the war and comforting survivors when the Three Kingdoms were fighting for the supremacy.

Palgwanhoe is originally a ceremony for at-home believers to observe the eight commandments for a specific period of time, which stemmed from India's Palgyejae(八戒齋). It was followed by the spread of Buddhism into East Asia. From the 4th century onwards, it has been widely spread not only to every Chinese dynasty but also to Goguryeo, Silla(新羅), and even Japan, and each country has accepted it in their own way. At that time, accepting Palgwanhoe implied accepting the notion of the rule, which was one of the core concepts of Buddhism. In addition, since it was established as rituals, it became an important indicator of the social settlement of Buddhism, and it also played a foundation for national unity and stability in that it was a ceremony to console those who died in the war.

Then, when and by which path was Palgwanhoe spread to the Korean ancient society? According to 『Samguk sagi(三國史記)』, it was not until Geochibu(居柒夫), who had been attacking Goguryeo under the command of King Jinheung(眞興), brought the Goguryeo monk Hyeoryang(惠亮) to Silla that the law of Palgwan(八關之法) was established. Twenty years later, in the 33rd year of King Jinheung (572), Palgwanhoe was organized to "comfort the dead in the war". It was revealed that the Palgwanhoe was introduced into the Korean Peninsula before the 6th century, and its purpose was consoling the dead, and its propagation path was from Goguryeo to Silla.

The issue is the ambiguity of acceptance timing, background, and the propagation path of Palgwanhoe in Goguryeo. So far, without proper grounds, it has been considered that the Palgwanhoe had spread from Qianqin(前秦) or Beiwei(北魏) to Goguryeo. However, in China, Palgwanhoe was organized more actively and regularly in the Song(宋) and Jin(陳) periods, which were classified as Southern Dynasty than Northern Dynasty. That is, Palgwanhoe was a popular and widespread ceremony in Southern Dynasty than Northern Dynasty. Moreover, the relationship between Goguryeo and the Northern Dynasty countries in the 5th and 6th centuries provides clues to infer the pathway of Palgwanhoe. In general, Goguryeo has formed political friendship with the Northern Dynasty countries and has been understood to have a high cultural affinity. However, in the 5th and 6th centuries, Goguryeo also had a close relationship with the Southern Dynasty countries with active cultural exchanges. Although the propagation pathway of the rituals cannot be singularly determined, considering the situations of Southern Dynasty and Goguryeo at that time, the propagation pathway from Southern Dynasty to Goguryeo can be assumed.

This study aims to examine the accepting pathway of Palgwanhoe in Goguryeo with respect to the political and cultural negotiations and exchanges between Southern Dynasty Countries and Goguryeo in the 5th and 6th century, focusing on its relationship with Southern Dynasty countries in particular. Furthermore, this study plans to explore the background, reason, and social goals of Goguryeo's willingness to accept the rituals of Palgwanhoe at that time. This work is significant in that it rethinks the relationship between Goguryeo and international relations or cultural influences. Also, it contributes to examining how a rite is transformed and changed according to temporal and social situations to be settled in the society.

Keywords: Buddhist rituals, Palgwanhoe, Goguryeo, Southern Dynasty, the propagation of Buddhist rituals

Cho-rong Park

Ewha Womans University

Since the 1960s when Nishizima Sadao(西嶋定生) advocated East Asian globalism, under the political tie between the Chinese Emperor and the king of neighboring countries, the East Asian world has been generally understood as a complete historical space sharing the culture of Chinese characters, Confucianism, Buddhism, and the rule of law. In this sense, the Ritual System, which expresses Confucian thought in a visible form, was recognized as the most effective means of representing the relations between East Asian countries, and therefore it was regarded as an important research topic in East Asian world. The countries that accepted the political tie were to follow the Ritual System, including encompassing the symbols such as the Chinese jurisprudence and era name, carrying out the ritual procedures according to the rank prescribed by China. Sui Dynasty and Tang Dynasty establishing an empire since Han Dynasty applied The Ritual, a symbolic system that integrated a wide range from individual behavioral norms to national governing and international orders, to the Ritual System that mediated the positions of themselves and neighboring countries through the rituals and symbols. Also, compared to Koguryeo, Baekje, and Japan attempting to escape from the Chinese Ritual System, Silla has been understood to strictly comply with the norms.

This understanding is already evident in Kim Busik's evaluation of the *Samguksagi*. Citing a phrase *Lǐ jì Wangzhì* (《禮記》 〈王制〉), "The Chinese Emperor performs a rite to 7 ancestral shrines(7廟), while a feudal lord performs a rite to 5 ancestral shrines(5廟). The Chinese Emperor perform a rite to mountains and rivers in the universe, while a feudal lord performs a rite to mountains and rivers in his own land, he stated that "it seems that they performs a rite without exceeding the ritual for this reason". In other words, Silla did not sacrifice heaven and earth, but sacrificed to five ancestral shrines because Silla recognized her status as a nephew and followed the Ritual System for the nephew. In other words, Silla performed a rite to five ancestral shrines, not to the sky and the earth, because they followed the Ritual System appropriate for a country that perceived itself as a feudal-lord country.

The contemporary researchers also understand the Ritual System of Silla from this standpoint in general; except for the time of the Silla-Tang war, Silla maintained a so-called toadyism attitude for the political affiliation with Tang. Therefore, it is common to see that the Ritual System of Silla was also operated under the self-recognition and regulation as the feudal-lord country. There are also recent researches on different perspectives, of course. Such attempts include the following representative examples: revealing that Silla had operated the emperor system in the same way as Koryeo based on the analysis of the terms related to the royal family of Silla, pointing to the growth of Silla's self-consciousness through the emergence of 'east capital' coined by Silla, demonstrating the emperor status of Kings in Silla based on the narrative style of the Kings' formal documents. However, such studies simply describe the internal awareness in Silla without considering the changes in the Silla-Tang relationship, or lack the connection with the overall operation of the Ritual System in Silla. Above all, even assuming that Silla was operating the emperor system or had a unique worldview, it does not imply huge significance other than contributing to the enhancement of self-consciousness of Silla (and thus that of contemporary Koreans). The explanations of this issue and its meaning search need to take into consideration not only Silla's internal awareness but also the ups and downs of the Silla-Tang relationship and the internal circumstances of Tang.

The purpose of this presentation is to 1) analyze the Ritual System debate that occurred between the two countries in the period of Queen Jindeok ~ King Sinmun, when the relationship between Silla and Tang was built, terminated, and reassumed, and to 2) review the implications of the implementation of the Five shrines system (五廟制), which is considered to be the greatest change in the Ritual System in Silla at that time. The representative arguments of the Ritual System are as follows: ① Tang's problem-posing about Silla's independent use of era name in the Queen Jindeok period, ② Tang's problem-posing about Silla's installation of Ahn Seung, a Koguryeo migrant, as a King of Koguryeo in the King Munmu period, ③ Tang's problem-posing about Silla King Muyeol's title of king Taizong (太宗) in the King Munmu period.

For instance, a lot of scholars have attributed the issue of era name to Silla's low degree of understanding of the Ritual System. However, the current research results that Silla already had considerable understanding on Confucianism could refute the explanation above. On the other hand, the Five Mausoleum system was pointed out

as evidence that Silla complied with the norms from the Ritual System, along with the absence of the-sky-and-the-earth rite. Nevertheless, it is not sure that they did so from the introductory phase. Many dynasties in China, which had been self-proclaimed till Tang Dynasty, did not consistently operate the emperor's 7 shrines, and even Emperor Gaozu of Tang operated 5 shrines at the stage of the shrine establishment. According to the study by Howard J. Wechsler, this was because Emperor Gaozu of Tang credited the theory of Jeonghyun, a cannon commentator. Therefore, it is doubtful that, at least in the implementation stage, Silla operated five shrines based on the self-recognition and self-regulation as the feudal-lord country.

The formation of the Ritual System in Silla was a cumulative and gradual process through several countries in the Korean Peninsula (small country near Silla, Koguryeo, Baekje, etc.), various fragmented countries of South/North Dynasty of China, Sui • Tang, and Japan. In this context, Silla's self-recognition and its world view before and after the unification of the Three Kingdoms can be newly interpreted. It is expected that this study can contribute to a new critical view on East Asian globalism, which still has powerful influences despite many criticisms.

Keywords: Silla's self-recognition, the Silla-Tang relationship, the Ritual System

Rituals | Buddhism--I-03

Iconographical Changes and Innovations of the Depictions of Bodhidharma in the Joseon Era and Its Impact on Modern and Contemporary Korean Buddhist Beliefs

Beatrix Mecsi

ELTE University

In Buddhist figure painting for identifying the depicted persons certain set rules and attributes are necessary. When Buddhism was a state religion and received support from the royal court, artists worked within a framework where these rules and codes for representations were more controlled and were unified. However, during the Joseon era (1392–1910) when Buddhism was pushed to the margins in favour of the new state ideology, Neo-Confucianism, these codes stopped to be controlled in such a degree and we can trace a certain freedom in forming and also in identifying certain Buddhist figures.

I would like to show this tendency with the example of representing the first Chan (Seon) patriarch, Bodhidharma and show examples for transcoding his figure in the Joseon era. The first example shows how the use of printed pattern books were used more loosely not restricting themselves to the given codes (using the sixth patriarch's iconography for Bodhidharma in Kim Myeongguk's (c. 1600–after 1662) paintings).

The other case is when the identification is not very clear and mixed with representations of general daoist immortal images.

One of Korea's three most famous temples, the Tongdosa has a wall painting dated around 1670 where a bearded figure with large eyes is seen in profile sitting on a straw mat under a pine tree and holding a begging bowl. A young, noticeably smaller monk holds a book and bows before the seated man. There is no hint of the removed arm, but in the famous Shaolin monastery, a place strongly connected with Bodhidharma himself an image preserved which shows its subject in the same posture as the seated figure in the wall painting. In 1992, the same face type was used as a model for a commission by a Chinese artist on a Bodhidharma sculpture for the Waujeong temple in Gyeonggi province in Korea. In Korea's other famous monastery, the Haeinsa, there is another Bodhidharma painting from the Joseon period which bears a resemblance to the wall painting at Tongdosa. We can see its influence on other Bodhidharma

paintings too, where the facial expressions are similar though the setting is different (e.g. the painting in the Emille Museum).

In the oeuvre of another famous Korean artist, Kim Hongdo (1745–after 1814) who is considered one of the most outstanding artists of the Joseon period (1392–1910), we find paintings showing figures standing or sitting on a reed.

One of them where the figure is standing on a reed bears an inscription “Picture of crossing the sea on a reed”. Though it was not stated that it should be the representation of Bodhidharma, later sources refer to it as being such without further evidence. The tradition can be also traced back to the depiction of the Daoist immortals’ crossing the sea, and has a long history in iconography that predates Bodhidharma’s.

We can witness that in contemporary Korea the codes used and misused in the Joseon era are still present and is continuously being challenged according to the needs of contemporary Korean society. In my talk I would like to trace these iconographical developments and show how these pictorial changes might have influenced the beliefs and thus the textual and ritual perceptions of Bodhidharma.

Keywords: Bodhidharma, Iconography, Perception and innovation, Contemporary beliefs, practices and representations

Rituals | Buddhism--I-04

Milk on the Altar: Abortion in Buddhists Rituals of 21st Century Korea

Marek Zemánek

Charles University in Prague

Every summer, inner walls of Korean Buddhist temple halls are covered with paper sheets with tiny card shaped tablets for deceased spirits attached. The tablets are placed for the upcoming Paekchung festival, when, according to an old Chinese narrative, it is an auspicious day for helping those, who were reborn in unpleasant places.

The tablets represent the spirits who are the subject of a series of rituals performed for a period of forty-nine days before the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. These tablets contain a set of information including the relationship of the deceased to the patron, the family name, place of family origin, and given name of the deceased. Also, the tablets usually contain not only one, but several relatives of one patron.

When analyzing the data from the tablets, one cannot but notice a specific type of the ritual subject. Among the tablets for late relatives of a patron, separate tablets with generic terms *sujaryōng* 水子靈 *nakt’aea* 落胎兒 or *t’aeryōng* 胎兒靈 all referring to an aborted child are frequently present. In some cases, the tablets feature multiple cases, up to five or six, for one patroness. Also, ritual paraphernalia, namely milk, cookies and sweets are especially added to the standard offering of tea are noticeable.

The high number of the spirits of aborted children is a result of an ambivalent relationship towards abortion in twentieth and twenty-first century Republic of Korea. In my paper, I will contextualize various implications the presence of this particular spirit has.

Methodologically, my research is based on analysis of contemporary ritual texts, qualitative field research of several ritual instances and interviews of the involved persons. I was able to document different approaches and symbolic strategies towards the issue. In terms of theory, I interpret the data with theories of ritual of Roy Rappaport, Marcel Mauss and Robert Hertz.

The contemporary ritual scene shows open structure and space to include different ritual elements. There are several uncoordinated traditions in contemporary Buddhism which tries to respond to the need or demand from the side of believers. Despite certain Japanese influence in some traditions, most of the traditions are Korean invention with newly created texts and ritual sequences.

From the Buddhist perspective, the life begins with conception. Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa, a normative text that is in its Chinese translation, one of the foundation of Korean Buddhist worldview, describes conception as a moment where the sperm, the egg and the so called intermediate being are present in one moment. However, the presence of this specific spirit singled out from the group of other spirits shows, that the spirit of aborted child is utterly different category reflecting different emotional issues.

My paper will not only describe the contemporary ritual practice vis-à-vis abortion, but also discuss issues such as ritual change and bricolage in Korean Buddhism and the role and meaning of ritual in general.

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T'ongyong chaerye ŭibŏm

T'ongil pŏbyo chip

Keywords: abortion, ritual, buddhism, bricolage, ritual change

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Panel - New Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Imjin waeran

New Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Imjin waeran--P-01

The Taxation System Reconfigured: The Impact of the Imjin War upon Chosŏn Society

Nam-lin Hur

University of British Columbia

Japan's invasion in 1592-1598 devastated Chosŏn Korea: a countless number of Koreans were killed, injured, and uprooted; many families were destroyed and anguished; moreover, probably more than 50,000 Koreans were kidnapped by the invaders and taken to Japan and even ended up being sold as slaves as far away as Europe. Irrecoverable damage was done to an innumerable range of properties, cultural assets, and valuables -- legacies still found and remembered today. Nevertheless, King Sŏnjo and his regime survived.

What changes did the war bring to Chosŏn society? The changes, if any, were all linked, in one way or another, to the processes in which the damages and legacies of the war were dealt with in the years and decades that followed. First of all, King Sŏnjo reclaimed sovereign power by asserting that the country had survived thanks to his successful diplomacy with the Ming court -- the claim promoted with the rhetoric of "the [imperial] favor of remaking [the country]" (*chaejojiŭn*). Nevertheless, King Sŏnjo was forced to compromise with the *yangban* ruling class, which demanded more autonomy and greater privileges with the claim that their sacrifice of voluntary fighting (referring to "righteous armies" or *ŭibyŏng*) had saved the country from catastrophe more than anything else. This was a framework of power struggle that gave Confucian statecraft a second chance in its restructuring process of postwar governance.

In this paper, Nam-lin Hur pays attention to a postwar process of social restructuring that was, in theory, poised to deal with the problems of poor administration, a military system in shambles, corrupt and exploitative taxation, and inadequate public finances, all exposed at once

during the wartime. Was the class interest of the *yangban* still strong enough to safeguard the conventional governing structure of Chosŏn society? Or, was the king able to strengthen his central authority that might favorably work for the wellbeing of the ruled in general? The Japanese invasion that lasted for seven years unleashed a powerful source of power struggle and offered unprecedented opportunities for social restructuring. What came out of this restructuring process?

With an aim to gauge the impact of the war upon social change, Hur examines the taxation system that stood at the core of postwar recovery and was closely linked up with the system of military duty. More than anything else, the taxation system subjected to reconfiguration in the postwar era enables us to see in what direction the government policy was executed and how it affected the lives of people, including the *yangban* ruling class, peasants, and slaves. Based on a range of source materials, Hur will try to clarify how the postwar opportunities pitted one stakeholders against another and what impact the process of social restructuring brought on society in the short run as well as in the long run.

Keywords: class interest, governing system, social structure

New Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Imjin waeran--P-02

Ming-Chosŏn Diplomacy and Military Logistics in the Aftermath of the Imjin War (1592-1598)

Masato Hasegawa

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This paper examines the immediate aftermath of the Imjin War (1592-1598) from the perspective of diplomacy and military logistics in the Sino-Korean borderland. Following the Japanese withdrawal from the Korean peninsula in 1598, approximately 15,000 Ming troops remained in Korea until the end of 1600 as a deterrent force against the possibility of another surprise Japanese attack. Although the immediacy of fighting gradually receded during this post-war period, the daily need to provide for the Ming troops and their mounts continued to occupy the minds of Ming and Chosŏn officials. Primarily drawing on the *Sadae mun'gwe* (Exemplars of serving the great), a collection of Ming-Chosŏn diplomatic correspondence compiled in the early seventeenth century, this study probes the negotiations between the Ming and Chosŏn courts concerning the responsibility of procuring and transporting provisions for the Ming troops stationed in Korea after 1598. The continued presence of Ming troops in Korea has been highlighted by the growing English scholarship on the Imjin War. But this paper's analysis centers on the material effects of their presence on the society of Korea and China. After seven years of continual fighting, destruction, mobilization, the Imjin War not only devastated the Korean communities which bore the brunt of aggression by the Japanese, but also exhausted a number of communities behind the front lines of fighting. According to available statistics, while the area of arable land in the southern provinces of Chŏlla, Kyŏngsang, and Ch'ungch'ŏng contracted by about two-thirds after the war, arable land in P'yŏngan province also decreased by nearly

half compared to normal times. In assessing demographic data, scholars have estimated that the overall population of Korea dropped by two to four million, or by about one-fifth of the total population, in the decades following the Imjin War. By one estimate, the population in Liaodong on the Ming side of the border also decreased by two-thirds, dropping from three million to less than a million over the same period. Such an exhausted state of society in the Sino-Korean borderland is underscored in the diplomatic letters included in the *Sadae mun'gwe*. By analyzing the logistical dimension of Ming military presence in post-war Korea, this paper seeks to gauge the war's long-term consequences on both sides of the Yalu River. It also raises the question of when the Imjin War ended on the socio-political level.

