

2015 한국바로알리기 민간단체지원사업 최종보고서

사 업 명	(국문) 한국 바로 알리기를 위한 학술대회 (영문) Academic conference for understanding Korea
사업기관	인도네시아 한국학교육학회
사업책임자	신영덕
사업기간	동의서 제출일로부터 ~ 2015년 12월 10일
사 업 비	
사업진행현황	<p>▶ 개요</p> <p><인도네시아한국학교육학회(The Association of Korean Studies Education in Indonesia)>는 인도네시아에서 한국학을 가르치고 있는 교육자들의 학술단체로서 본 학회에서는 한국학중앙연구원(The Academy of Korean Studies)의 후원 하에 “한국 바로 알리기를 위한 학술 회의(Academic Conference for Understanding Korea)”를 SPH 국제학교(초중고등학교)와 인도네시아 교육대학교, 자카르타 술탄 호텔에서 세 차례 개최하였습니다. 인도네시아에 거주하고 있는 교사, 교수, 교직원 등 인도네시아 교육 관련 인사들을 대상으로 하여 한국어, 한국 문학, 한국 역사, 한국 문화 등에 관한 학술대회를 개최함으로써 인도네시아에 한국을 바로 알리고자 노력하였던 바, 그 내용은 아래와 같습니다.</p> <p>▶ 1차 학술대회</p> <p>2015년 8월 7일 인도네시아 리뽀 찌카랑에 있는 SPH 국제학교(초, 중,고등학교) 에서 1차 학술대회를 개최하였습니다. 오전 8시 30분 부터 11시 30분까지 진행된 이 학술대회에서는 인도네시아의 교육 관련 인사(초중고 교사, 교장, 교직원)들로 하여금 한국에 대한 올바른 인식을 가질 수 있도록 하였습니다. 마침 SPH 국제학교 (교장 Ibu Hani)에서도 입학하는 한국 학생들의 수가 증가함에 따라 이들을 위한 올바른 한국학 교육의 필요성을 느끼고 있었던 상황이었어서 대회장소 및 점심식사 제공 등 본 학술대회를 적극적으로 지원하였</p>

습니다. 학술대회에는 SPH 교사와 교직원 50 여 명이 참석하였습니다. 학술대회에서는 인도네시아 한국학교교육학회의 회원 5명이 한국 문학, 한국어, 한국사, 한국문화 등에 관한 논문을 발표하였습니다. 신영덕 박사(인도네시아 교육대학교 한국어교육과 교수)는 “한국전쟁기 남북한 소설에 나타난 인종과 민족주의 문제(RACISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE NOVELS OF SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA DURING THE KOREAN WAR),” 김재구 박사(SPH 한국어 교사)는 “한국어 이메일 담론과 존대어 사용의 기술적 연구 (Descriptive Study of Honorific Use in Korean E-mail Discourse), ” 이정민 박사(나시오날 대학교 한국어과 교수)는 “한국의 다문화주의(Multiculturalism in South Korea),” 김은희(한국어 강사)는 “한국인의 유교 사상과 그 영향(Korean Confucianism and Influences),” 로스띠뉴 교수(Rostineu, 인도네시아 대학교 한국학과)는 “일제하 한국인의 자유 정신(KOREAN SPIRIT OF FREEDOM DURING JAPANESE COLONIALIZATION)” 에 대해 발표하였으며, 이명옥 박사(SPH 교사)가 영어 통역 및 사회를 맡았습니다.



▶ 2차 학술대회

2015년 10월 12일 오전 9시부터 12시까지 인도네시아 반둥에 있는 인도네시아 교육대학교(UPI)에서 2차 학술대회를 개최하였습니다. 이날 학술대회는 인도네시아 교육대학교 한국어교육과 개설 축하 행사의 일환으로 이루어져 대학에서도 학술대회 장소 및 점심식사 제공 등 많은 지원을 하였습니다. 대학 부총장과 어문학장의 환영사, 재인도네시아 한국 공사의 축사가 있었으며, 학술대회에서는 4명의 발표자가 인도네시아 교육대학 교수, 인도네시아 국방대학 교수, 마라나타 대학 교수, 그리고 대학생 등 100 여 명이 참석한

가운데 논문을 발표하여 한국을 바로 알리고자 노력하였습니다. 신영덕 박사(인도네시아 교육대학교 한국어교육과 교수)는 “한국전쟁기 남북한 소설에 나타난 인종과 민족주의 문제(RACISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE NOVELS OF SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA DURING THE KOREAN WAR),” 김재구 박사(SPH 한국어 교사)는 “한국어 이메일 담론과 존대어 사용의 기술적 연구(Descriptive Study of Honorific Use in Korean E-mail Discourse), ” 이정민 박사(나시오날 대학교 한국어과 교수)는 “한국의 다문화주의(Multiculturalism in South Korea),” 김은희(한국어 강사)는 “한국인의 유교 사상과 그 영향(Korean Confucianism and Influences)”에 대해 발표하였으며, 이명옥 박사(SPH 교사)가 영어 통역 및 사회를 맡았습니다. 오후에는 재인도네시아 한국문예총 주관, 한국문화원 후원으로 한국에서 해금연주자 외 4명의 연주자를 초청하여 음악회를 개최하였으며, 500명 이상의 관중이 참여하여 한국 전통 음악을 통해 한국을 바로 알리는 데 기여하였습니다.