Keywords: Imjin War (1592-1598), Ming-Chosŏn diplomacy, military logistics

New Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Imjin waeran--P-03

Military Manuals and Military Reforms in 17th and 18th cent. Korea

Felix Siegmund

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The aftermath of the late 16th and early 17th cent. and the lessons of the defeat of the Chosŏn army by Japanese and Manchu troops caused the re-organization of the Chosŏn military on all levels.

Military manuals are an important source for the discussion of these reforms. A great number of military manuals appeared during the wars and in the decades following the wars. There is little on these military writings in Korean language scholarship and next to nothing in Western languages.

This paper will introduce these works, their composition, content, and purpose and will then discuss how they reflect the problems, military and otherwise, of military organization and the planning of warfare after the wars with the Japanese and the Jurchen/Manchu.

The most important group of military manuals after the Imjin invasion is that of the *Pyŏnghak chinam* family, stemming from translation and adaption of the *Jixiao xinshu*, written by the Ming general Qi Jiguang. The constant output and the relative wealth of extant materials in this family of texts allows for an examination of the process of their revision and amendment to match new developments in the military situation faced by the Chosŏn state. An example are the efforts to integrate parts of Qi Jiguang's other military writing, such as the *Lianbing shiji*, into the Korean adaptations. Other important sub-genres to be discussed are drill plans and technical manuals.

Finally, this paper will discuss the application of these texts and their impact on the realities of military practice. The gap between theory and practical application of military writings will be explained as a phenomenon of a gradual shift from actual military application in times of war to the usage of military texts as a means of power and prestige in the Late Chosŏn peace period.

Keywords: Military Manuals, Military Practice Imjin Wars, Manchu Incursions

New Perspectives on the Aftermath of the Imjin waeran--P-04

Cultural impacts of Hideyoshi's invasions: Japanese early-modern literary depictions of the Imjin war

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Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany

While there is numerous research in Japanese studies on Japanese-Korean political and economic relations after the Imjin War (1592-1598), comparatively few scholars have focused their works on the cultural influences that the war had on Japan's society in the following two-and-a-half centuries, the Edo-period (1600-1868).

One of these cultural aspects concerns Japan's early-modern literary production: Not only did the invaders bring technology such as the moveable type press and books as loot from Korea into their country, but also did Edo-period authors and publishers produce a number of stories on Hideyoshi's invasions – in some cases even knowingly against the will of the Tokugawa shogunate, the *bakufu* - processing this historical event and shaping the reader's impression of Korea. In this context the genre of the so called *Chôsen gunki monogatari* 朝鮮軍記物語 (or *Chôsen gunkimono*), war tales featuring the Imjin War, emerged. As Choi Gwan has already pointed out, the continued publishing of these tales “illustrates the great interest in early-modern Japan's society for books on the Imjin Waeran.”

This paper examines the significance of this genre in Japanese early-modern cultural history, firstly by examining the depictions of Korea and its people: What are the special characteristics of *Chôsen gunkimono* and what does their content indicate about their contemporary readers and authors? For this purpose, it is necessary to view these texts particularly in contrast to other literary genres that deal with the same topic, such as theater plays, encyclopaedic entries, diaries or books that were sold as souvenirs with general depictions of foreigners.

Secondly, the paper analyzes the significance of the genre by relating it to the political intentions of the Tokugawa shogunate during the commercialization of publishing. In the 17th and 18th century, there were several cases in which texts on the Imjin War fell under the regulations of censorship. Early cases can be explained by the new shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu's (1543-1616) struggle for re-establishing the diplomatic relations with Korea and legitimizing his newly-won control over the country. However, later restrictions indicate the *bakufu*'s attempts to preserve general domestic stability and the continuation of its isolationist policy which ultimately led to its downfall.

By focusing on these two aspects of Edo-period literature and its context, this paper aims at broadening the understanding of the cultural impacts of the Imjin War on Japan's early-modern society.

Keywords: Imjin War, Cultural history, Japanese literature, Chōsen gunkimono

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 14:00 - 15:45

Individual papers - Korean Literature and Society | Economics

Korean Literature and Society | Economics--I-01

Musical *kasa* as literature: artistic devices and social varieties of “points of view”

Anastasia Guryeva

Saint Petersburg University

Appearing of new forms within traditional genres framework is a prominent feature of Late Chosŏn literature closely related with the social background. Musical *kasa* (or “Twelve *kasa* ” named after the number of remaining texts) is a representative new form of vernacular verse. It was amidst important processes, which marked the period : this is one of literary genres transformations, it was influenced by the tendency of the readers’ circles widening, and the texts was included in popular anthologies.

In western scholarship, the issue of new verse of Late Chosŏn as a separate stage of Korean literature development holding socially-related specifics awaits a more detailed consideration. “Twelve *kasa* ” was introduced to the western academia by David McCann in 1974, but after his work no further research appeared. In Korea, due to hypotheses of 12 *kasa* origin being related to the *p’ungnyu-bang* culture (gatherings of people enjoying poetry, music), this form is mostly perceived as a part of musical culture. At the same time, studying 12 *kasa* helps revealing a number of issues essential for understanding Late Chosŏn literary processes, people, who were a part of them, and the period itself.

My paper aims at analyzing the phenomenon of 12 *kasa* from a certain perspective, i.e. as literature, and with a specified focus. Its new approach bases on profound textual analysis applied to consider the texts’ artistic features in relation with the social aspect. The paper will examine the notable variety of social “points of view” presented in the texts: male and female, men at civil service and recluses, people of different social ranks, anthropocentric and nature-centric vision etc. Historical records regarding texts as paired give an argument and a reason to trace the basis for this perception. Literary devices applied: new untypical imagery, metaphors, multilayered symbolism, etc. will be examined with a comment on their origin (Chinese, Korean vernacular, folklore). “Points of view” are classified in accordance with social prerequisites. The examination shows that social varieties influence the application of modes, space and time models, and the correlation of borrowed and authentic images.

A short introductory part will contain an explanation of “12 *kasa*” formation process including newest theories, a brief comment on its performance in the past and present with a reference to the interview given to me by the official keeper of the 12 *kasa* performing tradition Lee Yang-gyo, consideration of the musical *kasa*’s role in later period, (e.g. parts of 12 *kasa* as first

examples of verse translated into Western languages; some texts as the first sound-recorded songs in Korea).

Through the above analysis, the paper will argue the importance of the musical *kasa* as a literature form: its hidden meanings, poetical aesthetics in some texts and lowered imagery in the other. Rooted in tradition, it demonstrates newest tendencies, which are a projection of city culture formation. This form is a respond to the social demand of the time and a mini-model of new literary practices in Late Chosŏn verse.

Keywords: literature of Late Chosŏn, Korean vernacular verse, Twelve *kasa*

Korean Literature and Society | Economics--I-02

The leader as a rhetorical space: literature, politics, and the creation of "transcendence" in the socialist realist tradition of North Korea from the 1960s to the 1990s

Ria Roy

University of Cambridge

In this paper, I will examine literary representations of the birth, life, and death of the leader in North Korean novels such as *Yŏngsaeng* (Regeneration, 1997), and *Chŏnhwan* (Transformation, 1999). While scholars of Korea in the past have indicated the political aims of the romanticization and deification of the leadership reflected in novels dedicated to the lives of the leaders, what I aim to show is how the North Korean literary tradition not only starkly diverges from other socialist realist traditions by introducing the theme of “transcendence” in the representation of the leadership, but also plays a pivotal role in introducing and consolidating the role of a “successor” in the revolutionary socialist context by attributing such transcendence to the successor (the next leader) whilst still claiming to carry on the socialist realist tradition. This shows how literature in North Korea, rather than being confined to the realm of culture, infiltrates the realm of politics by playing a decisive role in establishing not only the political legitimacy of the leader, but also that of the successor, by creating the leader as a rhetorical space. In doing so, I will introduce and analyse the debate that has taken place within North Korean scholarly discussions of literary theories concerned with establishing the leader as a rhetorical space, discussions not yet examined in English-language scholarship. I will provide an explanation of how the regulated forms of expressions concerning the leaders take the form of the ‘divine-ordinary,’ in which the literary tropes concerning the body of the leader oscillate between political (‘transcendental,’ or mystical) representations and natural (‘physical,’ down-to-earth) representations, especially since the 1960s.

The analytical significance of this paper will be twofold. First, it will show how North Korea, despite manifold political and economic disasters, has successfully bypassed the transience of the charisma of the leader famously predicted by Max Weber. In particular, how the ‘dearth’ of material resources in the economy was met with an ‘excess’ of spectacles and religious symbols in the realm of culture, so that the novels constitute an attempt to transfer the charisma of Kim Il-sung to Kim Jong-il. Second, it will discuss how novels in North Korea, rather than assuming the mimetic function of literature, paradoxically take on a reverse-mimetic role, as literature hijacked by politics take on a prescriptive role in the culture. Therefore, North Korean literature, ironically, serve as a valuable window to understand the state’s official intentions. Ultimately, I will argue that North Korea is a state which has attempted to bypass the transience usually attached to charismatic leadership by

successfully passing on the charisma of the first leader to his successors. It has done this, as I will show, by suggesting that the leaders are semi-divine figures, with a special relationship to nature and the cosmos, and thereby developing a cult of the bloodline of the leaders.

Keywords: North Korea, modern Korean history, politics, literature, charisma, succession, political legitimacy

Korean Literature and Society | Economics--I-03

Contemporary Korean Society through the Lens of Humour : A Study on the Works of Chŏn Myŏnggwān

Marion Delarche

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Laughing is not an innocent matter. Especially in literature, it becomes a way to induce an indirect complicity between the author, the narrator, and the reader. To this end, humour relies on a network of references. Interwoven in a web of common knowledge and common speech, these references reflect the structure of society. This being the case, it can be illuminating to question the manner in which literature employs humour to understand the societal role of art, social discontent, construction of the community, and even representation of political beliefs. Through one of the important figures of contemporary Korean literature, this communication argues how the systematic use of humour can allow us to understand the contemporary evolution both of society and of literature, as two faces of the same coin.

Chŏn Myŏnggwān (천명관 , born in 1964), made his literary debut in 2003 with *Munhak Tongne* (문학 동네) publishing house. Writing scenarios before taking up a career as a novelist, he has been part of the wave of changes taking place in the literary world (문단 , *mundan*) after the democratisation. In a post-industrial and ever-globalising society, a tendency towards individualism as well as a disillusionment with the institutional structure has come to be felt. These themes make their appearance in literature, and the works of Chŏn Myŏnggwān, widely well received by the critics, are no exception.

Throughout his novels such as *Whale* (고래 , *Korae*, 2004), *Modern Family* (고령화 가족 , *Koryŏnghwa kajok*, 2010) and his collection of short stories, *Cheerful Maid Marisa* (유쾌한 하녀 마리스 , *Yuk'waehan hanyŏ Marisa*, 2005), Chŏn Myŏnggwān uses references to popular culture, notably to cinema, in order to portray outcasts, rejecting the expectations of the society. But more importantly, he employs humour in a systematic way to put a distance between the world and his characters; the narrators and the characters; the reader and the story. The distancing process does not prevent a sympathetic empathy for the characters crushed by the world around them. Humour, as it has been developing in contemporary Korean literature, confronts the triviality of reality, in a post-industrial, disillusioned world. It allows the introduction of foreign elements, such as references to popular culture, and highlights the ability

of literature to guide the reader through a new reading of the world, offering a help to co-exist with the ruthless reality.

In a detailed analysis of some selected parts of his work, my aim is to demonstrate how the narration is at the centre of the way humour operates, reminiscent of traditional Korean works, such as the *pansori* (판소리). Humour offers a way of differentiation, although it must be conceded that its forms can be traced back to traditional literary narratives. The constant wavering narration, oscillating between an ironic narrator and a thrilling plot with unexpected developments, finds its strength in literary humour, in an attempt to balance the triviality of the reality and an expanding world.

Keywords: Contemporary literature, humour, Chŏn Myŏnggwān

Korean Literature and Society | Economics--I-04

“Mother said civil servant is the best”: Institutions, occupational choice and entrepreneurship in South Korea

Diana Schöler

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This paper sheds light on the recent emergence of young entrepreneurs in the backdrop of the specific institutional conditions for entrepreneurship in Korea and its recent changes. In the entrepreneurship literature, it is argued that regulative (rules and regulations), normative (values and norms) and cognitive (knowledge and skills) institutions are interconnected and altogether determine the incentive structure of entrepreneurship and provide guidance for individuals confronted with a decision under uncertainty between employment and entrepreneurial action. This paper presents the empirical findings derived from survey data and semi-structured interviews with young Korean entrepreneurs and experts. Data indicate that despite asymmetries between the regulative and normative institutions, the number of young entrepreneurs increased in recent years, a result of a risk shift from individual entrepreneurs to the Korean society.

As for the cognitive dimension, despite recent initiatives to increase entrepreneurial education in higher education institutes, Korea's primary and secondary educational system does neither raise the awareness about entrepreneurship nor transmit the necessary knowledge or skills. Teaching by rote and memorizing practices aim to prepare young Koreans for the university entrance exam, which is of high importance for every student's future. The exam-based filtering system mutually reinforces with recruitment practices of Korea's labor market and the societal ranking system. These elements are perpetuated by Korean parents as a result of their own risk experiences related to poverty and the IMF crisis. Employment at Korea's top conglomerates or as a civil servant are strongly preferred by parents as they guarantee stable income and job security, the requirements for marriage and family formation, as well as social prestige, whereas entrepreneurship is associated with the failure to achieve this societal ideal and is thus discouraged. Moreover, the so-called joint guarantee system, i.e. the private liability of entrepreneurs and co-guarantors to repay bank loans in case of insolvency, created a social stigma against business failure as it institutionally linked business failure to personal failure.

In order to limit the social and economic risks of youth unemployment and sluggish economic growth, the Korean government under Park Geun-hye started to encourage young Koreans to start their own business by granting massive financial support and playing an important role in the VC market. Also, exemptions from the joint guarantee system have been expanded continuously by the Korean credit

guarantee system, shifting the risks related to payment defaults in case of debt-financing from entrepreneurs indirectly to tax payers. Hence, actual and perceived personal risk related to entrepreneurship has been significantly decreased.

Thus, although pressure to conform with conventional career paths persists within the Korean society as the best way of individual occupational risk management, not only unemployed, but also employed young Koreans recognize the favorable regulative conditions and the decreased personal risk related to starting a business and decide to take entrepreneurial action.

Keywords: entrepreneurial decision, institutions, risk

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Emotions, Skills, Gender Norms: Women's Everyday Life in Late Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910)

Emotions, Skills, Gender Norms: Women's Everyday Life in Late Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910)--P-01

Memory Becomes Her: Women and the Vernacular Epistolary Culture in Late Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910)

Ksenia Chizhova

Princeton University

Women's learning was generally viewed with disfavor in Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910), but literacy intertwined with remembrance was considered a praiseworthy achievement for a woman. In the close-knit society of the time, memory was a crucial mechanism that upheld the network of social connections. Women's epistolary activity, therefore, was an important social skill, as it was also a site for the creation of sentimental familial memories. By looking into the processs of creating and preserving vernacular Korean letter anthologies in the elite families of Chosŏn, this paper situates the centrality of women in vernacular familial memories and reconceives the roster of women's socially productive skills.

Historians acknowledge the close link between status and social memory in Chosŏn Korea. Even when, starting in the seventeenth century, the state offered titles for purchase, the hopes of upward mobility were easily thwarted by the lack of public recognition of a given lineage's claim to illustrious civil service record and literary fame. Men's literary collections (*munjip* 文集) monumentalized a lifetime of writing and they often included literary Chinese letters exchanged between intellectual allies. These letters had far-reaching social, literary, and even political significance. The literary anthology also captured the strands of kinship memories, as it included funerary texts, written for men and women of one's kin and closest social circle. Making these memories public and securing a famed author to write a eulogy for the deceased, again, highlighted the visibility and cultural prestige of a given kinship group. Alongside this public archive in literary Chinese, elite families

constructed an alternative memory-space within vernacular letter anthologies. Unlike the literary Chinese anthologies centered on a single author, vernacular letter anthologies brought together vernacular writings of several family members across generations.

Vernacular Korean letters were exchanged routinely in the royal and elite families of Chosŏn when women were at least on one side of the letter's itinerary. Preserved after the sender's demise, vernacular letters became sentimental mementoes, testaments of women's learning, and status symbols. Women's role as rememberers was taken seriously by the men who wrote women's eulogies and posthumous biographies. These texts commend the filial devotion expressed by women by treasuring the elders' letters through their lifetime. Letters exchanged within families were carefully preserved, later to be compiled into anthologies with the epistles being annotated and classified according to the degrees of senders' seniority. These epistles would then be reverently revisited by descendants, who took them out to dry in the sunlight or simply pondered on the sentimental value of the preserved material traces of the ancestors. The practice of vernacular epistolary anthology making reveals the significance of women-centered vernacular memories to the kinship communities of Chosŏn that are habitually understood through the lens of patrilineality, patriarchy, and normative social visibility.

Keywords: Chosŏn Korea, vernacular epistolary culture, vernacular letter anthologies, women's literacy

Emotions, Skills, Gender Norms: Women's Everyday Life in Late Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910)--P-02

On the (De)Mythologizing Apparatus for Expansively Restructuring Women's "Literary/Cultural" History of Chosŏn Korea

Keysook CHOE

Yonsei University, Korea

This study examines the "delimiting" apparatus of prejudice, paradox, exclusion, and concealment that is mediated in the narration and understanding of women's "literary/cultural" history in the Chosŏn era. The concepts of mythologization and demythologization are employed in a critical examination of the literary history of "upper class/male/intellectual," which centers on literary studies with scripted texts. The analysis methodology utilizes "mythology" as conceptualized by Roland Barthes (1972; 1995) and reflectively employs the concept of apparatus (*dispositif*), a term from Giorgio Agamben's work (2006; 2009), which is inspired in turn by Michel Foucault (1977; 1991); gender critique provides an additional methodological layer to this analysis. Through this research, I present a theoretical approach to expansively reconstructing the pluralistic and complex aspects of the literary fields that existed in the Chosŏn era.

The concept of “(de)mythologization” used in this article applies to both the historical reality and the reality of the research fields. Two analytic contexts will be discussed. First, it is important to clarify what kind of mythologizing devices (for example, the naecho [assistant wife] and hyŏnmoyangch’ŏ [good wife, wise mother] discourses) have made it possible to fix distorted stereotypes or delimiting in women’s literary/cultural history. According to Foucault, this type of “apparatus” refers to various institutional, physical, and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures which enhance and maintain the exercise of power within the social body. 1991: 235-236. Agamben describes an apparatus as appearing at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge; literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings. 2009: 3, 14).