▶ 3차 학술대회

2015년 11월 14일 자카르타에 있는 술탄 호텔에서 3차 학술대회를 개최하였습니다. 오전 8시부터 12시 30분까지 진행된 이 학술대회에는 인도네시아 교육 관련 인사들이 40 여 명 참여하였습니다. 이번 3차 학술대회에는 인도네시아 문화교육부 인사 외에 인도네시아 국립대학교(UI) 교수와 나시오날대학교(UNAS) 교수, 그리고 교직원

등 교육 관련 인사들이 많이 참여하게 됨으로써 보다 내실 있는 학술대회를 개최할 수 있었습니다. 이번 학술대회에서는 아궁 박사(Agung, 인도네시아 문화교육부 이사)를 특별히 초청함으로써 인도네시아 문화교육부의 한국에 대한 관심을 제고하고자 하였으며, 아궁 박사는 “인도네시아 교육에 있어서의 한국(Korea in the Education of Indonesia)”이라는 주제로 강연을 하였습니다. 그리고 신영덕 교수(인도네시아 교육대학교 한국어교육과)는 “한국전쟁기 남북한 소설에 나타난 인종과 민족주의 문제(Racism and Nationalism in the Novels of South and North Korea during the Korean War),” 김재구 박사(SPH 한국어 교사)는 “한국어 이메일 담론과 존대어 사용의 기술적 연구(Descriptive Study of Honorific Use in Korean E-mail Discourse),” 에바 교수(Eva, 인도네시아 대학교 한국학과)는 “경계를 넘어서 이병주 문학 작품 읽기(Literature Across Borders: An Empirical Reading of Lee Byungju),” 로스띠뉴 교수(Rostineu, 인도네시아 대학교 한국학과)는 “조선 왕조 시기의 유교 고찰(The Reflection of Confucianism during Joseon Dynasty)” 등의 논문을 발표하였습니다.



▶ 결론

인도네시아한국학교교육학회는 사업신청 시1회의 학술대회를 개최하기로 하였습니다. 그러나 주어진 사업예산을 효율적으로 사용함으로써 세 차례의 학술 대회를 개최할 수 있었으며, 그 결과 보다 많은 인도네시아 교육 관련 인사들에게 한국을 바로 알리는 학술대회

행사를 성공적으로 개최할 수 있었습니다. 또한 세 차례의 학술대회는 인도네시아 언론 등에도 소개됨으로써 많은 사람들의 관심을 받기도 하였습니다. 끝으로 좋은 기회를 주신 한국학중앙연구원 사업담당자 분들께 감사의 말씀 드립니다.

▶ 총 사업비

• 사업비 사용 내역

번호	항목	세부 내용	금액(루피아)
(1)	현수막 제작비	1차 대회 현수막은 SPH에서 제작 후원 2차 대회 현수막은 인도네시아 교육대학교에서 제작 후원 3차 대회 현수막은 학회 부담 제작	
(2)	논문 번역비	인도네시아어 논문을 영어로 번역 한국어 논문을 영어로 번역: 3,900,000	
	논문 발표자 및 사회자 사례금	논문발표자: 사회자:1차(
	회의실 숙박비	1차: SPH 무료 제공 Zuri Express 호텔 Sultan 호텔:	
	논문 발표집 발간비	발표집 표지 디자인 1차 발간비: 2차 발간비:)	
(4)	학술대회 참가기념 선물	선물용 볼펜 50개, 매직, 방명록, 서류봉투 등:	
(5)	식사 및 음료수비	식사비 음료수비:	
Total Amount			

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Abstracts In Korean

<한국전쟁기 남북한 소설에 나타난 인종과 민족주의 문제>

신영덕 교수

본고에서는 한국전쟁기에 발표된 남북한 소설의 특성을 밝혀보고자 하였다. 이를 위해 본고에서는 전쟁 당시 발표된 남북한 소설에 인종 및 민족주의 문제가 어떠한 양상으로 재현되었으며 그 의미는 무엇인가에 대하여 살펴보고자 하였다. 제 3 세계 탈식민국가의 작품에서는 인종 문제를 다룸에 있어 피부색에 의한 차별 문제를 가장 중점을 두어 다루고 있으나, 한국전쟁기 남북한 소설의 경우에는 피부색 문제보다는 우방국이나, 적대국이나에 따라 인종 문제를 서로 다르게 형상화하고 있음을 볼 수 있다. 이는 전쟁이라는 상황이 남북한 작가들의 작품 창작을 강하게 통제하고 있었음을 보여준다고 할 터인데, 이러한 통제는 북한이 남한보다 훨씬 강력하였던 것으로 판단된다.

한국전쟁기 남북한 소설은 민족주의 문제에 있어서도 많은 차이를 드러내고 있지만, 적대적이고 이질적인 타자를 배제하고자 한다는 점에서는 공통점을 보인다. 다시 말해서 한국전쟁기 남북한 소설은 이데올로기 전파의 수단으로 적에 대한 적개심을 부추겨서 전쟁 수행에 필요한 동력을 갖추도록 하는 것을 일차적인 목적으로 하지만, 궁극적으로는 민족 내부에서 이질적인 요소를 배제하고자 하는 민족주의 담론을 통해 남북한 공히 각각의 체제를 강화하고 있음을 보여주고 있다. 따라서 이후 남북한의 민족주의 담론은 정치 이데올로기보다 심층적인 근원에서 작동하여 분단 상황을 고착화하는 데 기여하였을 것으로 추정된다.

<한국어 이메일 담론과 존대어 사용의 기술적(記述的) 연구>

김재구 박사

본 논문은 컴퓨터를 매개로 하는 이메일 (전자우편)에서도 “나이 차”라는 한국의 문화가 한국어 사용에 영향을 끼치고 있음을 연구하였다. 일반적으로 한국인의 세계관은 나이에 따라 태어 날 때부터 위 아래가 정해지고, [+age]연장자는 사회적 [+power] 권력을 더 갖는 것으로 간주하고 있다. 연하자가 연장자에게 이메일을 쓰는 경우 연하자는 동년배에게 글을 쓰는 것과는 달리 형태-통사적 표현에 변화를 주게 되는데, 인칭 대명사, 호칭-지칭 용어, 명사, 서술어, 조사, 주어와 듣는이에 따른 접미사의 변화를 포함한다. 영어 사용자의 경우와 달리, 한국어를 쓰는 연하자는 연장자와의 의사소통에서 빈번하게 문화적 압박을 받고 존대어 표현을 사용하게 된다는 것이다. 본고의 실험 연구는 이러한 현상들이 있음을 증명하였다. 이 실험은 한국인의 나이에 대한 인식이 한국 존대어 체계에 실제로 반영되고 있음을 주된 과제로 검토해 보았다. 실험에서 20에서 25 세되는 15 명의 한국인들은 45에서 60 여세 되는 연장자, 그리고 동년배, 그리고 연하자에게 어려운 부탁을 표현하는 이메일을 쓰도록 요청되었다. 결과는 연장자에게 쓰여진 이메일에 문법적 요소들의 사용에 있어 동년배와 연하자에게 쓰여진 이멜보다 현저히 다름을 보여주었다.

<한국의 다문화주의>

이정민 교수

단일 민족 국가인 한국 (대한민국)은 역사적으로 오랜 시일 동안 동일한 언어와 문화를 유지해왔다. '한 민족 공동체', '단일 국가', '혈연 국가'라는 표현이 정치, 학계, 대중 문화에서 빈번히 사용되어왔으며, 이를 통해 집단 정체성을 고무시키고 민족적 순수성을 강조해왔다. 그러나, 최근들어 외국인과 다문화 가족이 한국 사회에 등장하게 되었고 이는 한국인들의 외국인 공포증이라는 새로운 현상을 불러일으키게 되었다. 특히, 대부분의 국제결혼은 시골의 한국 남성과 동남아시아의 외국인 여성의 중매 결혼이라는 특수한 형태로 이루어지며, 이는 가정 폭력, 이혼률 증가, 외국인 차별 등의 많은 사회적 부작용을 낳고 있다. 한국에 거주하는 외국인의 수가 급격하게 증가함에도 불구하고, 외국인 아내와 다문화 가정 아이들은 여전히 언어, 문화, 교육, 고용 등 많은 분야에서 주류 한국인들과는 다른 차별을 받고 있다는 보고가 이어지고 있다. 다문화주의란 한 사회에 두 명 이상의 사람이 있다면 어디에서나 통용될수 있는 개념이다. 즉, 타인을 이해하고 다름을 인정한다는 것이다. 현재, 한국에서는 "다문화주의" 개념이 제한된 의미로 사용되고 있지만, 정부, 사회단체, 국민들의 노력으로 나이, 성, 종교, 사고 방식이 다른 서로를 존중한다는 넓은 의미로 이해하는 과정에 있다.

<한국의 유교사상과 그 영향>

김은희 강사

한국은 예로부터 종교로서의 기능을 수행하기 위해서라기보다 전통과 생활방식을 아우르는 하나의 철학 사상 또는 학문으로서 유교를 받아들여 왔다. 유교 사상은 우리의 생활 속에서 민족 정신 형성에 중요한 역할을 하며 예절, 효, 교육, 윤리규범, 의식과 제례, 전통 가옥과 의복, 심지어 음식에 이르기까지 다양한 분야에 걸쳐 뿌리깊게 전해 내려오고 있다. 2014 년에 한국갤럽조사연구소가 조사한 '한국인의 종교의식'에 의하면, 자신의 종교가 유교라고 생각하는 비율은 0.5%뿐이었으나, 조사대상 전체의 91.7%가 유교적인 의식성향을 지닌 것으로 나타났다. 이는 유교가 한국의 문화형식으로 남아 있어서 어느 종교인이라도 유교적 생활관습과 가치관을 가지고 있다는 것을 말한다. 종교적 측면은 약하지만, 한국인의 사고 및 전반적인 생활방식에 널리 퍼져 있는 유교의 내용들을 살펴 보면, 한국인의 도덕적 규범과 예절을 깊이 이해할 수 있다. 또한 외국인들이 낯설어하는 연장자 공경이나 권위주의 문제, 남녀 관계 및 한국인의 도덕적 규범 등을 살펴볼 수 있을 것이다.

<일제 강점기 하 인도네시아에 동원된 한국인의 자유 정신>

로스띠뉴 교수

한국과 일본은 오래 전부터 외교적 관계를 유지하여 왔다. 그러나 한국은 1910 년부터 1945 년까지 일본에 의해 식민지화 되었다. 이 시기 한국에서 일본이 실시했던 정책들은 한국인들로부터 부정적인 반응을 받았다. 이 논문에서는 일제 강점기 하 한국인들의 자유 정신에 대해서 살펴보고자 하였다. 이를 위해 본 연구에서는 일제 강점기 하의 한국 군인들, 특히 일본의 식민지였던 인도네시아(1942-1945)에 동원되었던 군인들의 자유 정신에 대해 보다 집중적으로 살펴보았다.

<경계를 넘어서 이병주 문학 작품 읽기>

에바 라티파 교수

본 연구는 이병주와 그의 작품 세계를 인도네시아 학자들에게 다시 소개하려고 한다. 본 연구는 이병주의 문학이 현재의 독자들에게 잘 알려지지 않는 이유가 세대 차이에 있다고 주장한다. 다른 이유는 모두가 다 자기의 문제를 볼 수 있지는 않기 때문이다. 본고에서는 Across borders (경계를 넘어서)라는 개념을 사용함으로써 이병주 문학을 연구하고자 한다. 왜냐하면 이를 통해 한국과 인도네시아의 언어와 문화의 장벽을 넘어설 수 있기 때문이다. 본 연구에서는 "경계를 넘어서"라는 개념을 다음과 같이 넓은 의미로 사용하고자 한다. 우선, 역사와 문학의 경계를 넘어선다는 의미, 두 번째는 문화의 경계를 넘어선다는 의미. 마지막으로, 일반적 생각을 넘어서 새로운 시각으로 보자는 것. 이병주는 소설가로 잘 알려져 있지만 이 글에서는 그의 에세이(수필)를 연구하자는 것이다.