The second is to present a apparatus of reading that allows the understanding of women’s literary/cultural history to be extended beyond these fixed understandings. These two points of analytic context are interactive because the very process of discovery and understanding the device of mythologizing becomes a mediator in demythologizing.

In this article, I suggest four elements of women’s literary/cultural history as (de)mythologizing dispositives: status - gender - affect (experience/body) - script (record)/orality (memory).

First, I propose the four elements “upper elite - male - script - record” as mythologization dispositives that fix a narrow understanding of women’s literary/cultural history and discuss examples of prejudice and misunderstanding caused by these devices. Next, I propose the four elements “female - performance (act) - body - memory” as demythologization apparatus that reconstruct them extensively, showing how they expand the category of women’s literary/cultural history. In addition, I argue how this understanding can expansively reconstruct the concept of literature and enrich humanistic assets necessary for modern society.

This argument adopts a method of transitioning from the level of “script-record” to the level of “performance” and “experience” by means of understanding and narrating women’s literary/cultural history, ultimately leading to a reexamination of the literary/cultural capacity of women, who have been or are excluded and often distorted, and a deeper understanding of Korean literature. The contents of this analysis can be summarized as follows.

This article examines the genres of women’s life histories written by male elites in the late Chosŏn period from the 17th to the late 19th centuries, such as biographies (including episodic writings of everyday life), epitaphs (including memorial inscriptions), and funeral orations, for a total of 2,328 pieces. In order to demonstrate the characteristics of the complex script system, I also provide a supplementary analysis of old fictions written in both Korean (hangŭl) and letters written Chinese (hanmun).

The literary history of script-centered understanding led to a hierarchy that excluded minor subjects who were limited in or fully deprived of the opportunity to acquire literacy. Perceptions of illiteracy continued until the modern era: those who could not learn the characters were deprecated as “illiterate,” thus naturalizing the cultural hierarchy that associated illiteracy with ignorance. This resulted in a hierarchical conversion between reading/writing and listening/memorizing/speaking in the world of the intellectual.

Keywords: emotion, woman, script, practice, affect, subjectification, otherized, apparatus, Chosŏn

조선후기 , ‘ 부덕 (婦德) ’ 의 역설 : 딸의 죽음을 말하는 아버지의 소외된 감정
(Mourning Her Virtues: The Tension between Gender Norms and Emotions in the
Fathers' Commemorative Writings about Deceased Daughters in the Late Chosŏn)

Ji Young JUNG

Ewha Womans University

Literary men in the late Chosŏn period commemorated the deceased women of their families in writing. Funerary texts reveal these women's life and death, their relationships, the memories and lamentations of the male authors, and moral narratives. They record the deceased woman's family line, refinement, appearance, knowledge, personality, sentiment, service to parents-in-law, extravagance or frugality, illness, and death in detail. The fundamental purpose of these texts was to establish, reconfirm, and transmit to posterity the norms of womanly virtues. In this presentation, working with funerary biographies and eulogies written for deceased daughters, I would like to expose the tensions around the issue of performing the Confucian virtues, focusing on the emotions of the fathers.

The funeral orations for daughters differ in content depending on the father-daughter relationship, the financial conditions of the family, the author's disposition, the subject's personal history, and so forth. A variety of factors affected the authors' attitudes: whether or not the subjects were married, which families they married into, whether they gave birth to a son, and how they died. Some of the gravestones for daughters who died at early ages are filled with the authors' affection and grief without any mention of the norms. A father's funeral oration for his daughter who committed suicide after her husband's death is full of bitter reproach about her foolish choice with no praise for her virtues. Also, funerary biographies and eulogies written for deceased "illegitimate daughters(庶女)" do not contain any mention of the norms or moral lessons.

Fathers' commemorative writings for their daughters is a realm where norms and exceptions are tangled up; it is a trace of the paradox of refusing the norms while avowing them. They usually wrote how these women properly followed the social norms of the time throughout their lives. These texts, however, allow some space for action: while the daughters are encouraged to perform the gender norms, they are also expected to navigate the normative frame, though never stepping outside its boundary. In this presentation, I will read the alternative narratives of dead daughters' lives, tracing the fathers' emotions that disarticulate the normative framework of funerary orations. Their writings afforded a new potential that nonetheless subsisted within the confines of the norms. It is necessary to reexamine the authors' sorrowful confusion as a cross-section of reason, emotion, norms, and desires.

Keywords: Women's marital status, Virtuous woman, Fissures, Paradox

Daily Cooking as Skills and Knowledge in the Late Chosŏn Era

Janet Yoon-sun Lee

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Traditionally, women's cooking skills were viewed as essential to daily life but not considered "knowledge," as most women were illiterate; therefore, their knowledge was practical, experiential, and disseminated orally. In Korea, the emergence of cookbooks in the seventeenth century, authored by elite women, signals a cultural turn from oral tradition to written words in the kitchen and women's entry into the literary world. Inspired by the cookbooks, this paper investigates Chosŏn women's cooking skills by redefining the concept of *yŏgong* (女功, "women's work") and explores the changing notion of cooking as a form of expertise. This study closely examines three vernacular cookbooks of the central region of Korea in the nineteenth century: *Chusaŭi* (Advice on beverages and food, 1809) by Yi Pinhŏgak, who lived in the capital area; *Ŭmsik pangmun* (Practical recipes for food, 1882), handed down to a household in Kyŏnggi province, and *Chusik siŭi* (Appropriate procedures for beverages and food, c. 19th century), written by Madam Yi of the Ŭnjin Song family located in Ch'ungch'ŏng province. The selected texts also show how the cookbooks were distinct from male-centered texts on cooking and the kitchen and how the development of ideas of cooking in the central region diverged from the dominant Confucian culture perpetuated by earlier cookbooks from the southern provinces.

The term "*yŏgong*" is frequently used to refer to women's roles in weaving, sewing, washing, and making clothes, indicating the tasks women were expected to perform in the Chosŏn era (1392–1910). The recurring appearance of *yŏgong* in the Chosŏn documents supports the assertion that the term points to women's cloth-making, viewed as important to both the home and national economy. In the Chosŏn society, women of every class were encouraged to make clothes, since cloth was a commodity indispensable for commercial and social exchanges. Weaving was likewise considered as an important ability, and women were expected to hone their expertise in this female domain. Similar to weaving, cooking was perceived as woman's primary task and skill. Food preparation and delivery was not only a means of providing sustenance for one's family but also a hallmark of reputation and class status. By preparing food for ancestor rites, women participated in high culture, and such an undertaking elevated women to roles of power within the household. However, daily cooking was looked down upon, considered less likely to be professional or profitable as food or beverage was not for sale. In addition, as cooking instructions were passed from mother to daughter and daughter-in-law, and techniques of cooking were imparted through acts and on-site explanation, they did not fit the normative type of knowledge. Not deemed to be high knowledge, cooking assumed a secondary status, less important than weaving, until it was included as a part of female education as the subjects of domestic science (*kajŏnghak*) and household economics in the early 20th century.

Based on such observations, this paper explains the shift from viewing cooking as a routinized practice or oral tradition to a creative and intellectual activity and an empowering skill and device for women. Through a close reading of the selected cookbooks, this paper first identifies the formulaic structure, patterns, and expressions in the texts and contends that the kitchen functioned as a site of learning and teaching for women and that the cookbooks allowed cooking skills to become women's expertise and self-expression.

Keywords: cooking, cookbooks, gender, community, skills, knowledge

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Narrating Divided Korea – Paradigm Shifts in Representations of the Self and the Other in Literature, Film and Popular Culture

Narrating Divided Korea – Paradigm Shifts in Representations of the Self and the Other in Literature, Film and Popular Culture--P-01

Socialist Cinema, Totalitarian Literature -The Significance of “Film-Literature” in North Korean culture

Jeongon Choi

University of Oregon

Film has been a crucial instrument of propaganda in North Korea since 1947, when a state-run Korean Film Studio was sponsored by the Soviet Union. In 1972, Kim Jeong Il gave greater importance than ever before to the medium of film by publishing his theory book, *The Art of Cinema*. North Korea's strategy to establish a “spectacle state” has been understood in a totalitarian art tradition. From Mussolini to Stalin, totalitarian regimes have valued visual media due to its influence over people. Its usefulness as propaganda has sometimes been used to justify contempt for film media. From this perspective, literary media is considered in contrast to film media. Literacy implies a critical authorship, whereas visuality is often exploited to lure passive spectators to accept hegemony.

This study aims to challenge the idea of the political potential of film and literary media. It begins by distinguishing between socialist and totalitarian art. Totalitarian art depends on superficial visual pleasure without visual signification. On the other hand, socialist art pays attention to film as an innovative means of art. In a sense, *cinema* could be the preferred term in the Marxist tradition since it addresses both the producer and spectator as subjects of the medium. This distinction enables one to reconsider the significance of 1960s North Korean film discourse from a comparative point of view.

In the early 60s, the North Korean regime tried to relocate a power structure excluding *Namrodang* (the Workers' party of South Korea) and pro-Soviet group. This ideological transition from Stalinism to *Juche* (self-reliance) ideology accompanied an aesthetic shift at the same time. Kim Il Sung put an emphasis on scenario called as “Yung-hwa-mun-hak (Film-Literature)”, which occupied a prominent place in the film-making process. *Baekdusan* film-literature production, founded in 1967, exemplifies the government's patronage of scenarios.

Until the early 1960s, North Korean film contained the positive possibility of socialist films, which focused the technical and visual quality of film media. Korean Film Studio experimented with a socialist film aesthetic by using collective

production systems, amateur actors, documentary footage and movable screening. Nevertheless, Kim Il Sung addressed the *Juche* aesthetic, saying “Our art should develop in a revolutionary way, reflecting Socialist content with the national form.” The focus of filmmaking moved from camera and screening technology to scenario techniques such as staging, flashback, and narration.

In spite of his call to socialism, the national form Kim Il Sung stated was similar to the fascist art criticized by Walter Benjamin as an opposite of socialist art. This study will analyze this literary transition as a fear of a visual signification. As Roland Barthes discovered in the works of Sergey Eisenstein, a film image can expose the unconsciousness of an artist regardless of the intended narrative. The emphasis on the scenario was an effort to put the narrative under the divine authority of the focalizer, Kim Il Sung. Through the analysis of 1960s scenarios and film, this study will investigate the traits of North Korean propaganda.

Keywords: North Korean scenarios, propaganda film, operative art, totalitarian art

Narrating Divided Korea – Paradigm Shifts in Representations of the Self and the Other in Literature, Film and Popular Culture--P-02

North Meets South: New Imaginative Possibilities and Literary Perspectives in the Twenty-First Century

Birgit Geipel

University of Tübingen

The 1980s and 90s constitute a socio-political paradigm shift on the whole Korean peninsula. Frozen in a Cold War stalemate and locked in the dynamics of what Paik Nak-chung famously decried as the ‘Division System,’ both Korean states undergo a transformation that led the way to a changed perception of the national ‘other.’ In South Korea the *Minjung*-movement and the step by step democratization of the country allowed for a relaxation of the representation of North Korea in the public discourse. Meanwhile, North Korea affected by the changing global political climate, as well as by natural disasters, entered the period of the ‘Arduous March’ which also caused a change in its propaganda policy of South Korean representation. This presentation focuses on literary examples from the early 2000s, portraying the national ‘other’ through flashbacks of the pivotal moment of the South Korean *Minjung*-movement from the contrasting perspectives of North and South Korea.

Kim Nam-ho’s novel *Mannam* (Encounter, 2001, DPRK) and Kim Young-ha’s novel *Pi’ch ŭi Cheguk* (Your Republic Is Calling You, 2006, ROK) both feature a protagonist of the respective other state, thus providing an opportunity for comparative analysis. Based in Seoul, the novels’ main characters - a disillusioned pro-communist South Korean journalist (*Meeting*) and a forgotten North Korean spy (*Your Republic Is Calling You*) - reflect back on their time in the student movement and try to disentangle their growing political and private confusions since then. This presentation analyzes how present day Seoul serves in both novels as a site of memory, an archive of Korea’s troubled history and how the protagonists become historiographers of a time twisted by ideological conflict. Despite serving different means in

both novels, the *minjung* movement is portrayed as moment of initiation and yet not fully realized political potential. The signification of the student movement as moment of civic emancipation which allows ideological engagement with the North makes it the first crack in the system allowing the above described storylines to unfold. Kim Nam-ho and Kim Young-ha both portray the ideologically problematic national 'other,' but also use the narrative strategies of employing the gaze of the other side to engage critically with their own society in relation to the overarching problem of national division.

The reception of the *Minjung*-movement as both necessary but in large parts failed revolutionary moment is similar in these textual examples from both North and South Korea. Yet, the ambiguity of the historical evaluation of this period of change in South Korea leaves it an open ground to differing subjective conclusions for the future of the two Koreas. The novelty of the representation of the national 'other,' however, is ultimately limited as the literary engagement with the 'other' also still remains within the own ideological framework focused on the internal problems of the author's respective state.

Keywords: National Division, North Korean literature, South Korean literature, Gaze of the 'Other'

Narrating Divided Korea – Paradigm Shifts in Representations of the Self and the Other in Literature, Film and Popular Culture--P-03

Boundaries of the Division System: Two Others of Neoliberal Korea - Focusing on Genre Conventions in South Korean Action Movies Since 2010

Soonyoung Lee

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Since 2010, Korean crime movies have created remarkable genre conventions in which Korean-Chinese (*Chosŏnjok*) appear as criminals. Korean-Chinese are represented as brutal criminals with no moral sense in movies such as *The Yellow Sea* (*Hwanghae*, 2010), *New World* (*Shinsegye*, 2013), and *The Outlaws* (*Pŏmjoedoshi*, 2017). In these movies, Korean-Chinese harvest organs from the kidnapped, and mutilate body parts of the debtors. They are ready to do anything for money, so that everything, for them, is degraded to means for money, including humanity and the human body.

Since around the same time, conventions concerning North Korea have been created in action thriller movies, which include *The Secret Reunion* (*Ŭihyŏngje*, 2010), *The Berlin File* (*Perŭllin*, 2013), *The Suspect* (*Yongŭija*, 2013), *Confidential Assignment* (*Kongjo*, 2017) and *Steel Rain* (*Kangch'ŏlbi*, 2017). North Korean males, in these movies, are excellent killers with superb physical competence but fail to fulfill their own missions due to the sudden internal political power struggle in North Korea. At the same time, they are not ideological enemies, as in the 1970s anti-communism movies, but rather are friendly neighbors. Moreover, they are righteous, ethical and have a sense of humanity.

These conventions in crime and thriller movies are associated with the crisis of masculine subjectivity in neoliberal South Korea. The anxieties of neoliberal capitalism, caused by the transnational movement of labor and capital, are visualized as male Korean-Chinese. The fear of society exploiting human beings is projected onto them: the Other invading South Korea.

On the contrary, the anxiety of South Korean masculinity in a competitive individualist society is resolved by the convention of turning North Korean spies as outsiders into fantasy objects.

Furthermore, the North Korean male protagonists in these movies, though represented in a desirable way, functions as strengthening the boundary of Korea's division system. They cherish their family as the head of the family and prioritize their family's safety over the commitment to the communist party of North Korea. Their family love, revealing their humanity and morality, enables them to establish a strong homosocial bond with their South Korean male counterparts. In this way they a threat to South Korea despite their outstanding physical ability as killers. Rather, they often risk their lives to rescue some South Koreans. These self-sacrificial North Korean males, together with the nationalistic intimation embedded in their masculine fraternity, can be interpreted as an archetype of pre-division Korean not yet contaminated by capitalism. Similarly, the representation of the North Korean males in these movies is parallel to South Korean people's colonial fantasy in which North Korea is considered as an underdeveloped country rich in natural resources.

Thus, the representations of two others of South Korea — Korean-Chinese and North Korean — in the two movie genres not only reveal the male anxiety and fear in South Korea but also reflect the transformed boundary of the division system in the neoliberal era.

Keywords: division system, masculinity, genre convention, South Korean action movies, Korean-Chinese Representation, North Korean Representation

Narrating Divided Korea – Paradigm Shifts in Representations of the Self and the Other in Literature, Film and Popular Culture--P-04

North Koreans as Weeping Monsters: On the representation of North Korea in Contemporary South Korean Superhero Webtoons

Harim Park

Seoul National University

This study attempts to approach the specialized representations of “North Korea” in the recent South Korean subculture. After democratization in 1987, which was the country's long-sought dream and a signal for the end of ideologies, the representations related to North Korea were gradually changed. From the 1990s to the 2000s, North Korea had been depicted as ‘Others’ such as spies, refugees, separated families, precarious workers who were also victims and one of us rather than absolute enemies mainly derived from the Cold-War ideology, who need to be destroyed to warrant our security. South Korean webtoons have also showcased these changes. Webtoon is a currently predominant cultural media in South Korea, which plays a vital role in providing original sources for the variation of K-culture since it's advent in the beginning of the 2000s. This article attempts to assess the representations of North Korea especially in South Korean superhero webtoons created from 2015 to 2017. Kangfull, referred to as the representative figure of webtoons and a prize winner many times, has ambitiously launched “Kangfull Action series,” which is composed of his four superhero webtoons. In these works, South Korean psychics initially fought against North Korean spies who were trained as non-humans due to their inherent inferiority to those of the South. Ultimately, a North Korean

psychic who survived, but failed to return home, became a part of the South Korean ‘Avengers’ to cooperate with. Here, the ultimate role of a North Korea psychic is peculiar, given that these superhero webtoons emerged as a response to a traumatic event that the society recently experienced. South Korean psychics are banal citizens who attempt to save people from disasters that have already happened. These heroes have supernatural powers related to ‘Time’ and ‘Body,’ which allow them to be able to correct the past as contribution to the righteous future. In this context, Kangfull’s superhero webtoons hold an intimate relationship with the Sewol Ferry Disaster in 2014 that required an urgent call for collaboration and resulted in the massive candlelight protests in 2016. Given that the genre customs and its desire underneath the text, these webtoons call North Korea to “participate” in the collective mourning which resonates a historical tragedy that disabled any collaboration in which both nations fully engage. However, to re-enact this fantasy successfully, the otherness of North Korea and its plausible antagonism both politically and economically must be sutured. In the text, the North Korean psychic warmly accepted to the South right after he was hired by a South Korean psychic father, referred to as “Owner,” and received his daughter’s compassion for his weeping body. North Korean psychics are portrayed as excessive bodies, threatening through their monstrosity and also their overflowing emotions. Thus, the South should provide guidance for them how to be a human and how to survive in the era of global capitalism. This represents the ambivalent attitudes toward North Korea.