<일제 강점기 하 인도네시아에 동원된 한국인의 자유 정신>

로스띠뉴 교수

한국은 고대부터 유교를 받아들였다. 그리고 유교는 한국에서 상당히 발전해서 조선 시대 한국 사회의 근본이 되었다. 이 논문에서는 17 세기부터 19 세기까지의 유럽인의 시각과 인식에 기초한 역사적 자료에 근거를 둔 역사적 참고문헌을 통하여 조선시대 유교에 대하여 고찰하고자 하였다. 분석 결과, 조선 시대 유교는 민족을 결속케 하는 데 공헌하였음을 알 수 있었다. 다른 말로 말하면, 유교는 한국을 정치적으로 고립된 국가로 이끌었다. 그래서 조선 왕조에 대한 유럽인의 왜곡된 기록들이 세계에 알려지게 되었다.

Racism and nationalism in the novels of South and North Korea during the Korean war

Prof. Dr. Shin Young Duk

Abstract

This paper intended to find the specific features between South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War invoking the theory of post-colonialism that explained the power relationship produced between one culture and the other and the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. For the purpose, this paper made a plan to find how racism and nationalism have been represented in the South and North Korean novels published during the war and what the meaning of it is.

In the works of the post-colonialism in the 3rd countries, the racism has been dealt with the issues of discrimination caused by difference of skin color, but in the case of South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War, rather than the skin color issues, the racism has been developed in a different way in relation to whether the characters were belonging to allies or hostile countries. As the reason, it could be said that the situation of war might control strongly the South and North Korean authors' creativity. This controlling seemed to be much stronger in North Korea than in South Korea. Even in the issue of nationalism, South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War revealed huge difference, but there was still similarity in that they had a tendency to exclude the other who was hostile and heterogeneous. In other words, South and North Korean novels during the Korean War had the first purpose in acquiring the war potential functioning as the means of spreading ideology to amplify hostility against enemies. However, ultimately both South and North Korea strengthened their regimes through the nationalism discourse that excluded heterogeneous elements out of their nations. Accordingly, the nationalism discourse of South and North Korea was assumed to contribute to the fixation of division, working in the deeper layers than just political ideology.

I. Preface

The Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950 when North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel, invading South Korea. The cease-fire was ultimately signed on July 27, 1953.¹⁾ All resources were mobilized in order to accomplish "Fatherland Liberation" called by the North Korean side and to keep Liberal Democracy from the side of South Korea. And the Korean War was expanded into an international conflict since UN troops and American army participated in the war. Later Communist Chinese army also engaged in the war. The human cost of the war was catastrophic. Nearly 5 million people died.²⁾

The damage of Korean War had left long-lasting consequences to Koreans. Both the material and psychological damages were enormous. Even though more than 65 years passed after the war, the impact of the war to Korean people has been powerful until now. Therefore, it is still necessary to study the Korea War.

The importance of the research on Korean War is in the fact that there are many studies about the Korean War. However, it seems that many political studies on the Korean War have been biased in terms of ideology. Therefore, it is necessary to study the Korean War in the

broader point of view. The cultural studies based on the literature during the Korean War can be one of good approaches in studying the Korean War.

The focus of my research is the North and South Korean novels that had been published during the Korean War. Korea was suddenly exposed to the alien cultures of foreign countries as like USA, Soviet Union, and China in this period. Hence, this paper intends to find the specific features between South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War invoking ‘the theory of postcolonialism’³⁾ that explains the power relationship produced between one culture and the other and between the oppressor and the oppressed.⁴⁾ I researched how the impact of the heterogeneity of foreign cultures was reflected on the North and South Korean literature during the Korean War through analyzing racism represented in the novels.⁵⁾ Consequently, I will share the finding that the nationalism was used to strengthen the political regimes of North and South Korea.⁶⁾

II. The Meaning of Race in the Literature of the Korean War Period

The Korean War was a special time in which the Korean people were thrown back into the influence of foreign cultures of the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Apparently even if the Korean have been exposed to foreign cultures before, it is not easy to find other periods that the Korean people received the influence of the Western culture as much as this period. Therefore, it is important to understand how North and South Korea established their identities and strengthened their nationalism during and after the Korean War. In this sense, I will try to show how they had secured their identities and accepted the foreign cultures during the Korean War.

A. South Korean Novels

The view of South Koreans in the Novels towards the American people was ambivalent. Most of the novels published in South Korea described United States of America as an ideal democratic country and a country of freedom. On the other hand, some novels described American soldiers as negative characters who were often involved with the issue of prostitution or racial discrimination.

<Sipjaro(Cross Road), 1953>, written by Jang Deok Jo, was one of works that viewed USA positively. The work consisted of fourteen chapters. The background of this story was Seoul in 1949 when several important political events occurred in South Korea, such as the scandal of Nam Roh Dang congressmen, new legislation of the property, and assassination of Kim Koo. But this work was not focused on those political events. Rather, the main story of the work was a love relationship and conflict between a man and a woman. It also inspired the patriotism while communism was criticized, which reflected how people responded in the reality of the War. In the novel a young man who grew up in the United States was described as a positive character. His name was Choi Han Jik who was a handsome and intelligent gentleman. He was married to the main character, Lee Young Ran, who was good at languages and good-looking. He had a CEO position in the company that Lee Young Ran worked for and where he was called as “Mr. Democracy.” He was described as a nice and smart man. Attracted by all his charms, Lee Young Ran, who is a heroine in the story, married him and went to the United States. Lee Young Ran’s friend, O Eun Hee, sent a letter to Lee Young Ran. In the letter she asked her friend to “learn democracy there, bring the seed of democracy, and flourish it in Korea.” This novel showed well the general attitude of the South Korean people who considered USA as an ideal democratic country.

There were many discourses looking up USA among South Korean novels at that time. <Yeolpung(Hurricane Winds)> by Park Yeong Jun, <Yeobi(Travel Expenses)> by Gwak Ha Shin, <Gaengsaenggi(Rebirth)> by An Su Gil, <O Hyeongui Ingan(Human whose blood type

is O)> by Lee Moo Young were some of the examples. In those listed novels it was common to see the people who wanted to go to U.S.

However, there were also some works of literature that described American soldiers as negative characters during the Korean War. They mainly criticized American soldiers who were involved with the issues of prostitution and discrimination.⁷⁾ The works of Yu Ju Hyeon and Park Yeon Hee were representative.

<Gisangdo(Weather Maps), 1953> by Yu Ju Hyeon, was a story about the events that happened in the plane which was in an emergency. In the plane there were an American soldier, a South Korean prostitute, and a colonel 'C' of South Korea Force. Due to a severe turbulence and rain storm, the pilot couldn't communicate with the air traffic control. The Colonel C was distributing a parachute to the passengers to prepare for an emergency situation. Then the American soldier took two parachutes for the prostitute and himself immediately. But the colonel C took one back for the prostitute. The colonel C sneered at the American soldier, who compelled himself to keep the manner as like 'Lady First', and said,

"'Lady First' is the culture of your country. And we value a young man more than a prostitute. It's important to keep order in the Eastern culture. If you had kept the order, someone would have given a parachute to the woman."⁸⁾

As shown in the event above in this novel, South Koreans looked down prostitutes who were serving American soldiers. And the Western cultures, such as well known "Lady First", were criticized. In the light of nationalism, when women who would give birth to next generations were engaged in relationship with men of other racial or national groups, they were despised. An interracial marriage was taboo.⁹⁾ So, the prostitutes who engaged in American soldiers were considered as people who broke the taboo. The novel clearly reflected the critical mind of Yu Ju Hyeon and his strong nationalism.¹⁰⁾

One of Park Yeon Hee's works, <Sonyeongwa Maeriraneun Gae(A boy and a dog named Mary)>, also criticized an American soldier. This work implicitly criticized the discrimination of an American soldier against Koreans by showing the fact that the American soldier was caring for a wounded dog rather than caring for a Korean who was injured as well. The following conversation was characteristic, because the boy, who criticized an American soldier, also used the discriminating word like 'Gaman Yangkobaegi(Black American).'

"Mom, why doesn't he give the medicine to someone who is lying on the street, huh?"

"Maybe he will give him the medicine later."

"It looks that 'Gaman Yangkobaegi(Black American)' is more concerned about a dog."¹¹⁾

The South Korean novels described USA as an ideal country, but some novels criticized American soldiers during the Korean War. Western cultures forcefully came to South Korea after independence from Japan. Especially South Korea was influenced by American cultures most, but there were many problems due to the bad influence of Western cultures in South Korea after Liberation. Some novels reflected those problems.

The Soviet Union soldier is represented as a greedy and inhuman figure. There are a few novels which had stories related to the Soviet Union soldiers who came into the North Korea after Liberation. <Aejeongmuhanseong(The castle of endless love)>, by Choi Dok Gyeon, pictured a Soviet official who was about to rape a Korean woman, but was killed by a blow on the head. And <Sonyeongwa Maeriraneun Gae(A Boy and A Dog named Mary)>, by Park Yeon Hee, showed a greedy Soviet soldier who aimed the gun to a Korean woman in order to take apples.

In the case of Chinese, many novels emphasized the fact that Chinese soldiers left a great loss to South Korea by participating in the Korean War. <Beomseoneeui Gil(The Way to the Ship), 1951> by Lee Moo Young; <Gohyang Bada(Hometown sea), 1953> by An Su Gil, and <Pungu Sogeui Injeong (Humanity in the storm), 1953>, by Kim Dong Ri showed that Korean families were scattered because of the Chinese force. And <Du Gaeui Simjeong(Two feelings), 1952> by Kim Song, <Young(Mountain), 1952> by Yu Ju Hyeon, <Mugiwa Ingan(Arms and Man), 1953> by Park Yeon Hee showed how tremendous were the losses of civilians' lives caused by Chinese force participating in the Korean War.¹²⁾

On the other hand <Young(Mountain), 1952> by Yu Ju Hyeon and <MuGiWa InGan(Arms and Man), 1953> by Park Yeon Hee also had a little different point of view from the other works toward Chinese soldiers. <Young (Mountain)> described that Chinese soldiers who participated in the war and South Korean people who fled for refuge were just the same meats for crows, and they were the same victims of war.¹³⁾ And <Mugiwa Ingan(Arms and Man), 1953> showed sympathetic feelings toward a Chinese soldier who was dead in a mountain, because he was also a human.

From the examples of above, we can observe the fact that the novels of South Korea showed various aspects in the representation of races. Most of the South Korean novels described foreigners either positive or negative characters according to their nationalities. If their countries were allies to South Korea, they were described positively, and if enemy, negatively. In this sense, the novels of Yu Ju Hyeon and Park Yeon Hee were very exceptional since they did not follow the pattern of "using literature as weapon".

B. North Korean Novels

In the literary works during the Korean War from North Korea, the Americans were displayed as an evil party. Most of them criticized American soldiers who were often related to bombing at civilian villages, killing innocent civilians, and raping. Thus Americans were regarded as their enemies. Most of works in North Korea aspired hostility towards American people.

One of representative writers was Han Seol Ya in North Korea during the Korean War. His works described Americans as negative characters. In his work <Jeonbyeol(Farewell)>, Han Seol Ya empathized North Korean people's struggles against the American forces who were occupying the North Korea. In addition, he described the acts of the American soldiers who often chewed gum and ate cake like dogs, and stabbed mothers and sisters of Josun (Korea) with a knife or took away young girls.¹⁴⁾

In the novel <Hwangchoryeong(Hwangcho Mountain), 1952>, he praised the patriotic activities of a nurse named Bok Sil who worked at a hospital in early 1951, and at the same time criticized the brutality of Americans and American forces. And in the novel <Daedonggang(Daedong River)>, he showed the condition of Pyongyang city that was being occupied by South Korean and American forces, and the struggles of the workers of North Korea.¹⁵⁾ In this novel, there was a character named Harrison, an American lieutenant. He massacred many North Koreans. This work described the appearance of Harrison as follows.