Keywords: Webtoon, Subculture, North Korea, Superhero, Disaster

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Panel - Generational Consciousness as Cultural Politics in Modern Korea

Generational Consciousness as Cultural Politics in Modern Korea--P-01

4.19, the Paradox of Revolutionary Discourse

Hyung-ki Shin

Yonsei University

The momentous political sequence commonly identified in Korea simply by the date of its major event (4.19) was initially known as a “righteous uprising” (*uigŏ*) of young students and citizens. 4.19 officially became a “revolution” (*hy ŏngmyŏng*) only after the collapse of the Syngman Rhee regime, the use of the term warranted by the fact that 4.19 established a new paradigm for confirming people’s sovereign power. The ideals of civil liberty (and democracy) espoused by the revolution, however, were negated by the regime that took power just a year later in the military coup of May 16, 1961. Were the revolutionary expectations raised by 4.19 thus betrayed by the military coup of 5.16? I address this question and examine the causes and implications of the historical sequence leading from 4.19 to 5.16 by analyzing the revolutionary discourse that circulated at the time.

For many Koreans who felt that they must never be colonized again, the establishment of an advanced nation-state was an urgent historical mandate. Within this climate, the goals of a

revolution that overthrew the corrupt and incompetent Syngman Rhee regime inevitably coalesced around innovating and rationalizing state/social institutions while promoting the overall “enhancement of public life.” Responsible for producing the accompanying revolutionary discourse were the student leaders of the protests who identified themselves as the new generation, distinct from their parents for the fact that they had never been tainted by colonial education. The new generation’s discourse, however, failed to articulate concrete plans for political and economic reform, remaining instead at the level of panegyric for the slain martyrs/heroes of the revolution or of vague exhortations for justice. In the absence of holistic understanding or broad consensus about how the reform would be achieved, revolution appeared an unfinished task, and the vacuum thus created called for a strong actor to emerge to bring the task to fruition. The Park Chung Hee junta assigned themselves this mission of fulfilling the revolution. Vowing to “end poverty” that had plagued Korea “for generations,” the military regime fired up the engine they called “modernization of the fatherland.”

What I am particularly interested in this talk is the relationship between the revolutionary discourse that 4.19 engendered and the narratives of state mobilization that extended the revolutionary time of exception repeatedly into the Park Chung Hee era. How and why did the revolutionary call for selfless dedication and sacrifice in service of a greater cause become a discursive resource for the state in its project of popular mobilization? The question is important because our assessment of a given hegemonic discourse in terms of its validity and actionability must take into account the reversals and distortions that appear in the process of the discourse’s actualization.

Keywords: 4.19, 5.16, revolutionary discourse, hegemony, mobilization, time of exception

Generational Consciousness as Cultural Politics in Modern Korea--P-02

Fate and Resentment: The Nation-State and Generational Consciousness of Korean Student Soldiers (Hakpyŏng)

Kun-woo Kim

Daejeon University

The imperial Japanese army’s announcement in 1943 of the military draft for college students elicited markedly divergent responses from two groups of directly affected students. Whereas Japanese students mostly accepted the situation as their fate, Korean students could not embrace the notion of “dying for the emperor” and responded “aberrantly” by seeking to evade conscription altogether or by giving into self-abandonment. The deep despair they felt about their plight turned into feelings of resentment against their ancestors and their parent generation whom they felt were ultimately to blame for all the pain they were suffering. Thus, the nation-state that operated as a kind of mediator for Japanese students’ emergence as subjects during the Pacific War could not subjectivate Korean students. It was after the war that such a nation-state capable of mediating collective and individual experiences of subject-formation would be resurrected for Korean students. What were the characteristics of this resurrected nation-state? When a generation baptized in resentment turns into desiring subjects, what must the new nation-state that emerges as the object of that desire look like? This question is also a matter of left-right ideology. Posing it in relation to literary history, this presentation seeks the answer in the fictional works of two Korean writers of the student-soldier generation and their real-life correlates. Sönu Hwi’s “Flowers of Fire,” modeled after Shin Sang-ch’o who fought in the

Pacific War as a student of Tokyo Imperial University and went on to pursue a political career in postwar South Korea, traces the process by which an individual comes to identify his fate as being one with that of the nation-state. In contrast, Yi Pyŏng-ju's "Pusan-Shimonoseki Ferry," modeled after newspaperman Hwang Yong-ju, examines the choices of those who could not discover their destiny in postwar South Korea. For men like Hwang, the only option left was to live as internal outsiders, haunting the ideological boundary between the left and the right.

Keywords: The Nation-State and Generational Consciousness, Korean Student Soldiers, the military draft for college students,

Generational Consciousness as Cultural Politics in Modern Korea--P-03

Gendering Political Generation in 1980s-1990s South Korea

YOU KYUNG SON

Seoul National University

This presentation focuses on the new discourse of generations that appeared at the intersection between academic and literary fields in South Korea in the 1980s-90s and aims at elucidating the political-cultural significance of this emergence. The 1980s and early 1990s saw the rise of a cohort known as *haksaeng undongkwŏn*, student activists who transformed college campuses into battlegrounds for violent confrontations with the authoritarian state. For the literary world, these decades marked a time of crisis, caused by a widespread sense that literature no longer commanded the attention of its traditional readership—the university students who were considered “good readers.” As readers, *haksaeng undongkwŏn* had been captured by academic texts in social sciences instead. Comprising the “undongkwŏn canon,” major titles in social sciences nourished the growth of the student activist generation, which established itself as the main readership of social science texts in turn. This commonplace framework for understanding the relationship between the market and the readers in the 1980s-90s, however, excludes an important group of readers from consideration. Who were the “bad readers”—i.e., those who could not be categorized as student activists? How did these readers engage with the times?

These questions serve as the point of departure for this presentation. To identify oneself or others as belonging to a particular generation is a highly political act, as well as a cultural one. For this reason, the generational sensibility explicitly avowed or implicitly assumed by those who saw themselves as the “new” or “old generation” in the 1980s-1990s within both academic and literary fields need to be examined from multiple angles in connection with a range of different factors in addition to age. In order to do so, this presentation analyzes in detail the generation discourse of the 1980s-1990s, and literary texts that were highlighted or excluded in this process. The political-cultural currents that entered the perceptual field for the first time during these decades were frequently characterized by literary critics as the clash between the father's generation and the son's generation. What gets hyperfocalized in our field of vision and what drops out of it altogether when we apply such a simplified critical paradigm? What kind of language can there be for capturing political-cultural conflicts and energies that cannot be encapsulated as the clash between “father” and “son” generations? What was the generational sensibility (discourse) for female writers such as Ko Chŏng-hui, Pak Wan-sŏ, O Chong-hŭi, Kong Chi-yong, and Kwŏn Yŏ-sŏn, and for housewives and female college students who came to define themselves anew by reading these writers' works of fiction and poetry? What were the terms of male academics and literary critics' involvement/engagement/intervention in the rise

of female writers and readers? Addressing these questions, the presentation will illuminate how the old/new generational sensibilities that characterized the literary and academic worlds in 1980s' South Korea were deconstructed by female writers and readers who emerged in large numbers to lead the change of constitution for Korean literature in the second half of the 1980s.

Keywords: student activist generation in South Korea, generational sensibility, female writers in 1980s, female readers in 1980s

Generational Consciousness as Cultural Politics in Modern Korea--P-04

Generation Podcast: Media Changes in Between Candlelight Protests

Youngju Ryu

University of Michigan

Street protests are a veritable art form in South Korea, perfected through more than sixty years of repeated and bloody confrontations with regimes in power. In 2016-2017, this South Korean art reached its full potential as the main vehicle of a peaceful rather than bloody revolution as more than sixteen million citizens around the country took to the streets to call for the impeachment of the sitting president. The city square in the heart of Korea's capital transformed into a raucous but family-friendly stage for spectacles of popular dissent, both spontaneous and highly organized. Demonstrators flooded the square with homespun posters and satirical performances, each work an example of the power of "laughtivism." These protests led to the successful impeachment of the sitting president and a peaceful transition to a more liberal government in a sequence of events that has been officially dubbed "Candlelight Revolution." What was different about this particular series of protests, especially in comparison to the so-called anti-US beef candlelight protests of 2008 that nearly brought the Lee Myung Bak administration down but ended up reinforcing the ground of conservative politics instead?

Approaching the production of cultural texts as a potent protest practice, this talk sheds light on the role of the podcast platform as an alternative source of political news and commentary in the lead-up to and during the recent Candlelight Revolution. The rapid proliferation of podcasts in South Korea began in 2011 with a single podcast program called Nakkomsu, which went on to become the most downloaded news and politics program in the world that year on iTunes. As a form of new media ideally suited to the era of smartphones, podcast fell through the cracks in the regulatory framework of South Korean media environment, and allowed the public to access information and news stories that had been quashed by the government or political conservatives in mainstream terrestrial, cable, and paper news media. The podcast platform also became the venue for innovating political idiom in irreverent and parodic ways, and for bringing politics into the realm of pop culture. How did these developments serve as the backdrop for the carnivalesque rebirth of protest culture during the Candlelight Revolution, and give rise to a rich archive of satirical cultural texts that became the vehicle for further mobilization of the public? The presentation examines the generational sensibility of podcast listeners and contextualizes the modes of political engagement that characterized this group in 2016-2017 by setting them in relation to dissident activities that emerged in the earlier version of candlelight protests in 2008.

Keywords: podcast, candlelight protests, satire

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 16:15 - 18:00

Individual papers - Korean Art

Korean Art--I-01

Cusped Arches in the Goryeo period: the Eastward Journey of Islamic Architectural Style

In-Sung Kim (Han)

SOAS, University of London

The Shrine of Master Jigwang (National Treasure No. 101) is the monument to commemorate the monk Haerin (海麟 984-1070), which was erected in the Beopcheon Temple in Wonju, Gangwon Province. The structure and decoration of the Shrine are unique and often quoted as an example of the internationality of Goryeo architectural style. In particular, the cusped arch - lobed arch with the pointed end - decorating the upper eastern part of the shrine has long been deemed to have been influenced by Islamic architecture. Hence it is known as 'ornamental window of Persian style 華頭 櫺 窓 (Koh Yu-Seop)' or 'Arabian-style arch (Ahn Hui-Jun)'. This understanding is further supported by records of Muslim traders visiting Goryeo during the time of Shrine's construction (1085, 2nd year of King Seonjong of Goryeo).

Discovery of Islamic artistic element in Korean art is an important finding that vastly expands the horizon of Korean medieval arts. Nonetheless, there is a critical lack of work on details of Islamic art and architectural style, such as regional characteristics and its historical changes. Along the spread of Muslims across the Eurasian continent from West of China to Andalusia in Spain, Islamic arts and architectures went through diverse regional variance, which can not be encompassed under a single term like 'Arab' or 'Persia'. By overlooking much of cultural nuances, this tends to make a mistake of simply linking a particular artistic style with an ill-defined region or religion.

This presentation will review the existing studies on the Shrine of Master Jigwang and provide a more detailed insight into the origin and its transfer route of the cusped arch. To support the point, other related architectural expressions of the Goryeo period will also be discussed. My presentation will show that this uniquely shaped arch in the Buddhist shrine demonstrates not only the openness of Goryeo culture, but also an explanation into how the different cultures communicated in contemporary inner-Asian societies.

Keywords: cusped arch, Master Jigwang, Islamic architecture, Arabic arch, Persian, Goryeo

Korean Art--I-02

Artistic activities of waegwan and roles of 'opened space' culture and information are exchanged in late Joseon Dynasty, waegwan and dejima

Dongjae You

Sungkyunkwan University

Dongrae was an important region for defense and trade with Japan in the late Joseon period. The region had to be always vigilant between national defense and good diplomatic relations because it became only the bridge connecting Joseon with Japan since the Imjinwaeran War. Despite it was in tension for the purpose of national security, Dongrae was where cultural waves of Joseon and Japan concentrated since it was the starting point of Tongshinsa and the location of the Waegwan as Japan's overseas agency. The unique political and geographical situations of Dongrae requested paintings of many different characteristics, so different classes of people served as painters in that region.

Persons who served as painters in Dongrae in the late Joseon period are largely classified into three groups. One group is official painters that an agency of the central government, or the Dohwaseo dispatched to Dongrae. Another is local painters who were natives in the region and served for the Dongrae Mucheong without portfolio. And other painter who supplied calligraphic paintings and the other trades to meet the demands of customers including Waegwan. These groups were different in the characteristics of painting. Paintings that were made by the Dohwaseo painters dispatched to Dongrae Suyoung were delicate and sophisticated, reflecting the painting style of the central agency. Most of them were pictorial maps. Paintings by local painters at the Dongrae Mucheong were mostly record paintings and pictorial maps. Paintings by trading painters who dealt their works with the Waegwan show Japanese warriors-preferred animals like falcons and tigers that were reiteratively drawn in almost the same composition. An absolute majority of the paintings were landscapes of the Southern Painting Style. Paintings made at the Dongrae Muecheon include the drawings of Sunjeoldo and pictorial maps in which the style of the true-view landscape, which implies the geographical features of Dongrae, or Kim Hong Do's painting style is found. Other items than painting that were dealt by trading painters with Japan were never different from those painters' works in reflecting Japanese tastes. This trend influenced some paintings that were made and privately exchanged in Dongrae. Though it was a remote region far away from the center of the country, Dongrae was an open place where different classes of painters concentrated and where dynamic styles of paintings were made. Waegwan from 17th to 19th century only existed in Dongrae. Waegwan was a place of importance for the regulation of the relationship between Japan and Chosun, Japan and Dongnae and Daemado and Dongnae. After Imjinwaeran war, Joseon permitted the trading with only Daema-do people, but waegwan was established around the Busanjin and trading place was prepared so that Daema-do merchants and Dongrae merchants can trade each other in 1607. This waegwan is called by dumopo waegwan. But, dumopo waegwan is very narrow and dock was small, so waegwan was transferred in 1678 and it's choryang waegwan. And then, choryang waegwan has been exists for about 270 years. And transferred to choryang waegwan in 1678, so relations between Joseon and Japan met the period of choryang waegwan. Joseon overturned existing standpoint of transfer disapproval and transferred waegwan to choryang so as to accept request of Tsushima, rearrange the control of disordered waegwan and solve problems of the policy toward Japan, accumulated from giyuyakjo, through the agenda of waegwan transfer generally. At present, choryang waegwan can be met by past pictures and records. Among them, one of the works introduced the most frequently is choryangwaegwando(work of 1783) drawn by Byun Park, an artist of late Joseon Dynasty. His pictures show location and scale of choryang waegwan well. Choryang waegwan is recorded frequently in byunryejipyo. Byunryejipyo recording relations with Japan at that time can be a record of choryang waegwan.

Choryang waegwan and dejima, 'separate and same' history In the 17~19th century, a central power of Japan, blocked trade with foreign countries according to the policy of seclusion. But,

Japan accepted modern civilizations little by little through the dejima. The flexible attitude is a foundation of the success of modernization. Byun Park who drew lots of important pictures including 2 treasures in spite of the atmosphere showed performances of regional people. As explain before, In Waegwan, Dongrae, works of various characteristics were produced. Geographical position, the first origin of the Japanese invasion of Korea and the frontier line of defense against Japan let sunjuldo works for the remembrance of the Japanese invasions of Korea produce continuously under the supervision of Dongraebu. In case of Nagasaki, there was a few number of jonin, but the place became a mecca inquiring and innovative artists visited as merchants of Netherlands and China were living. The area merchants of Netherlands were living was limited in Dejima made artificially in Nagasaki port and Japanese people couldn't approach there except for official works. The area of Nagasaki art was divided into two groups. One group was influenced by paintings, calligraphy and other artistic forms, Chinese monks or defected artists introduced and conducted. Another group was influenced by books and copper prints, introduced from Netherlands to Japan. Most of artists of Nagasaki were belonging to several artistic cliques respectively and those artistic cliques owned paintings imported from China or Netherlands independently. Those paintings were relatively rare, so they were continuously imitated as times went by. In late Joseon Dynasty, waegwan is very significant as a dynamic area of painting production, accepting various painting atmospheres, based on the opened space. But, it's just one area and documentary materials and information of works are still insufficient. Some contents of this research were supposed or by documentary data or surrounding situation, so close analysis and comparison should be complemented by following researches.

Keywords: Waegwan, Dejima, Dongrae, Byun Park, Late Joseon Period

Korean Art--I-03

Bodies in Terror: Visual Representation of the Korean War in Modern Art

Jinyoung Jin

Stony Brook University, Charles B. Wang Center

Despite the large shadow cast on global geopolitics by the ongoing division of North Korea and South Korea, and despite the fact that the Korean War (1950–1953) has long been the subject of extensive academic research in history, politics, and literature, the impact of Korean War on Korean modern art has not received much attention. However, “the forgotten war” and its horrors have never been forgotten by Korean modern artists. The Korean War impacted the course of twentieth-century Korean art with unparalleled magnitude. This paper will explore the art, visual culture, and politics of the post–World War II liberation (1945–1950) period, of the Korean War period, and of the postwar period from 1953 through the 1970s. By analyzing many forgotten modern paintings—including works by Lee Quede (1913–1965), Pyun Young-Won (1921–1988), Lee Chul-Yi (1909–1969), Lee Soo-Auck (1918–1990), Kim Seong-hwan (1932–), and Chun Hwa-Hwang (1909–1996)—it will also examine how modern artists documented and portrayed the traumas of war and the anxieties and confusion behind the building of a new nation through representations of the human body.

Throughout the twentieth century, art held particular relevance as both a subjective witness and as a means of historical documentation. In the Soviet Union, Russian Formalism was supplanted by factography, a concept and genre that strived to create the most objective depiction of reality in 1920s. In the United States, documentary-style photography moved to the foreground, particularly in the work of Walter Evans, which was tied to social welfare politics of the federal government in the 1930s. German Expressionism in paintings reached its peak as a reaction to World War I in Berlin during the 1920s. Art has an important role as a reflector, a documenter, and an archivist of societies, places, events, and time periods. The role of documenting through art becomes especially important when there is otherwise scarce historical documentation to be found, which has been the case in Korea. Before photography became widely available in South Korea in the mid-twentieth century, significant and frequent cataclysmic historical events such as battles, democratic uprisings, and massacres were recorded for posterity by artists, very often in the form of drawings and paintings.