He was tall, and his neck was long like a neck of a stork. And he had a sharp nose and small head. At a glance, he looked like a pickax of fireman (p.116).

Thus in this novel, US force was depicted in a very ugly and ridiculous way like a character from funny comic illustration. And the fact that US force was killed by North Korean soldiers and Chinese volunteer soldiers was empathized. In short, Han Seol Ya wanted to illustrate the barbarity of American force and at the same time to emphasize that American force was coward.

In the North Korean novels, Soviet Union was described as an ideal nation, and the Soviet Army was described as a hero who fought for the freedom of North Korea. But this tendency was too serious because it seemed that there was a dominant-subordinate relationship between the cultures of Soviet Union and North Korea.

In Han Seol Ya's work <Gijeok(Miracles), 1950>, In Chun, an old man, who was responsible for the railway business which he took over from a Japanese employer did his job well and was highly praised. He expressed the gratitude and respect to Soviet Union and her army, because Iwanov who was an officer of Soviet Union helped him to work in the position of boss. Therefore, he said that the opening of new railroad between Heungnam and Hamheung was successful by the help and blessing of the Soviet Union."¹⁶⁾

The work of Lee Book Myong, <Josuneuittal(Josun's Daughter)> told a story of a girl named Jo Ok Hee who had a deep love for the land. She received a bad news that her son was in a very critical condition due to acute pneumonia. But she didn't go to him because she thought that she couldn't leave the battlefield. Unfortunately, she was caught and asked for confidential information by the enemy. However, since she refused to give any information, eventually she was executed. This work explained that her patriotism was related with the influence of the struggle of a woman leader in Soviet Union, Joya. She had read the story of the struggle of Joya twice, and even she had watched a movie about her struggle. Thus this work reflected that the culture of the Soviet Union had given a lot of influence on the North Korean people.

In the North Korean novels during the Korean War, China was always described as a brother. It is related with the historical fact that China and North Korea had helped each other. Yun Si Cheol, Ree Yun Yeong, and Park Tae Min published their works which told the brotherly relationship between North Korea and China. In other word, they showed that the Korean people helped China in the battle of the revolution as the Chinese army helped North Korea during the Korean War. And in the works of Han Seol Ya, a Chinese volunteer army was portrayed as a 'brother' in <Gijeok(Miracle)>, a savior that had freed Pyongyang in <Daedonggang(Daedong River)>, and a hero who was brave. While in <Gogwihan Saramdeul(Noble people)>, Lee Tae Jun empathized the necessity of the revolutionary optimism and the international spirit criticizing USA.¹⁷⁾

Thus, the way that the issue of race was represented in the North Korean novels was very schematic. There was no exception in describing American people as negative characters, but the Soviets and Chinese people were as positive characters in the North Korean novels. These symptoms reflected the situation that all literary works in North Korea must have followed the orders of the North Korean government, and strictly were censored.¹⁸⁾

III. Nationalism to strengthen the politic regime

It was very interesting that the nationalism was empathized by both North Korea and South Korea during the Korean War, because many people thought that South Korea empathized the nationalism, while North Korea empathized the communism.¹⁹⁾ In a country which had been colonialized, nationalism was a general phenomenon.²⁰⁾ Then, how the nationalism was represented in the South and North Korean novels during the Korean War? ²¹⁾

A. In the case of South Korea

The South Korean people usually criticized the communist as an anti-nationalist, and tried to purge them. But their nationalism was very emotional, because they also idolized the Liberal Democracy that was also alien to them. This fact was represented in the South Korean literary works.

In the novel <Aejeongmuhan(Endless Love), changjosa, 1951>, Jeong Bi Seok emphasized that the communism was the enemy of mankind, criticizing the communists of North Korea which started the war.

Honestly, this was the biggest tragedy in the history of mankind. Who were the dead? Who had killed them? It was a tragedy that man killed his brothers just for the sake of an ideology. It was a tragedy which can be seen only in the twentieth century. For whom the ideology stood? If the success of ideology depended on killing people, we could tell that the ideology was 'the enemy of man.' (P.153).

The hostility to the communism was represented also in Kim Song's novel, <Yeongwonhi Saneun Geot (To Live Forever), Baekyoungsa, 1952>. Lee Hyung Chil, the main character in this story, considered the communists as 'traitor of the nation', and wanted to get rid of them.²²⁾ And in the novel of Park Young Jun, <Aejeongeui Gyegok (Valley of Love), 1953>, the North Korean soldiers were portrayed as anti-national and cruel characters. The North Korean soldiers had killed many patients who were in a hospital and the dead were discharged to the side of the road, so badly eaten by crows.

Thus, many writers of South Korea criticized the communism as anti-nationalism in their works. And they emphasized patriotism for their own nation (South Korea) and at the same time hostility against the communists. The novel of Lee Moo Young who was a naval official during the Korean War, <Jeolmeun Saramdeul(Young People), 1951> was a representative work.

<Jeolmeun Saramdeul(Young People)> consisted of 20 chapters.²³⁾ It was a story about a town named 'c town' near Danyang city from around Chusuk (Korean Thanksgiving day) season in 1946 to December 13, 1948. It handled the major political events in those days by showing various characters staring from the main character, Shin Jae Duk, and his family. It was during the time that 'October Riot', '5.10 Election', and 'Establishing the first South Korean government' were happened. It started with the scene that Jae Duk's sister, Jin Sook, was missing a communist named Song Jong Ho. Song Jong Ho was a man who was victimized by pro-Japanese factions (Chinilpa, traitor). He was once prisoned. He was known of one of the smartest persons when Jae Duk was with him as a student soldier. After Jae Duk took a different path from him, he became the leader of the October Riot. But when the other communists ally didn't come to assist his riot, he discovered that he was deceived. In the end he chose to surrender in order to save his people. Thus Song Jong Ho's life illustrated well the vanity of communism.