This paper will provide a new perspective on postwar Korean art and will reassess seminal Korean modern artists who played key roles in the documentation of the historical and political events as those events manifested in their unique visual languages. These works do not glorify the atrocities and chaos they depicted. Instead, these artworks express deeply felt pain, hunger, and terror, conveying to the viewer the intensity of these truly awful moments in human history. Not only do these haunting visuals effectively capture the sheer horror of the Korean War, but they also carry astounding weight as concrete symbols that rail against brutality and aim to give voice to victims forgotten by history.

Keywords: Korean modern art, Korean War, visual culture

Korean Art--I-04

It's now or never? 'Future heritage' projects and the relevance of Korea collections in Europe

Elmer Veldkamp

Leiden University

This paper will investigate developments in Korea in the last decade with regards to a shift or expansion of the focus of cultural heritage preservation to the more recent past or ongoing present, and suggestions they may pose for exhibiting Korea in ethnological museums in Europe. In particular, movements concerned with making sure 'the here and now' is not forgotten and does not disappear into an uncertain future will be the focus of inquiry.

The last ten to fifteen years have shown an increased interest in the preservation of more recent tangible and intangible cultural properties in Korea. Legislation adjustments from 2008 officiated a shift of focus to objects as new (or old) as fifty years before present. Expanding on efforts to incorporate modern history such as colonial architecture as Korean cultural heritage, a larger movement can be seen to emerge in which previously existing concepts and frameworks of 'cultural heritage' and the preservation thereof are applied to phenomena that are either very recent history or of which their presence lingers on in the present.

As an example, from 2012 the Seoul Metropolitan government has initiated a project aptly titled 'Seoul Future Heritage' which claims to "prepare the treasures for 100 years after, today". In the official documents describing the intentions of the project, the prominence of citizens as primary stakeholders in the role of memory-keepers of lifestyles (*saenghwal*, *sallimsari*) of yore and their participation as designators of sites and stories worthy of preservation (but left out from the official and national lists of designated cultural heritage) for the future is clear. Moreover, 'utilization value' of sites and objects in the city is clearly articulated as a condition for designation. The first part of this paper discusses this apparently contrasting approach and its relation to existing debates on heritage preservation in Korea.

In the second part of the paper, the above movements are connected to the practice of collecting and exhibiting Korea in Europe. My previous research has shown that a significant number of ethnological museums in Europe possess Korean collections that started out as a showcase of contemporary Korean material culture - selective and arbitrary as it may be. For many of these museums however, the 'contemporary' aspect of the collections has long transformed into a historical one due to the fact that the collections are only sparsely updated with more modern items. What needs to be done to make the collection and exhibition of Korean cultural artifacts in ethnological museums relevant to the present again, and what stimuli do the current developments regarding 'future heritage' in Korea pose to this issue?

For this paper, I will draw parallels between the 'future heritage' projects and ethnographical collection strategies to address the meaning of these projects for thinking about heritage preservation in Korea, and suggest opportunities for updating and regaining relevance in ethnographical collections of Korea in Europe.

Keywords: cultural heritage, heritage preservation, future heritage, ethnological museums, collecting Korea, tourism

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 18:10 - 19:30

Special Session - Introduction to AKS (Academy of Korean Studies) Support Programs

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 18:10 - 19:30

Special Session - Status and Prospects of the Romanization of Korean Names [LTI Korea]

Status and Prospects of the Romanization of Korean Names [LTI Korea]--P-01

Digital Library of Korean Literature: Focus on The collection of Korean Writer's Names in Romanization

Chanmin BAE

LTI Korea

In view of current complexities, such as the use of multiple spelling variants of Korean names and the general lack of awareness of the importance of having a unified model of Romanization, this session seeks to present the Official Database of Korean Writers' Names offered by LTI Korea Library, and invites overseas scholars of Korean Studies to share and exchange ideas regarding this matter. We hope this occasion provides a chance to engage in a fruitful discussion of Romanization of Korean writers' names.

Keywords: Korean Literature, Korean Writers, Korean Names, Romanization of Korean, Revised Romanization of Korean (RR), McCune-Reischauer Romanization (MR), LTI Korea, Digital Library of Korean Literature

Status and Prospects of the Romanization of Korean Names [LTI Korea]--P-02

Characteristics of Korean Personal Names and Their Anglicization

Sungwon Kim

Chungnam National University

Personal names in different countries across the world display certain characteristics in terms of structure and written format. Likewise, in Korean personal names, a number of characteristics are observed that differentiate them from those from other countries. The key characteristics of Korean personal names can be summed up as follows: components of personal names, writing order, typological standards, and the number and spread of surnames. Such characteristics affect the Korean and Anglicized written formats of Korean personal names, and thus cause difficulty in identifying Korean personal names. This paper examines the characteristic of Korean personal names in comparison with those in Western countries, and analyzes their impact on the Anglicization of Korean personal names as well as the disambiguation power thereof.

Keywords: Korean Personal Names, Korean Literature, Korean Writers, Romanization of Korean, Revised Romanization of Korean, McCune-Reischauer Romanization, Library and Information Science

Saturday, 13 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 20:30 - 23:00

- Dinner

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - The Cambridge History of Korea: Chosŏn Dynasty Volume

The Cambridge History of Korea: Chosŏn Dynasty Volume--P-01

Gender, Marriage, and Sexuality in Chosŏn Korea

Jisoo Kim

George Washington University

The implementation of strict patrilineality based on Neo-Confucian ideology in Chosŏn Korea (1392–1910) fundamentally changed the family structure from that of the preceding Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), and the consolidation of Confucian patriarchal and patrilineal systems in the Chosŏn altered native Korean customs. From the early Chosŏn, the state implemented the Confucian style of marriage and allowed men to have one legitimate wife from the same social status and take lower status women as concubines. The concubinage system was already an intrinsic part of the social fabric before the Chosŏn dynasty, but the meaning of conjugal relations shifted during the Chosŏn period and brought tremendous impact on gender relations and sexual control of women.

As part of the *Cambridge History of Korea: Chosŏn Dynasty* project, the aim of this paper is to provide a survey of sexuality during the Chosŏn period. In doing so, it examines the intersection of gender, marriage, and sexuality, and more specifically focus on gendered sexual relations in the Neo-Confucian society. The paper is primarily concerned with heterosexual relations between males and females to demonstrate how the Neo-Confucian prescriptive norms that were implemented at the beginning of the dynasty gradually transformed and impacted gender relations. In addition, it also examines the judicial regulation of sexual immorality and the control of extra-marital sex. By going beyond the boundary of marriage, it demonstrates how evolving ideas and practice of marriage and gender relations shaped the moral contours of heterosexuality. Bringing together a wide variety of sources - including official records, didactic texts, and trial reports, it documents various perceptions of marriage, gender relations, and sexuality in the Chosŏn.

Keywords: Chosŏn, Gender, Marriage, and Sexuality,

The Cambridge History of Korea: Chosŏn Dynasty Volume--P-02

“Public” and “private” in Chosŏn Korea state institutions: The case of capital jails

Anders Karlsson

SOAS

Detailing the state institutions of Chosŏn Korea within the framework of a comprehensive general history such the Cambridge History of Korea necessitates a set of analytical tools that can properly contextualise these institutions in the broader political, social and economic history of the period. Probing different approaches in the process of writing the chapter, in this paper I will look at one possibility: how the concepts of “public” (kong 公) and “private” (sa 私) can be used to try to understand the role and position of state institutions in state-society relationships.

A conspicuous feature of the institutional structure of Chosŏn Korea was the widely bestowed judicial authority to various parts of the bureaucracy. No strict separation existed between civil

and judicial powers; in the counties both were held by the magistrate and a wide range of civil provincial and capital institutions also wielded judicial powers in addition to the authorities specialising in legal affairs. The most widely given judicial power was the right to arrest. In principle all government institutions, central and local, had this right, and in the capital they were only divided between those who had to liaise with the Ministry of Punishment and those who could do this on their own accord (the latter referred to as *chiksu amun* 直囚衙門).

Despite these broad rights to arrest, in the capital jailing should only be done in one of the established jails (the *Chönoksö* of the Ministry of Punishment, the *Kūmbuok* of the State Tribunal, and the jail of the Capital Police Bureau). However, as institutions needed to detain the people they arrested, they frequently built their own jailing facilities. This occasioned discussions and new legislation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This paper will analyse such discussions and the new legislation surrounding the *Naesaok* of the Royal Treasury (*Naesusa*) and the various *kuryukkan* 拘留間 of other institutions.

The discussions at court were framed in the language of “private” corruption of the “public” legal system, and this analysis based on new legislation in the *Soktaejön* and discussions in court records such as the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* and *Sūngjōngwŏn ilgi* will not only shed light on the judicial practices of the period, but also on the application of the concepts of “public” and “private” in the context of Chosŏn dynasty state institutions and the perceived relationship between state and society.

Keywords: state institutions, jailing, public, private, corruption

The Cambridge History of Korea: Chosŏn Dynasty Volume--P-03

Tonghak and Dissent in Late Chosŏn Korea

George Kallander

Syracuse University

As part of the *Cambridge History of Korea* project, this paper examines the rise of “dissent” in the Chosŏn Dynasty through the lens of Tonghak, or Eastern Learning, a Korean religion founded in the second half of the nineteenth century. Tonghak teachings promised spiritual and physical renewal but culminated in an armed rebellion in 1894. As believers developed a community consciousness, they posed a threat to the state monopoly on religion. In the wake of faith-based movements in China, of which the Korean dynasty was tributary, the central government responded with repression, forcing such dissent underground.

Responding to patterns of political change, economic dislocation, and imperialism, Tonghak spoke to the social and economic weakness of Korea’s governing elites who monopolized

religious expression. The Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) was founded on Neo-Confucian practices. Ardent Neo-Confucian scholar bureaucrats introduced sweeping reforms over a population largely practicing Buddhism and popular folk beliefs, and these scholar bureaucrats retooled society by the sixteenth century, especially governance and family structure, to conform to certain Neo-Confucian principles, one of which was the strong distrust for popular religion. While Confucianization was an on-going process, scholars in the Korean government, who disdained Buddhism and popular folk practices, elevated Neo-Confucian ideals to the position of orthodoxy, making it a state-supported socio-religious worldview. Buddhism and folk religions continued to be practiced, but monks and shamans were relegated to the lower stratum of society and other popular practices discouraged. The appearance of Catholicism, along with Western merchants and missionaries in East Asia, heightened official resistance to heterodox practices. The government tolerated a certain amount of “religious pluralism” because practitioners of Buddhism and shamanism did not undermine the Neo-Confucian governance of the state. By the nineteenth century, the court faced financial constraints, straining its ability to alleviate economic hardships, forcing some people into morally unacceptable behavior that included banditry, while others resorted to armed rebellion. More and more “dissented” by following non-mainstream doctrines such as Catholicism or Tonghak that challenged the religious monopoly and moral authority of the government.

Keywords: Tonghak, dissent, religion

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Beyond March 1st, 1919 Korean Independence Declaration: Political Activities inside and outside the Korean Peninsula

Beyond March 1st, 1919 Korean Independence Declaration: Political Activities inside and outside the Korean Peninsula--P-01

The Correspondent in France of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea - The Independence Movement of Seo Yeong-hae

Seok-Heung CHANG

Kookmin University, Seoul

The presentation identifies the independence movement of Seo Yeong-hae who was active in Paris. During the March 1st Movement, he participated in the march demonstrations at the age of 17 and defected to Shanghai, China. And he went to France to study in December, 1920. While attending the Paris Graduate school of media (École supérieure de journalisme de Paris), he made his name known to the Korean independent movement circles through the 1929 anti-imperialist world congress in Paris. That same year he established the Agence Korea (Agency Korea). And he had emerged as the most high-profile writer in French literary circles after he published a Korean historical novel, “Autour d'une vie coréenne (The Lives of Some Koreans and their surroundings) (1929)”. This book was a great achievement in promoting Korean history and culture to France. The extensive knowledge of Far Eastern affairs described in this book was sufficient to give him a reputation as an expert on it. His view of Far Eastern affairs was quite different from the French's so far, which sent them fresh shocks. This direct view of

Korea was different from the view France had before when it was acknowledged through Japanese information. Later, Seo Yeong-hae published his articles on Far Eastern affairs in French newspapers to denounce the invasion of the Japanese imperialism. In 1934, he published “*Miroir, cause de malheur (Mirror-Cause of misfortune)*”. The book was a compilation of Korean folk stories to inform the French public about Korean traditional culture. In 1933, he led a propaganda campaign in Geneva with Syngman Rhee, submitting “Koreans in Manchuria” (Agence Korea, 1933) to the League of Nations.

In 1934, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea named Seo Young-hae a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in France and encouraged an independence movement in Europe. He was a member of the Provisional Government of the Korean People’s party and the people’s democratic party of Korea. And his main task was to share the Korean situation with people from all over Europe to draw support for the Korean independence movement. Seo Young-hae’s field of activity extended throughout Europe and Africa.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, he also predicted World War II by explaining ‘the axis of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo’ through his article* about Japan's invasion of China as a threat to world peace. He believed that Korea's independence would come with world peace. Therefore, he strongly believed in humanity (humanité) based on liberty and peace. When Paris was captured by German forces, Seo Young-hae was jailed during six months in 1941. He spent three years underground with the French Resistance after he was released. After the liberation of Paris in August 1944, he resumed contact with the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea and served as a link with the Free France government with the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. Seo Young-hae returned to Korea in May 1947 and devoted himself to cultural activities.

*Seu Ring-Hai, “L'axe Berlin - Rome – Tokio, Menace sur la Chine, menace sur le monde”, Regards, 1937-08-05.

Keywords: Agency Korea, Anti-imperialist world congress, the Provisional Republic of Korean Government, Sino-Japanese War, resistance, freedom, peace, humanitarianism

Beyond March 1st, 1919 Korean Independence Declaration: Political Activities inside and outside the Korean Peninsula--P-02

French Literary Activities concerning the “3.1 undong”: the Seu Ring Hai (Seo Yeong-hae) French Version of the Independence Declaration

Marie-Orange Rivé-Lasan

Université Paris Diderot / CRC-CCJ (CNRS-EHESS)

In France, a Korean student, called Seu Ring-Hai (Sŏ Yŏng-Hae, Seo Yeong-hae, 1902-1958 ?), published in January 1929, a 189 pages long historical novel entitled : “*Autour d'une vie coréenne (Around a Korean Life)*”, in the Editions Agence Korea. This book was qualified by Prof. Jin-Mieung Lee as an “historical novel” “without great literary value” in 1995. The literary value level could be discussed here, but nevertheless the goal of such publication was mostly political in the late 1920's. The aim was to advertise about the Korean independence movement in France and for French speaking public. The choice of the date of the publication

can be linked to the 10th anniversary of the commemoration of the “3.1 undong”. The publication act itself can be understood as a political act.

On one hand, beyond this publication as novelist and translator, Seo Yeong-hae had not only activities as journalist, but also as historian at two different levels. First, he wrote an history of the independence movement through his novel, and secondly he contributed to the elaboration of the public memory concerning the “3.1 undong” movement by creating a literary event in France around the publication, 10 years after the event.

Concerning the activities of translation, one can find from page 178 to 182 of “Autour d'une vie coréenne”, a French version of the Independence declaration. A study of this translation is done in order to understand what were the choices of the translator in this literary context and also in the Korean political context. A comparison with the content of the claims given by Kim Kyu-Sik at the 1919 Peace Conference of Paris is presented as well. About the activities as historian, questions will be raised concerning the sources from Seu Ring-Hai that can be exploited to get answers related to his own role.

This presentation is a contribution which intends to explain one aspect of the political activities done after the 1919, March 1st declaration, by a non violent independence fighter abroad, who had diplomatic, journalistic, and intellectual activities in Paris.

Short bibliography:

박성창 Park, Sung-Chang, *디아스포라와 로컬리티의 문화적 재현 - 서영해의 프랑스어 창작을 중심으로* = *Diaspora and Cultural Representation of Locality : Focusing on Seu Ring-hai's Literary Creation in French*, 로컬리티 인문학 = The Journal Of Localitology , (16), 2016.10, 67-101 (35 pages), 부산대학교 한국민족문화연구소 Korean Studies Institute, Pusan National University <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Article/NODE07050299>

Seu Ring-Hai, *Autour d'une vie coréenne (Around a Korean Life)*, Editions Agence Korea, 1929, 189 p..

Keywords: Seu Ring-Hai, Sŏ Yŏng-Hae, Seo Yeong-hae, translation, making of history, public memory, “3.1 undong” declaration

Beyond March 1st, 1919 Korean Independence Declaration: Political Activities inside and outside the Korean Peninsula--P-03

The identity issue in Yŏm Sangsŏp's *Mansejŏn*

Mihae Son

Université Paris Diderot

(Colonial reality before the March 1st Movement through *Mansejŏn* de Yŏm Sang-sŏp)

The quest of identity in Korean literature is a topic that has interested us for many years. This interest leads us to study the identity issues in the literature of the period of March 1st Movement.

Mansejŏn (*Before the Cries of 'Manse', or Before Hourra*), an autobiographical novel of Yŏm Sang-sŏp published in 1924, permits us to see the common life of Koreans in the late 1910s, via Yi In-hwa [이인화]'s journey from Tokyo to Seoul. The author portrays a number of realities that Yi In-hwa, studying in Tokyo, witnesses while he is returning home to see his wife dying of illness.

It's about the embarrassment of an intellectual facing the daily life of Koreans under the Japanese occupation.

Yŏm Sang-sŏp keeps a particular place in Korean literature: it is said that he opened the first page of Korean modern literature with a short story "Frog in the Specimen Room" published in 1921.

This presentation would allow us to continue our research on the topic of identity, in the historical and individual level, and consequently to initiate discussions on this topic in Korean literature in a university setting with the other scholars.

Keywords: Yŏm Sang-sŏp, *Mansejŏn*, Awareness of National Identity, Korean Intellectuals under Japanese Rule, March 1st Movement, quest for identity, autobiographical writings

Beyond March 1st, 1919 Korean Independence Declaration: Political Activities inside and outside the Korean Peninsula--P-04

1919 First March Movement Memories and Commemorations in today's both Korean States

Evelyne Chérel-Riquier

Université de la Rochelle - UMR 8163 Chine, Corée, Japon

This presentation aims at analyzing the different and common characteristics of 1919 First March Movement Memories and Commemorations in today's South and North Korea, through the analysis of the published official discourses and existing official performed rituals celebrating the anniversary dates (since 2000).