The novel did not just focus on revealing the vanity of communism. It stressed that they had to find out the leadership ideology and put it into practice. One of Jae Duk's friends, Park Gun, had such a thought. He had a great influence over the activities of 'Youth League' including Jae Duk. He was described as a scarily brainy person. He carried the writer Lee Moo Young's philosophy most. He influenced Jae Duk and Jin Sook greatly. First, he suggested them to quit the Youth League's activities. He said that they would not be able to beat the communism. He rather stressed to find the ideology that can surpass the communism. He was looking for that ideology from Shilla dynasty. Because he believed that the Shilla dynasty was the time that Korea had most remarkable culture and the nation was united in one. In his words most notable word was 'the united nation'. His word reminded of Lee Seung Man's slogan, "Unite in one".

The main theme of the novel was the criticism against the opportunists who flattered Americans and looked for only their own interests. The novel strongly criticized pro-Japanese factions who built a 'Korean Democratic Party' and then

participated in US Military rule to keep their vested rights. The writer not only revealed the chaos of South Korean political situation but also worried that this problem could have given a chance to communists. People might have been attracted by praises of North Korean politics and eventually ended up going over to the north side.

Jae Duk's father, Shin Gu Young, argued, "You won't be able to overcome the communism by just saying that it is bad." He also stressed to find an alternative. By the help of his father, Jae Duk regretted the activity of the Youth League and decided to find a new direction for the Youth League. The figure who appeared at the time was Park Do Jin. He showed a clear blueprint of the Youth League. He confessed that he had respected and praised Lee Seung Man. He introduced Lee Seung Man's ideology of ruling. Jae Duk and his fellows made an effort to unite three youth leagues in town. They were working on organizing a meeting room at day and educating youth members at night. And they planned a big event to draw attention to "Unite the nation! Strong bond of people!" They made a parade and at the end of the parade they decided to save Song Jong Ho who was to be executed.

The novel emphasized "fight against communism and patriotism" and the importance of uniting the nation. It also showed the praises for Lee Seung Man directly. At the news of UN meeting, the writer put down "This remarkable success was due to one great leader, Dr. Lee Seung Man." Thus this work that justified anti-communism by nationalism and attempted to strengthen Lee Seung Man's regime was judged to show such reality so well.

B. In the case of North Korea

During the Korean war, North Korea seemed to keep nationalism even if she was a communist country that emphasized the association with Soviet Union and China. The evidence has been found from the North Korean novels that were published during the Korean War. Those novels criticized the anti-nationalists emphasizing nationalism.

In the North Korean novels, the anti-nationalists were so called 'reactionaries' beginning with South Korean soldiers during the Korean War. The 'reactionary' meant all people who were against 'The war of Liberation of the Fatherland.' Those people were mostly South Korean Soldiers, policemen, security troops, guerrilla fighters, landlords, and pro-Japanese factions. Their characters were described as ugly people along with their appearances.

In <Akma(Demon)> by Lee Buk Myung ([Literature&Art] Vol. 4 Issue #1, April 1951.), Korean soldiers were described as beastlike people who raped women and stepped on a baby to kill.²⁴⁾ Particularly, a Korean second lieutenant Ku Maeng Ho was the representative person who appeared as an inhuman character in that he kicked an elderly man named Park Churmji with his military shoes. His appearance also was described negatively as follows.

It was Maengho Ku's shoes whose left cheek has a long knife scar that looks like a sluggard. This guy who looks like an ugly dried bean paste which seems to be grabbed inappropriately becomes a second lieutenant thanks to his past as a street fighter. He is always lifting something to break or hitting something to break with his fist wielding it in the air, which is his habit still remaining as his behavior. (p.55)

The novel <Bobi> by Lee Jung Sook ([Literature&Art] Vol.5 Issue#11, Nov. 1952) shaped a telephone operator Bobi's heroic actions. In contrast, it criticized a

policeman's cruelty in slaughtering a civilian. The following was a scene of the policemen's slaughtering a civilian.

There were four policemen. They were filling a hole in the ground with shovels. In the hole, there was a woman who was holding a baby who was desperately crying. Her white clothes were torn into pieces and waving in the wind and the lower half of her body was not seen in the soil. <omission> When the soil reached up to her chest, she lifted her baby over her head saying "my baby" like a sigh. The baby cried to die all the more. When the mercilessly piled soil reached on her shoulder, her two arms were dropped bent helplessly. The young one also was rolling down onto the ground. (p. 34)

<Cheotnun(The first snow)> by Byun Hee Keun ([Literature&Art] Vol. 5 Issue # 12, Dec. 1952) described Kim Chi Bu, a Captain Security, negatively through Myung Ok's story who was an ordinary housewife. Kim Chi Bu was severely drunk to be reddish on his face. He broke into Myung Ok's house and threw her son Soon Dol to be dead because he was crying scared. And he put Myung Ok into a prison because she resisted against the one-eyed American soldier who attempted to rape her. In addition, the novel told us that he married a crippled woman who was a daughter of a church elder. It was a strategy for him to rise to a socially high position through the church elder that was mostly trusted by the American soldiers. This work explained about Kim Chi Bu as follows.

His face looks like a mouse with a knife scar on his forehead and he is the head of the widely known converted faction. His father was a notorious usury man in that he took in pawn a dead body for the debt of a debtor. His body shape was distorted after being severely bitten 5 years ago on 8.15 Independence Day. The son Chi Bu showed off himself that he went to Tokyo to study wearing a square-shaped cap. Actually he went there not for the study of literature but for fighting skill. When the war broke out, he ran away from the People's Military and hid himself somewhere and then reappeared with the enemies. From that time on, he became the captain security of this town. This pawn worshiped the American soldiers and was crazy in killing spree over people. (p.7)

<Jukryeong(Bamboo Hill)> by Lee Kap Ki ([Literature&Art] Vol. 6 Issue #1, January 1953) criticized the misbehaviors of those 'reactionaries' through telling about a wounded soldier Nam Jeong Woo. The representative reactionary person was Jeong Woo's uncle 'Pranky Nam Charmbong'. Four days after the North Korean soldiers retreated, he reappeared in the town and roamed around uptown and downtown. And he blamed his sister-in-law because she cooked rice to give it to the retreating North Korean soldiers. And because of the reason that his sister-in-law didn't listen to him, he was so mad at her that he went to the police station to report about her. But on the way, he was shot to death by a North Korean soldier. The novel described the person as follows.