Until today, this movement has been included in each Korean State historical and political pantheon, even if the rank and value of this movement differ, according to each State's pantheon and construction of national history. In the South, the State has a long tradition of highly praising the Memory of First March Movement. Since 1948, the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea refers to First March Movement and stipulates that this State was built under the continuity of First March Movement Spirit. Since 1949, this Movement has also been integrated to the highest symbolic level of National Holiday [*kukkyŏngil*]. The situation differs in North-Korea. Since 1946, the First March has been designated as National Day [*myŏngjŏl*] but kept the status of non working day only until 1950. The scale of public rituals dedicated to

First March Movement also progressively reduced as the North-Korean State gave the priority to other elements of its pantheon. This phenomenon may be explained in particular by North-Korea's own historical analysis of First March Movement which, for one part, underlines and praises the sacrifice of Korean victims and, for the other part, underlines the limits and failure of this Movement. According to its own political interpretation, the fact the leaders of the movement belonged to the *bourgeoisie* and the lack of a strong ideology (as communism) are key elements explaining the failure of the Movement. Those differences between the historical narratives appear in the published materials on anniversary dates but we may also remark some common points and strategies deployed by each Korean State.

This leads this presentation to take also into consideration and analyse the attempts of South and North Korean non-governmental actors who try to organize South-North First March common commemorations. Those attempts were initiated by religious actors, members of South and North Korean *Ch'ondogyo* and Protestant Churches. We include those attempts in the corpus as, for the North Korean part, it may be understood that those attempts could not occur without State approval. Due to the political context on Korean peninsula, those common commemorations have been mainly limited to the publication of a South-North joint declaration issued by those religious organizations or, eventually, to the organization of a "ritual" more or less simultaneously performed in both Koreas. The analysis of those joint declarations give an illustration of the points, the concepts on which South and North Koreas may agree on First March Movement, despite their competitive and quite antagonistic Memories. Next year First March Movement Centennial may also be a turning point for those attempts, as the hypothesis of an official joint South-North Korean commemoration arises sometimes in South-Korean media.

Keywords: First March Movement ; South and North Koreas ; Public Commemorations

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Individual papers - North Korea | Cold War

North Korea | Cold War--I-01

Remapping Cold War Computing: Technological Sovereignities and the Development of North Korean Computer Science (1960 – 1980)

Benoit BERTHELIER

Université Paris Diderot

This paper looks at the way Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) navigated the rivalries between private and public information technology (IT) corporations from Western Europe, the socialist bloc and the Americas in order to develop its domestic computing industry from the 1960's until 1989.

As the Korean War confirmed the centrality of computing for modern warfare, computer science quickly turned into a matter of national interest in the context of the early Cold War. Throughout the following decades, states across the world sponsored the development of

national IT companies that could not only provide domestic computing resources for the military but also profit from exporting software and hardware to other nations.

The development strategies of these competing enterprises were driven by a mercantilist view that favored national sovereignty over ideology. As such, they rarely aligned with the binary division of the Cold War. Nations such as France and the United Kingdom sought to outmaneuver their competitors from the United States or other Western European nations in order to capture new markets. Socialist republics in Europe and Asia routinely approached capitalist nations in order to purchase equipment more advanced than what the USSR was willing to share with them. Meanwhile, non-aligned nations served as places where these trans-bloc negotiations, collaborations and exchanges could covertly take place.

Having heavily invested in the development of computer science and the production of domestic computer systems from the 1950's on, North Korea worked throughout the Cold War to gather knowledge, materials and devices by seizing the opportunities offered by this competitive landscape. By setting up business relationships and academic exchanges with nations in Europe or mobilizing its diaspora in China and Japan, North Korea managed to circumvent COCOM restrictions on technology transfers and adequately supplement the limited supply of computing devices granted by the Soviet Union.

The final part of the paper looks at how the way North Korea acquired technology from various, disparate actors across the globe influenced the development of its computing industry. I pay particular attention to the prevalence of the theme of *põnyõk* ("translation" or, for computer programs, "compilation") in the discourse on computer science throughout the Cold War. I show how the need to translate scientific papers and manuals from various languages, reverse engineer code to translate it for a new hardware architecture or assemble parts of heterogenous origins pushed North Korean scientists to devote considerable time and effort to the problem of "translating" technology.

In retracing the map of these transnational networks of scientific and technological exchanges between the DPRK and the world, this paper questions both the stereotypical picture of North Korea as a "hermit Kingdom" and the reduction of the Cold War to a binary antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union. It also offers a new perspective on the study of science and technology, by moving away from the perspective of "technology transfers" in which less technologically advanced nations are merely cast as passive recipients of a foreign science. Instead this paper looks at processes of "technology acquisitions" which acknowledge the creativity, research and labor deployed by nations such as North Korea to acquire scientific knowledge from abroad.

Keywords: North Korea, science, history of science, Cold War, computing, computer science, science and technology studies

North Korea | Cold War--I-02

North Korean culinary shows: transitional period

Tatiana Gabroussenko

Korea University

The improvement of economic situation in North Korea has radically changed the imagery of food in North Korean mass culture and media. From the mid-2000s, North Korean ideologists curbed the so called "potato revolution" among many social purposes of which was glorification

of the plain substitute products such as corn and potato. Instead, they concentrated on promotion of the balanced dishes made of a variety of products, such as rice, fish, meat, and vegetables. The newly introduced culinary shows, such as the popular TV program “Let us do it together” teaches the North Korean audience who to make such dishes “scientifically”.

Along with purely educational purposes, the culinary programs in North Korea also pursue the ideological purposes, instilling in the audience the necessary values of loyalty to the Leader and gratitude for the current abundance of food.

In many aspects, North Korean TV shows and culinary festivals follow the popular Western and South Korean analogues. At the same time, they have many specific features such as much easier approach to the dog-meat dishes or animal slaughter. The images of chefs, technology of food preparation, kitchen utensils, and target audience of the programs and shows in North Korea are also different.

Overall, culinary programs signify a transitional period in North Korean mass culture, which is slowly departing from the previous mobilizational epoch and moves toward consumerism and free market.

Keywords: North Korean culinary shows, food in North Korea

North Korea | Cold War--I-03

Korean women and the Cold War feminism

Katri Kauhanen

University of Turku

Following the Korean liberation and division in 1945, women’s groups in both sides of the peninsula joined different international women’s organizations that were assembling their ranks given the new situation of the emerging Cold War. North Korean Women’s Democratic League joined newly established left-feminist Women’s International Democratic Federation in 1946. The Korean National Council of Women from South Korea was affiliated to the International Council of Women, the oldest women’s international organization, in 1960. The former was bound together by socialism, anti-colonialism and solidarity while the latter coalition was based on recruitment and networks of elite, liberal reformist women. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on how the Cold War policies materialized in the Korean peninsula from the perspective of women and their transnational activism and to show how the Cold War was not only about conflict and confrontation but also about cooperation and cherishing internationalism.

These women’s organizations in both Koreas have been passed over as feminism since they accomplished so very little under the repressive regimes of their countries. Their activities have been bound to nation-building projects that seconded women instead of providing them equal status. However, rereading their histories alongside recent scholarship on the Cold War women’s history provides a venue to change the focus from the state to the women, to consider the nature of their feminist projects and the scope of the Cold War feminism. As Mire Koikari (2008, 78) puts it, “the Cold War facilitated, rather than suppressed, feminist mobilization”. Recently, the term Cold War feminism has been taken into use to examine different kinds of uses of feminism during the Cold War, ranging from left to right in the political spectrum.

Furthermore, examining the Cold War feminism challenges the conventions of periodization in the feminist history (wave feminism) in Korea and elsewhere.

In this paper, based on archival research in South Korea, Europe and online, I trace the connections Korean women made with feminists abroad and argue that Korean women were active participants in the making of Cold War feminism and instead of being mere subjects of the state they enforced gendered internationalism. Why we need to understand the activities of the Korean women's organizations in the Cold War framework? How did the Cold War influence the policies of international women's organizations in terms of recruitment and advancing women's position? Why was it important for Korean women to be presented in the international women's organizations during the Cold War? These are the questions this paper seeks to answer.

Keywords: Cold War, feminism, women's organizations

North Korea | Cold War--I-04

Folklore and folklore studies in North Korea: (Re-)invented traditions

Sonja Haeussler

Stockholm University

The paper will examine the complicated relation of the North Korean state to its cultural heritage, in particular folklore, which is an important – yet still largely neglected – field within North Korean studies. Like other spheres of culture, the reception of and attitude to cultural heritage is closely related to socio-political and ideological developments in the North Korean state. Evaluation of the country's heritage has undergone significant changes in various historical periods, sometimes mirroring and sometimes setting the trend for general changes in North Korean cultural policy.

During the 1960s and the exclusive orientation to the cult of personality in all areas of society, certain features of traditional Korean culture had been marginalized or had become antiquated in the course of the implementation of the *juche* ideology. At the end of the 1970s, the DPRK's cultural policy began slowly to shift to a positive re-evaluation of many cultural heritage aspects. As previous research (Haeussler 2011) has shown, signs of change have first become apparent in the field of Classical literature. Soon a revival of attention towards folk songs, folk holidays, folk dances and games followed. The transformation of North Korean cultural politics was imbedded in the general political course in response to changes in internal and external conditions. In the 2000s, this has led to a focus on the intensive fostering of cultural heritage by the North Korean government in combination with its Military-First Policy.

The paper will study a number of folklore phenomena that were reintroduced or newly invented in the 1980s and came to constitute key components of cultural life over the following decades. Based on personal observations as a foreign exchange student as well as later research on North Korean cultural heritage policy, the author will discuss the major steps in the revival of North Korean folklore and try to reveal the strategies and mechanisms that underlie the undertaken modifications, alterations and even total revisions, both in terms of implementation and representation. The author will also try to look into the question what may have been the driving institutional forces in the transformation process. For that purpose we will examine textbooks produced at Kim Il Sung University and a few other institutions which still have not been subject of research. Through examining new research material and, in particular, contextualizing the changes in folklore and folklore studies within the cultural policy of the respective period, the

proposed paper will also suggest a new chronology of North Korean folklore studies, different from the established one by researchers Kim Mi-yŏng (2007) and Chu Kang-hyŏn (2015).

Keywords: North Korea, folklore, folklore studies, cultural policy

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 09:00 - 10:45

Panel - Rethinking Visual and Material Culture in Nineteenth-Century Korean Art

Rethinking Visual and Material Culture in Nineteenth-Century Korean Art--P-01

Cultural Perception, Antiquarian Knowledge, and Blue-and-white Porcelains with Ming-style Motifs in Nineteenth-Century Joseon

In Hee Song

Ewha Womans University

During mid-nineteenth century Joseon dynasty, two Chinese jars combining Qing- and Ming-period motifs such as arabesques with auspicious flowers frequented the tables of royal banquets as their centerpiece objects. By bringing to attention the production of blue-and-white porcelains alongside their corresponding Chinese designs, this paper illuminates the early modern Korean attitude towards Ming ceramics and its impact on ceramic production in nineteenth-century Joseon. Taking into account earlier Korean reception of Qing culture, the use of Qing ceramics in Korea's high-ranking royal events prompts further questions regarding changing perceptions surrounding Qing dynasty culture. Shifting away from the argument that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Joseon literati were simply overwhelmed by their encounters with the advanced material culture of Qing, firsthand documents testify to the ways in which these encounters foregrounded their changing attitude toward its cultural inheritance, attitudes that underpinned the ensuing appreciation of objects from Qing culture with the legacy of the Ming dynasty attached to them. Moreover, it is highly plausible that antiquarian knowledge introduced from books and disseminated during eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Joseon contributed to the development of connoisseurship and taste for Ming ceramics among Joseon literati. Going beyond previous studies that have primarily focused on stylistic comparisons with contemporaneous Qing ceramics, this paper examines the interaction between individual objects and the material culture of Korea's last dynastic period, and in so doing contextualizes the complex cultural conditions under which Joseon dynasty ceramics were produced and utilized in the nineteenth century.

Keywords: ceramics, revivalism, connoisseurship

Rethinking Visual and Material Culture in Nineteenth-Century Korean Art--P-02

Perception and Visualization of Chinese Ge Ware (哥窯) in Nineteenth-Century Joseon

Nam won Jang

Ge ware, known to have been made in Longchuan kilns during the Song dynasty, is a type of celadon that is glazed with a crackled surface. With its many small cracks, which evoke a sense of the traces of time, this specific type of object appeared frequently in the inventories of elite collections and has been frequently reproduced since the Ming period in China. We can see similar phenomena from the late eighteenth century in Korea. Ge ware with cracked surfaces is often included in the collection list of Joseon literati and depicted in portraits and Chaekgeori bookshelf paintings, showing that Ge ware symbolized Chinese antique ceramics and collections of items for the elegant tastes of scholars. Its popularity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Joseon not only led to the use of its cracked pattern for the decoration of white porcelains but saw the use of the visualized images of Ge ware in paintings. Nevertheless, Korean use of Ge ware has never been fully investigated, as most studies on the reception of Chinese ceramics in pre-modern Korea have focused on the questions of who imported and used them. Aside from brief explanations of the images of Ge ware in Chaekgeori, most of the firsthand records and images have been ignored and no further researches have been made on the implications of the cultural phenomenon of Ge ware's popularity in the Joseon period.

By examining contemporary diaries, as well as extant objects and paintings, this paper will reveal how these Song dynasty ceramics were represented and visualized in various mediums in nineteenth-century Joseon. Unlike previous studies that have focused on the shapes and patterns of white porcelains produced in Joseon royal kilns, this paper pays more attention to the fact that the collecting and appreciation of ceramics was expanded at this time to include not only real objects but also painted and visualized images of such objects. By so doing, this paper sheds new light on the issues of how various elements from antiquity were reinterpreted and consumed as a new trend in nineteenth-century Joseon and how, and why, Ge ware remained a symbol of the antiquarian objects that had been so highly-prized before it.

Keywords: Ge ware(哥窯), White porcelain, Visualization, Consumption of images

Rethinking Visual and Material Culture in Nineteenth-Century Korean Art--P-03

Juxtaposition and Hybridity: New Modes of Producing, Appreciating, and Consuming Paintings in Nineteenth-Century Korea

Jungeun Lee

Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures

In the nineteenth century, two new painting genres, *baekseondo* (screens with a hundred fans, lit. "Hundred-Fan Pictures") and *baeknapdo* (screens with various paintings, lit. "Hundred-Patch Pictures"), which depict numerous square, round, and fan-shaped paintings of landscapes, flora and fauna, and calligraphy on six- or eight-panel screens, emerged in Korea. Though the specific emphasis for each of these two genres was different—with the former focusing on different shapes of round and folding fans and their arrangement, while the latter more generally contrasted assorted paintings—they each shared common notions of creating composition through juxtaposition, a characteristic that highlights their mutual interest in visual

hybridity. Taken together, these two genres demonstrate new modes of painting collection and appreciation that developed in nineteenth-century Korea.

Through the close consideration and comparison of extant works in the *baekseondo* and *baeknapdo* genres, this paper explores the social and cultural contexts of these new painting modes in conjunction with a close look at how interregional cultural exchanges were reflected in the production of screen paintings that depicted juxtapositions of small images. Based on a thorough examination and reading of each screen painting that includes its inscriptions, subjects, styles, and seals, this paper suggests that these paintings' hybridity was the result of collaboration between middle-class literati (*chungin oryehang munin*) and court painters—a collaboration that reflects the emergence of new cultural trends and patrons in the late Joseon period. Furthermore, by viewing these screen paintings in the context of cultural exchange between Joseon Korea, Qing China, and Edo Japan, this paper shows how layered cultural transmission operated in Korea at this time and sheds light on how, and why, elements of imported Chinese and Japanese art were appropriated for use in Korean paintings.

Keywords: baeknapdo 百衲圖, baekseondo 百扇圖, hybridity, middle-class literati, nineteenth century

Rethinking Visual and Material Culture in Nineteenth-Century Korean Art--P-04

Re-visiting "Tabletop" *Chaekgeori*

Sunglim Kim

Dartmouth College

Chaekgeori, literally meaning “books (*chaek*)” and “things (*geori*),” are Korean still life paintings that appeared in the late eighteenth century. They were produced in groups of eight to ten panels and mounted in screen format. They first were made as “bookshelf-type,” in which Chinese and Korean books, foreign objects like Chinese bronzes and ceramics, luxury items, and symbolic flowers and fruits were placed in a shelved structure executed using such Western painting techniques as chiaroscuro and linear perspective. These *chaekgeori* screens sometimes hold the name of artists, who were court painters, and were made for the royal court, *yangban* elites, and wealthy *chungin* professionals. The nineteenth century saw development of more modest-sized *chaekgeori*, in which the shelf-structure disappeared, and stacks of books, native fruits and flowers, and various ordinary objects were placed on and around a small table. Auspicious and mythical animals, such as the dragon and the phoenix, were also depicted.

The latter, smaller type is called “tabletop” or “folk-style *chaekgeori*.” Bookshelf-type *chaekgeori* are larger and more refined and elaborate, and they sometimes hold the name of the artist, but tabletop *chaekgeori* screens do not. Hence, with no signed name and no written documentation about them, the exploration of tabletop *chaekgeori*, including identifying producers and consumers, determining the production process, and obtaining other information, has been limited and these works generally have been excluded from mainstream art history texts.

This presentation will revisit the long-overlooked folk-style or tabletop *chaekgeori* screens, and attempt to examine how such screens would have been produced and used, by scrutinizing and comparing and contrasting different examples, and conducting a thorough investigation of the preliminary drawings in the Mattielli Collection and the Gahoe Folk Art Museum. We will also look closely at rendered objects and their meanings, read any writing on depicted objects to

speculate about possible functions and users, identify various colors, patterns, and painting techniques shown by the depicted subjects, and finally compare several *chaekgeori* panels from different screens to understand how clients would “pick and choose” items to customize the screens for their own representations.

Keywords: chaekgeori, folk painting, nineteenth century

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Verdi Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Evaluating the first two years of the Moon Jae-in-government: accomplishments and challenges

Evaluating the first two years of the Moon Jae-in-government: accomplishments and challenges--P-01

Participation, deliberation, initiation – recent political innovations in South Korea

Hannes Mosler

Freie Universität Berlin

This paper sheds light on forms of political innovations during the two years of the Moon-government. It discusses the theoretical and practical merits and perils of innovative forms of participatory democracy that South Korea recently has been experimenting with such as candle light demonstrations, deliberative consultation through small publics, and electronic petitioning as a way of inducing and facilitating popular participation. Political science literature usually conceptualizes demonstrations as unconventional form of political/participatory activities. Large scale candle light demonstrations (*ch'otpulchiphoe*) in South Korea have been taken place since 2002, and had the hitherto most profound impact in 2016/17 – rightist-conservative Park Geun-hye was impeached and removed from office, and liberal Moon Jae-in was elected new president. While some evaluate the demonstrations as a new form of participatory democracy and compare it to a “movement” or “revolution”, others critically interpret the phenomenon as a sign of Korea’s weakly institutionalized democracy.

Forming mini publics for deliberating controversial policy issues is one of the typical instruments in the field of political innovation and deliberative democracy strategies. When the Moon-government in 2017 met strong criticism against its election pledge to phase out the country’s nuclear power plants, the Blue House resorted to this deliberative tool, and formed a mini public of 500 participants (*kongnonhwawiw ōnhoe*) who learned, discussed, and decided on the phase out – and the government followed their conclusion. While some criticize this way of policy decision making as an illegitimate outsourcing of government tasks, others praise the practice as an exemplary of deliberative democracy.

After 100 days in office, the Moon-government introduced an electronic petition system (*kungminch' ōngw ōn*) on the Blue House’s webpage, where ordinary citizens can file petitions regarding grievances as a direct communication channel to the president. When more than 200.000 people support a filed petition within 30 days, the Blue House is obliged to answer to the request. While some praise the idea as a good example of realizing aspects of direct

democracy through way of e-governance, others criticize the petition system as bypassing institutions of representative democracy, and warn against by-effects such as amplifying social conflict.

The presentation evaluates these three different forms of political innovation based on a set of criteria – process, contents, results – by drawing on the literature on quality of democracy as well as political innovation. The paper discusses what these recent attempts of political innovation under the Moon-government theoretically mean, how they have been received in public and civil society, and what their real potential is.

Keywords: political innovation, deliberative democracy, Moon Jae-in government, South Korea, quality of democracy, participation, e-governance, candle light demonstrations

Evaluating the first two years of the Moon Jae-in-government: accomplishments and challenges--P-02

Power of the Social Movement: 2016 Candle Light Movement

Jeong Im HYUN

University of Central Lancashire

In the contemporary history of Korea, social movements have played a crucial role in creating socio-political change. Without social movements, the big steps toward democracy could not have been made. From 2002, the Korean people started to use a ‘new’ method of protest; the Candle Light Assembly. It is a peaceful, non-violent gathering with candles, usually organized in the evening as a cultural event form. This image could be considered ‘weak’ compared to other classical protest forms, but if we consider the size and the results of 3 large candle light movements^[1] (2002, 2004, 2008), Candle Light Assembly is a ‘strong and efficient’ protest method in Korea. 2002’s Candle Light Movement was held in order to demand an apology from the US for the death of two middle school girls, Hyoson and Mysoon, who were accidentally killed by a US military tank. As a result, President Bush presented an apology. 2004’s movement was to show opposition towards the destitution of President Roh; he was rehabilitated after. 2008’s movement protested suspicious American beef importation and resulted in President Lee apologizing and changes in the importation conditions. Finally, in 2016, the largest (accumulated number, 17 million, roughly 23.9% of the population) and the longest (20 weeks) Candle Light Movement ever organized in the history of Korea took place. It eventually changed the South Korean political map, leading to President Park’s impeachment and imprisonment for corruption, and the right-wing party now barely holds 10% of popularity...

Two years have passed after this explosive but nonviolent movement; thus, it is time to reassess this movement more closely. The main goal of this research is to examine the movement itself: who the actors are, what they want, how they mobilize. By examining these elements, we can revisit the movement to see where Korean society is headed after the movement. In the ‘political field’, it is quite ‘easy’ to guess how it will change by observing the 2018 regional election results (landslide victory for the left-wing party), but to predict what kind of social conflicts will arise after the movement is hard to define. When a social movement becomes powerful, it also allows another window of social problems to open. This was the case with the 2016 Movement, during which an unexpected ‘Korean Flag Troop’ counter-mobilization broke out. Unexpected indeed, most of the ‘candle people’ were surprised to see many participants and the violence they showed. Although they hastily formed a political party it is difficult to predict if the party will continue to exist or develop into an ‘extreme-right-wing’

party like in Europe. However, we can still examine in this research their actions and discourse to evaluate possible orientation.

[\[1\]](#) Here I will distinguish from the term assembly because it designates two specific social movements not just the means of protest.

Keywords: Social movement actors, Candle light movement, Political Changes, Social changes, Emerging new social conflict

Evaluating the first two years of the Moon Jae-in-government: accomplishments and challenges--P-03

What Drives Anti-Refugee Backlash in South Korea Targeting Yemenis Asylum-Seekers?

Young Hoon Song

Kangwon National University

What make humanitarian activists and those who are against hosting Yemenis asylum-seekers disagree with South Korean government's refugee policy? Since the refugee law was enacted on February 10, 2012 and came into effect on July 1, 2013, the number of refugee status applicants in South Korea spikes from 1,011 in 2011 to 9,942 in 2017. Nevertheless, South Koreans had paid less attention to refugee issues until 500 Yemenis arrived in a resort island, Jeju, in May 2017. The Ministry of Justice ended visa-free entry for anyone from Yemen on the 1st of June, resulting in the closure to Yemenis refugees and most of Yemenis refugee applicants are banned from leaving the island. Then, anti-refugee mood began to spread out the Korean society and more than 700 thousand people signed a petition asking the government to deport refugee applicants and abandon the visa-free entry policy.

This study surveyed activists, refugee applicants, policymakers, and inhabitants of the island in July 2018. The results show that public discourse went conflictual over time for the following reasons. First, refugee issues became politicized not only because candidates for local elections strategically turned their face away from humanitarian needs of refugee applicants but also because some lawmakers took ill use of public misperception for political purposes to mobilize support from those who are against hosting refugees. Second, public fear of Yemenis comes from incomplete information and 'fake news' which are relied upon the myth of a single-blooded nation and a biased opinion of Islam. Third, some residents in Jeju feels that the Korean society does not want to share burden of hosting refugees and have treated Jeju islanders with discrimination, while most indigenous islanders pay not much attention to the issues. These findings demonstrate that the level of public awareness and political will of policymakers play important roles in solving refugee problems and defusing social conflicts on providing aid for refugees.

Keywords: Yemenis refugee applicants, politicization, public misperception, public awareness, political will

Evaluating the first two years of the Moon Jae-in-government: accomplishments and challenges--P-04

Developments of policy toward North Korea under President Moon Jae-in

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Korean Studies in Freie Universität Berlin

The Moon Jae-in-government has been established based on the supporters of the unprecedented impeachment of former president Park Geun-hye. President Park implemented containment policies toward North Korea based on the support of the Cold War mentality conservatives, and government blocked all the exchanges and cooperative policies toward North Korea, unless the confirmative, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization would have been completed. The political conflict in South Korean society concerning North Korea policy became very severe, especially concerning the issue of the installation of the THAAD system.

During his presidential election campaign Moon pledged for an active engagement policy, broadening the exchanges with North Korea. However, at the early stage of his term, the Moon government was chained to the previous policies toward North Korea, the containment policy. In case of the THAAD installation, Moon allowed the introduction of the missile defense system from the US, even though it was contradicting his government's philosophy. Moreover, the international environment regarding North Korea was getting worse after North Korea executed its 6th Nuclear test and launched intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM). The UN, initiated by the US, strengthened the economic sanctions against North Korea. The Chinese government also joined the economic sanctions cooperating with the US. In this context, it was difficult for the Moon government to implement the engagement policies toward North Korea.

In his Berlin Speech 2017, president Moon delivered his government's policy plan toward North Korea, focusing on the 'peace regime in Korean Peninsula'. In a nutshell it means the stakeholders in division of Korean Peninsula should conclude the status of 'cease-fire' in sooner future, and declare the 'peace' through the increasing the exchanges and cooperation between two Koreas. However, the political atmosphere in international and domestic was not friendly, and expectations in this regard were low. Suddenly, however, the political atmosphere changed after the P'yŏngch'ang Winter Olympic Games, at which North Korea athletes participated and delegates visited. The North-South Korean Summit in May 2018 and the US-North Korean Summit in June 2018 followed. How this could be possible, is the main question of this paper. How was the Moon government able to create the policy space for engagement policy toward the North Korea, despite the fact that the international structure, nuclear and missile launches of North Korea, following economic sanctions, and containment policy toward the NK remained in place?

Keywords: Moon Jae-in Government, North Korean Policy, Engagement policy, Domestic politics, Public Opinion

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Mascagni Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel - Placing Popular Culture

Effective Symbols: Interplays between Online and Offline Sewöl Protest Visuals

Liora Sarfati

Tel Aviv University

The symbols used in the Sewöl protests since 2014 flowed between online and offline life. They proved effective in soliciting public engagement for four years because of their all-pervading presence, both in central downtown locations and in Internet arenas, especially social network services. After the sinking of the Sewöl Ferry that took 304 lives, most of them high school students, objects such as yellow ribbons have gained an iconic status as signifiers of the demand to investigate the ferry's sinking and honor the victims' memory. New visual indexes that created and articulated this emotionally laden discourse formed a common visual language of grief, and anger towards the Korean authorities. The main agents who operated the protest imagery worked in all fronts, aiming to create mass engagement in their cause. The semiotics that they produced as individuals and groups created strong cultural, social, and emotional impacts, which became the core of larger protests against the ruling elites in 2016-7. This ethnography-based presentation explores the development of the protest's effective aestheticism online and offline, and the meaningfulness of each different medium of visual display and production.

Interplays between the Internet and tangible urban spaces will be analyzed through three case studies, ranging from the core of the protest to people and sites that are more distant. The case closest to the reason of this protest movement explores the activity of one bereaved father, whose daughter drowned with the ferry. His physical presence at the Kwanghwamun Square in downtown Seoul during the summer of 2014 became a well-known protest icon. His Facebook page, in turn, produced many followers engaged in debate, commemoration, and activism. The second case explores the significance of a student activist group that produced the initial yellow ribbon symbol. The third case, which moves further from the actual ferry's sinking, is the activity of Mun Chae-in, the current president of South Korea, whose online and offline presence in Sewöl related activism and in downtown Seoul during the Sewöl protests were often cited as the main reason for his election in 2017.

The Sewöl movement is a case of collective mourning that turned into political protest by many different loosely organized groups of social activists, who have worked both online and offline to foster dissent through the dissemination of effective symbols. This material expressiveness articulated broader social issues in South Korea including norms of democracy, social hierarchies, corruption, and governance transparency. The yellow ribbon managed to tie together the personal grief and shock from the disaster with broader public concerns such as personal safety. By utilizing visual culture, protests manage to achieve visibility and affectivity, even when they are not strongly supported by official organizations. Consequently, the Sewöl movement has managed to maintain an active protest camp in downtown Seoul and gain public attention in the central media and daily discourse for four years.

Keywords: urban protest, Sewöl ferry, symbols

A Runner in the Streets of Seoul: Sohn Kee-chung and the Place of Sports Heritage

Guy Podoler

The University of Haifa

Marathon runner Sohn Kee-chung (1912-2002) was a top world athlete in the mid-1930s. In 1935 he set both un-official and official world records, and in the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin he won the gold medal clocking a new Olympic record. At the medal ceremony Sohn stood with his head down while the Japanese national flag was raised. Moreover, when the *Dong-A Ilbo* reported the victory, two staff members erased from Sohn's photograph the Japanese flag that featured on the runner's uniform, and, as a result, the Japanese suspended the daily's publication and severely punished reporters and staff members. Indeed, Sohn's sports achievement is highly regarded as a Korean symbol of anti-colonial resistance; however, until recently Sohn was almost completely neglected from South Korea's commemorative landscape, and some data suggests that many of the younger generation were not familiar with him.

Thus, this paper identifies a major shift in the late 2000s in the endeavor to establish Sohn as a national hero through memorial halls, statues, and other material forms. It examines the tangible representation of the athlete and its significance as a very recent phenomenon of creating sports heritage in South Korea. I wish to reveal what accounts and messages have been constructed and conveyed by turning Sohn from an Olympic champion into a national hero, what strategies have been employed in this process, and why those particular narratives have been chosen. Considering that the strength of tangible commemoration lies in its immediate-strong visual effect and in its availability to people from all walks of life, the paper emphasizes the significant role concrete commemoration can play in the construction of collective memory. Accordingly, I will look at important sites commemorating Sohn in Seoul.

Broadly speaking, it is useful to distinguish between two types of sites. First there are the more intimate places – places that were born out of intentionally injecting new meanings into urban space within local neighborhoods. Here residents and passersby engage with the meaningful space on a daily basis. The second type is the more official places – sites that constitute a meaningful space of their own, outside the mundane everyday experiences of the public. The Son Kee Chung Athletic Park and its surrounding area in Malli-dong belong to the first type; Seoul Olympic Museum, Olympic Star Street in Seoul (Jamsil) Sports Complex, and the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, to the second. To be sure, this is a helpful yet also a rough division – the two types function in intricate, sometimes corresponding, ways; accordingly, while acknowledging both the differences and the commonalities between them, as well as possibilities for different levels of “the intimate” and “the official” within the same place, I explore the meaning Sohn's heritagization holds for contemporary South Korea. By doing so, I also wish to contribute a case study to the growing body of literature on the relationship between sport and heritage.

Keywords: Sohn Kee-chung, sports heritage, collective memory

Idols in the Seoul subway: Fandom ads and the making of a K-pop city

Olga Fedorenko

Seoul National University

From 2010 a new phenomenon has been spotted in the Seoul subway. Whereas regular commercial advertising was migrating online, K-pop fans were taking advantage of the cheapened prices for media space to adore busy subway stations with large ads celebrating their idols. Often stretching the full height of subway hallways, those posters typically display a photograph of an idol or an idol group and convey a well-wishing message regarding the idols' personal events or group anniversaries, in a mixture of English and Korean: "Park Woojin in your brilliant twenties, we will always be with you"; "We support your every moment. Happy Jihoon's Day 1999.05.29"; "SHINee 10th anniversary Thank you for having been with us;" "G-dragon Kwon Ji Yong Stay healthy in the army." In 2017, as many as one in ten ads on Seoul subway were fandom ads, according to the Seoul Metro official statistics.

This paper examines how these ads are transforming the public space of the Seoul subway into a place of popular culture and participatory fandom. Specifically, the fan-produced celebrity ads partake in the social production of Seoul as a K-pop city, I argue. With few exceptions, Seoul subway stations are unremarkable, and the appearance of those ads transmute the invisible public infrastructure into a much-photographed site of fan worship and tourist pilgrimage. Analyzing the terms of these fandom spatial practices, I further argue that those interventions constitute a participatory space-making and foreground its tensions. Visually these ads might be complicit with the commercial deployment of signs—the celebrity images in the ads are barely distinguishable from regular advertising posters, next to which they appear. Yet while saturating public space with the celebrity images derived from the culture industry, they simultaneously reclaim those images for public expression of affect and fandom community building. While displaying commodified idols, they also foreground their humanness—their birthdays and their need of encouragement and love. Furthermore, sometimes those fan-produced ads draw dozens of personalized, hand-written post-it notes from individual fans, who thus reclaim commercial space on their own terms to convey personal messages to their idols.

My analysis situates those fandom practices with spatial interventions that accommodate public agency and recalibrate the spatial dynamic, such as murals and graffiti. In addition, I highlight how these space-altering fandom practices are amplified when those idol ads are photographed and circulated online, primarily in social media. Bridging physical and digital spaces of fandom, such intermedial practices ground those reconfigurations of the urban spatial textures in the participatory cultures of the internet and further the agenda of public space reclamation. Analyzing this multi-faceted interplay between fandom media and subway spaces, my paper stands to contribute to scholarship on fandom and popular culture in South Korea while in dialogue with scholarship on the social production of space. It will combine visual analysis of fandom ads, observation of their integration in the subway, public discourse in social media, and interviews with fans sponsoring such ads.

Keywords: fandom, celebrity culture, production of space, advertising

The Highs and Lows of Urban Space in Korean Screen Culture

Ji-yoon An

University of Tübingen

This paper is interested in the evolving representation of rooftop and basement spaces in contemporary Korean screen culture. To clarify, basement refers to *banjiha* homes, the “half-underground” apartment space in the basement of a house or building, while the rooftop (*oktapbang*) refers to the single-standing temporary home built on the rooftops of buildings. In the metropolis of Seoul, these spaces have come to represent the upper and lower borders of the urban living space. Perhaps in correlation to their disposition as the physical periphery of society, such spaces have become the site for a sort of rite of passage at a time in transition. By being occupied not only temporarily but also by those often in a transitory period in life, the marginality of these spaces is often combined with transient temporality, allowing the spaces to be read as what Michel Foucault calls heterotopia—that is, a space of otherness that possesses multiple, fragmented, or even incompatible meanings. I am interested in the ways that the visual representation and narrative function of rooftops and basements have changed over the past two decades in Korean cinema and television. Foucault’s concept of heterotopia frames the research, allowing for a multi-layered analysis considering the screen medium’s identity as another form of heterotopia (a single real space where several sites are juxtaposed).

Korean cinema of the 1990s and 2000s often employed rooftops and basements as the narrative settings to frame marginalised characters. These peripheral spaces were depicted as sites of struggle—first and foremost as a financial one considering the low-cost nature of these homes attracted those struggling financially—but further as: a site of criminal act; a space of social injustice; and a physical manifestation of an identity crisis. Corresponding to the ambiguous (and at times, calamitous) nature of the narratives that happen in these liminal spaces, the cinematography has been literally, or rather visually, dark and isolated. In the 2010s, however, basement and rooftop spaces have appeared more regularly on television dramas than films. No longer associated with adversity, these spaces are instead romanticized, becoming the backdrops to light-hearted genres. The rooftop space, for example, has regularly featured as the locus for twentysomething characters in various romantic-comedies and family dramas. Decorated and airbrushed to appear like an IKEA advert, the space—though continuing to be occupied by characters (physically or metaphorically) “in transition”—no longer resembles the cheap homes that were so often the sites of criminal acts in the previous decade’s films. The basement space, though less prominent than the rooftop in contemporary screen culture, too has been sentimentalised. Often filtered through the lens of nostalgia, the basement space is also furthered from its previous image as a site of crisis by becoming a physical embodiment of Korea’s struggling past, remembered and reminisced fondly only against the juxtaposition with a better contemporary reality. The paper explores the symbolic implications revealed by such changing trends in the cultural representation of these heterotopic spaces.

Keywords: rooftop, basement, heterotopia, space, cinema, television, Seoul

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Puccini Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Panel | Individual paper - Revisiting Ming Loyatism in Late Chosŏn Korea | Korean History

Staying Out of the Ming-Qing Transition: Korean Perspective of the Continental Conflict, 1592-1644

Ilsoo Cho

Harvard University

Often described as the model tributary relationship, the bond between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea entered a new phase in 1592. Without the Ming expeditionary forces that bore the brunt of the fighting against the Japanese, the late 16th-century Japanese invasions of Korea would have resulted in the Japanese conquest and absorption of Korea. Having saved the Korean dynasty from certain destruction, a notion that the Koreans themselves repeatedly acknowledged in public for generations thereafter, the Ming dynasty expected and continuously urged the Koreans to participate in the war against the Jurchens/Manchus. The conventional, established historical narrative on Korea's post-1592 relationship with Ming China has argued that Korea remained loyal to the declining Ming dynasty. This argument for loyalism was particularly emphasized with the ascension of King Injo (r. 1623-1649) and his officials, who overthrew their predecessors in an armed coup under the banner of loyalism towards the Ming dynasty and the need to actively aid the Ming dynasty in its war against the Jurchens.

This presentation offers an alternative narrative regarding Korean foreign policy after 1592, particularly regarding that of King Injo (r. 1623-1649)'s foreign policy towards the Chinese and the Jurchens. It is based on a critical reading of *The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* 朝鮮王朝實錄, perhaps the most widely used source in the study of Korean history that many scholars continue to examine for "facts" in history. This presentation questions much of the narrative presented in *The Veritable Records* by measuring it against a range of primary source materials including a daily record of the Korean king's royal secretariat, *The Journal of the Royal Secretariat* 承政院日記. Well aware of the ongoing decline of the Ming dynasty as well as the growing military might of the Jurchens/Manchus, Korean policymakers displayed little interest in aiding the Ming, deliberately choosing to stay uncommitted in the continental conflict. This presentation argues that political realism and expediency had trumped the ideals of tributary relations. The notion of Korean loyalism towards the Ming, in this sense, was a post-1644 phenomenon that had little influence when the Ming dynasty still existed.

Keywords: Chosŏn, Ming, Jurchens, Manchus, foreign policy

Ming Loyalism, Qing Reality, and the Repression of Christianity in Late Chosŏn Korea

Pierre-Emmanuel Roux

Paris Diderot University

The repression of Catholics in late Chosŏn Korea is usually considered as a response to Western civilization's threat that supposedly undermined the ethical foundations of the society. This paper argues that the Chosŏn anti-Christian policy actually concealed a criticism of the Manchu Qing Empire and its legislation. After the demise of the Ming dynasty in 1644, many Chosŏn

officials came to believe that it was their kingdom that was the only legitimate heir of Confucian culture. Under these circumstances, labeling Catholicism as a Western doctrine was not only an obvious reason to suppress this “deviant teaching”, but also a pretext to criticize the “barbaric” Manchu state. To ensure its legitimacy and its orthodoxy in East Asia, the Chosŏn government could not but implement severe repression of Catholicism and insist in the meantime on the tolerance this religion benefitted from in Qing China. Although Emperor Yongzheng prohibited Catholicism in 1724, missionaries with scientific or artistic talents remained legally at his service in Beijing where they were confined in four churches . And since the Chinese capital was the only direct window Koreans had on the Qing Empire, Chosŏn literati generally believed that Catholicism was flourishing in China.

Contrary to conventional wisdom that the early Korean anti-Christian discourse mainly developed among the Southerners (Namin 南人) faction, this paper demonstrates that such discourse was also firmly established among fierce Ming loyalists of the late eighteenth century. For instance, the *Collected Texts on Honoring the Zhou* (*Chonju hwip'yŏn* 尊周彙編 , 1800), Ming Loyalist history par excellence, criticized the Qing and their attitude towards the Western religion. Anti-Christianity thus became intermingled with Ming loyalism even though Chosŏn literati acknowledged that Catholicism was introduced in China during the late Ming period. However, this tendency declined in the early nineteenth century. A number of Chosŏn officials and literati began to express an ambivalent attitude towards the Manchu dynasty and even to rely on Qing sources when criticizing Catholicism. It was only in the mid nineteenth century that Ming loyalism was revived when Western powers attempted to open Korea. In other words , this paper investigates how the question of rejecting Catholicism in Chosŏn found itself linked to the recognition of the Ming and Qing emperors as suzerains. This issue eventually favored the construction of a Korean proto-national identity and partly explains the claims of current Koreans to be the guardians of Confucian tradition.

Keywords: Chosŏn, Ming Loyalism, Qing, Anti-Christianity

Revisiting Ming Loyalism in Late Chosŏn Korea | Korean History--P-03

Descendants of Ming Émigrés and the Ming Loyalist Court Rituals in Chosŏn during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Seunghyun Han

Konkuk University

Following its establishment in 1704, Taebodan (the Altar of Great Gratitude) served as a ritual expression of the Ming loyalism that prevailed during the late Chosŏn period, since the monarchs of the time regularly held sacrificial rites for the Ming emperor Wanli initially and, after 1749, Ming Taizu and Chongzhen as well. From 1749 onward, Chosŏn monarchs started offering sacrifices to each of the three Ming emperors on their death days, in addition to conducting the more formal annual Great Spring Sacrifices. The progeny of Ming émigrés variously traced their ancestry to the Ming generals who had participated in the Imjin War, ministers of the late Ming court, and Chinese subjects who had accompanied Prince Pongnim to Chosŏn in 1645 when he was released from captivity in Shenyang. During the reign of King Yŏngjo, the descendants of Ming émigrés were mandated to attend the death day sacrifices

(*mangbaerye*) of the three emperors. From then on, the descendants constituted an integral component of the Ming loyalist ritualism.

This study analyzes the interactions of Kings Yǒngjo and Chǒngjo with the Ming descendants by first focusing on the monarchs' audience (*sogyǒn*) with the descendants and the ensuing royal favor of their bureaucratic promotion, both of which usually followed sacrificial rituals. This study argues that, for the two rulers, the audience was an important occasion during which they could personally acquire detailed knowledge on various Ming descent groups and the rulers utilized this knowledge and the ideological significance of the rituals to justify the official promotion of Ming descendants and intervene in the personnel selection process. The bureaucratic advancement of Ming loyalist descendants was necessary for furthering the throne's scheme of galvanizing Ming loyalism; however, their official advancement was often thwarted by responsible Chosŏn bureaucrats who found the descendants unfit for certain coveted positions due to their inferior social status. The active royal engagement through *sogyǒn* was thus vital for the elevation of the symbolic significance of the Ming descent groups and the bureaucratic fortunes of their members. As a result, some members could ascend to high positions in the military through royal favor, sometimes even without passing the military examination.

Subsequently, this study examines how the royal audience was held during the nineteenth century, and, thereby, reveals that, except for a few instances during the early Sunjo reign, the audience came to a complete stop in the nineteenth century. Even the few exceptions were no more than events where the list of Chinese attendees was read aloud before the throne and never led to any conversation between the two. The early nineteenth-century Chosŏn rulers, unlike their eighteenth-century predecessors, seldom exhibited activism in the promotion of the descendants' bureaucratic positions. Apart from a few fortunate individuals who passed the military examination and attained high ranks, most of the other office-holding descendants remained at the middle-level of the bureaucratic hierarchy. The frequency of Ming loyalist rituals declined significantly in the nineteenth century; moreover, the rituals increasingly lost ground as events to highlight the ideological importance of Ming descent groups and elevate their social status.

Keywords: Ming Loyalism, Rituals, Military Examination

Revisiting Ming Loyalism in Late Chosŏn Korea | Korean History--I-04

Contested Memories and Confucian Norms: Narratives on a Wrongful Conviction Case in Seventeenth-Century Korea

Youngyeon Kim

Seoul National University

This paper explores elite writers' appropriation of Confucian norms through their narrative construction during the late Chosŏn dynasty. Contrary to preconceived notion on premodern Korea, this article seeks to reveal that Confucian norms were not strictly orthodox nor highly homogenous. Rather, for elite authors, Confucian norms were selectively summoned for their immediate necessities. By investigating the story's evolution, this paper argues that the elite authors' agency was achieved at the expense of effacement of a non-elite male. In order to demonstrate it, this paper analyzes two contradictory fictional narratives representing a

wrongful conviction case in the sixteenth century. Next, this paper traces the evolution of the narratives, focusing on how one narrative subdued the other and dominated subsequent generations' perception of the case. Despite subsequent authors' various reinterpretations of the case, almost all of the authors uniformly confirmed one party's version. This account denied a man of lowly birth the ability to make choices. This denial shows that one of the Confucian norms which affirm universal moral capability of all humans was dropped by the elite authors, manifesting the elites' perspective that limits moral capacity to an exclusive segment of the society. The evolution of the story reveals that the succeeding generation's collective memory was formed by suppressing counter-memory. By scrutinizing the elite authors' reinterpretations of the trial, this paper reveals how the literati received Confucian norms and how it shaped the memories of the literati during the seventeenth-century Chosŏn Korea.

Keywords: law and literature, collective memory, Confucianism, agency, Yi Hangpok

Sunday, 14 April 2019 - Donizetti Room - 11:15 - 13:00

Individual papers - Korean Linguistics

Korean Linguistics--I-01

The Role of *Panmal* (반말) in the Evolving Korean Honorific System

Young-Key Kim-Renaud

George Washington University

An important typological characteristic of the Korean language is its multi-layered system of 'honorifics.' Honorific marking is not a redundant style change but is part of basic Korean linguistic competence. At the same time, it is highly context-dependent and culture-bound. As linguistic units, honorific markers undergo change in their meaning, form, and usage, reflecting changing social values. Thus, there can be such varied approaches to study honorifics that "any attempt to understand linguistic politeness from the perspective of one subfield of linguistics alone is doomed to inadequacy," as noted by Brown and Whitman (2015: 127).

The term 'honorifics' is ambiguous. On the one hand, it refers to direct grammatical encodings of interpersonal relationships and the speaker's expressed attitude toward the interlocutor and the referent. On the other hand, it refers to deferential terms toward the addressee or the referent. As many linguists (e.g., Hwang 1990) have pointed out, politeness and honorification are not the same things. However, they are interactive and mutually influential.

This paper focuses on the emergence and evolution of the addressee-honorific *panmal* ('half-speech'). In traditional grammar the *panmal* style was not considered a regular part of the honorific system, as its name indicates. We hypothesize that *panmal* endings originate from politeness strategies, which are universal. These were connective suffixes of a subordinate clause, whose main clause is omitted or simply implied in an effort to avoid expressing overtly power-laden forms of address, be they speaking up or down. *Panmal* are results of language

restructuring, i.e., grammaticalization of these connective suffixes as sentence enders (Kim-Renaud 1990).

Panmal became a convenient and useful form of communication, as Korean society evolved. Interpersonal relationships are often not clearly hierarchical and various contexts make the speaker wish to express his/her shifting identity and attitude toward the interlocutor and the referent. So, these seemingly indeterminate and differently interpretable forms became necessary. Panmal was right there to fill the gap created by the traditional, rigid honorific system. However, as panmal endings have established themselves as informal, unmarked forms, they came to be viewed as impertinent or rude, when used in a situation calling for deference.

Change in the value system of contemporary Korea, panmal and panmal elevator -*öyo* forms are now almost the most commonly used form and considered core parts of the honorific system. Panmal is even gaining force as the favored form of speech, as Korean society evolves embracing Western values, including democratic ideals, different concepts of power, and also certain aesthetics of simplicity and terseness. That is, Korean honorifics are no longer concerned simply with knowing one's place vis-à-vis the interlocutor and the referent in the power hierarchy. The Korean honorifics are now explored more as a face-saving device and a means of satisfying various communicative needs of pleasing and/or impressing others without abasing oneself. In this sense, the common claim that the Korean honorific system is undergoing simplification because everyone is supposed to be equal must be seriously challenged. Also, contrary to what is generally believed, the major consideration in using Korean honorifics is power, although power's nature itself has been evolving.

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Keywords: panmal, honorifics, politeness, grammaticalization, identity, context, culture, face-saving, power, attitude,

Characterizing the Sino-Korean Influence on Middle Korean Vowel Harmony

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Several authors in Korean linguistics who have documented the history of the language have concluded that the rules governing Korean vowel harmony (VH) have become less productive

(applying less routinely and consistently) and narrower in scope (applying to fewer phonological contexts) over time (Kim 1978; Chang 1982; Park 1990; Sohn 2001; Lee & Ramsey 2011). While Early Middle Korean (EMK) exhibits largely consistent vowel harmony, a reduction of these rules begins to exhibit in Late Middle Korean (LMK) onward. Here it is argued that the influx of Sino-Korean loans and their higher frequency of use beginning in the LMK period influenced Korean phonology at a more fundamental level than merely introducing individual exceptions to Korean phonological rules and morpheme structure conditions. This influence can be better understood via findings in Usage-Based Linguistics and cognitive linguistics.

The body of Sino-Korean loans in Contemporary Korean is both extensive—likely 60 to 70% of the entire lexicon (Sohn 2001; Jung & Cho 2006)—and diverse in terms of semantic categories. Whereas the earliest Sino-Korean loans conform to the rules and surface phonetic constraints (SPCs; see Shibatani 1973) of Korean phonology (Lee & Ramsey 2011, p. 69-76), Chang (1982) attests that VH and other phonological rules typically applied to EMK words “are generally inapplicable to SK [Sino-Korean] morphemes,” going on to state that “the morpheme structure conditions for SK are more restrictive, and distinct from those for native morphemes” (p. 99). Despite the overall productivity of and minimal exceptions to native harmonic rules in EMK (Park 1990), non-archaic Sino-Korean loans are clear outliers; numerous loans derive from Chinese compounds of two or more syllables, which frequently do not harmonize with each other word-internally. For instance, a list of Sino-Korean words provided by Jung & Cho (2006) presents 104 instances (out of a total of 261, or 39.8%) that violate the rule of word-internal vowel harmony. Lee & Ramsey (2011) also describe several Chinese morphological suffixes that were appended to native Korean words irrespective of standard harmonic rules. The frequent disharmony of Sino-Korean loans is consistent with findings such as those of Silverman (1992), Kang (2003), Itō et al (2006), and Kim (2008), in which speakers, in adopting and adapting loanwords, attempt to faithfully represent the original pronunciations of said loanwords so far as the borrowers’ perceptual and phonological constraints allow.

The question of how these Sino-Korean loans influenced the broader phonological rules of Korean, and not merely act as exceptions to them can be addressed through Bybee’s work on usage-based phonology (1999), Bybee’s network morphology model (1985; see also Diessel 2017), and studies of frequency effects on L1 acquisition and change (Bybee 2001, 2006; Tomasello 2009; Kapatsinski 2014). Here, it is argued that as LMK accumulated a growing number of Sino-Korean loans, the deviance of these loans from native Korean harmonic rules began to interfere with native speakers’ inference of said rules from the linguistic data available to them, ultimately resulting in the reduced productivity and scope of Korean vowel harmony.

Keywords: Sino-Korean, Usage-Based Linguistics, Vowel Harmony, Surface Phonetic Constraints

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A Study on the Correction Rules of Sino-Korean of *Donggukjeongun* : Mainly on the Medials

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The purpose of this study is to discuss the correction rules for medials of Sino-Korean of *Donggukjeongun* (DJSK), and prove the medial of DJSK followed that of Sino-Korean of the time basically.

Donggukjeongun(東國正韻*Standard Rhymes of the Eastern State*)(1448), the oldest rhyme book in Korea, is created by King Sejong and elite authors at Jiphyeonjeon or Hall of Worthies, who also established a unique letter system for Korean language (*Hangul*). In this oldest rhyme book that formulated standard rules for Sino-Korean, the authors corrected traditional Sino-Korean (TSK) that was used in practice by applying the traditional theories of rhymes in China.

The result of the correction was a theoretically grounded system of Sino-Korean, which was widely adopted in virtually every book published in the country until the end of the 15th century. Despite its initial ubiquitous adoption, Sino-Korean in the rhyme book went out of use shortly because it was often significantly different from the TSK in practice. Using geminate consonants for the ‘wholly muddy’(全濁) sounds of Chinese and replacing ending ‘-l(ㄹ)’ with ‘-rq(ㄹᄂ)’ are distinct characteristics of DJSK. Because of those things, DJSK is regarded as completely artificial pronunciations, and considered quite different from TSK as well.

Shin, Sukju(申叔舟) who is one of authors of *Donggukjeongun* recorded about those characteristics and corrections to TSK in the preface of the rhyme book. The preface of the book is the only place where the correction rules are explicitly discussed. It includes four correction rules: three regarding initials of DJSK and one concerning the endings. Those rules are applied to all Sino-Korean in the book and explain all corrections to initials and endings with a few explicable exceptions. Unlike initials and endings, however, the preface does not address those to medials at all and comparing two types of Sino-Korean is necessary for comprehensive understanding of corrections to medials of DJSK.

Kang(2009) insist that except for ‘puckered lip sounds(撮口呼)’, medial of DJSK is approximately equal to that of TSK based on the comparison of them. Cho(2011) also mentioned that except for corrections to ‘open-colse(開合)’ and ‘wide-narrow(洪細)’, authors did not correct medials of TSK. According to these previous studies, there are two correction rules to medials of DJSK, i.e. correction to ‘open-colse’ and correction to ‘wide-narrow’. (‘puckered lip sounds’ is a part of ‘open-colse’)

Although many questions of corrections to DJSK have been explained, many questions still remain unanswered, so there is a highly possibility that there are other correction rules besides those rules stated above. This study aims to examine those unexplained correction rules of medials of DJSK by comparing two types of Sino-Korean in more detail.

Keywords: Sino-Korean, *Donggukjeongun*, medial sound, rhyme, open-close(開合), grade(等), she(攝), syllable constraints