Even if he was born with the same blood and grew up having the same cooked rice of the same rice cooker, his character was totally different from his elder brother. He purchased a couple of rice fields after he earned pretty much money as an oriental doctor in Ahndong town till 8.15. On the roof he cleaned up all the straws and covered it with shingles. Rubbing his doggy whisker, he put a pair of reading glasses

on his nose. Now he was pretending to be an influential figure in the town. He didn't care how his elder brother was managing his poor life, he often blamed his elder brother whatever problems he faced. He was a narrow minded person just as his body size was so small. (p. 57)

Thus the North Korean novels presented negatively the 'reactionaries' including the South Korean soldiers as anti-nationalists during the Korean War. <<Ryeoksa(History)>> by Han Seol Ya ([Literature&Art] Vol. 6 Issue # 4-8, April-August 1953.) had special features in that the novel gave a heroic shape to Kim Il Sung and inspired national consciousness and greatness of nation through the stories of patriotic persons.

<<Ryeoksa(History)>> emphasized and showed Kim Il Sung's heroic persona and leadership as a work that described the trace after "General Kim Il Sung" was appointed as the commander of the 6th division at Musong in Spring 1935. Kim Il Sung was a well-built big sized man. And he was a good eye-measured man like a tiger of Baekdu mountain. Once he looked at a man, he looked deep inside of the heart of the man but his face never lost a gentle smile. He was a young and gentle man composing many songs and good at playing on a stage. The novel gave "a huge and holy shape to Kim Il Sung who protected all parents and children." (Vol. 6 Issue #7, p. 34) This novel also told us that Kim Il Sung's father was killed while he served as a soldier for national independence against Japan, and that Kim Il Sung joined Chinese communist party to live as a member of a guerilla unit right after even his mother passed away and that the name of 'Kim Il Sung guerilla unit' made Japanese soldiers thrilled, and that the Manchuria and Japanese soldiers who exploited and tortured Josun people were attacked and annihilated by Kim Il Sung's thorough plan of operations.

As you have seen the tendency, this novel made Kim Il Sung's presence felt as a national hero through exaggerating and fabricating Kim Il Sung's partisan fighting career in the North-Eastern Anti-Japanese Allied force organized in 1936. In this novel, the protagonist 'General Kim Il Sung' was acting as if he were the leader of nation as a national hero rather than just a commander. This work of idolization seemed to be very necessary to Kim Il Sung who wanted to bring his rivals into his control and to strengthen the foundation of his power.²⁵⁾

In addition, another feature of this novel was in the fact that it criticized the tendency of blind foreigner-imitation through the discourse of nationalism. Of course, this novel described Soviet Union positively. There were two example stories. One was about the heroic activities of a boy Keum Cheol who wanted to be a hero like the Soviet Union boy 'Nikkida', hearing of his heroic struggle and the other was about the Soviet Union's mechanization that improved production and the laborers' lives while the industrialization of Western capitalist countries expedites increase of unemployment and poverty. However, this novel emphasized not to forget the greatness of national tradition even if they received the excellent sides of Soviet Union. The novel emphasizes the necessity of patriotism and national identity as follows.

It is necessary that you raise people who not only love our nation but also work for her. [omission] However, we are likely to take off even our own pants because we too much love them when we learn something from others. We are just likely to dance holding others' red tab on our shoulders. That is also necessary, but we should be able to dance our own dance first. (Vo. 6. Issue #4, p. 50)

The one of characters in the novel, "General Kim Il Sung" accentuated that "the culture of Josun should be made by Josun people and even if we have to learn from others, our own bowls should be ready to receive others." Mentioning the reason that the shooting skills and combat training of Children Revolutionary Corps were so excellent was not in a coincidence because they are originated from the tradition of Josun people, he emphasized excellency of

Josun people and national tradition through the stories of national heroes such as General Ul Zi Mun Duk, Kang Gam Chan, and Lee Soon Shin.

Anyway, this novel strengthened North Korean way of nationalism through inspiring North Koreans with patriotism and national consciousness building the national heroic image of Kim Il Sung using Japanese colonization and partisan struggle as material of the novel. By the way, that this novel put the emphasis on the national identity criticizing the attitude blindly following Soviet Union was closely associated with the fact that Kim Il Sung purged his rivals and consolidated his regime paying more attention on the political struggle trusting the warfare to Feong Du Hway when the Chinese army came into the Korean Peninsula due to the U.S.A's involvement in the war. There was the reason in that North Korean discourse of nationalism was developed later into Self-reliance Ideology (Chuchesasang) that was contributed enormously to consolidate Kim Il Sung's one person dictatorship.²⁶⁾

IV. Conclusion

This paper intended to find the specific features between South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War invoking the theory of post-colonialism that explained the power relationship produced between one culture and the other and the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. For the purpose, this paper made a plan to find how racism and nationalism have been represented in the South and North Korean novels published during the war and what the meaning of it is.

In the works of the post-colonialism in the 3rd countries, the racism has been dealt with the issues of discrimination caused by difference of skin color, but in the case of South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War, rather than the skin color issues, the racism has been developed in a different way in relation to whether the characters were belonging to allies or hostile countries. As the reason, it could be said that the situation of war might control strongly the South and North Korean authors' creativity. This controlling seemed to be much stronger in North Korea than in South Korea.

Even in the issue of nationalism, South and North Korean novels published during the Korean War revealed huge difference, but there was still similarity in that they had a tendency to exclude the other who was hostile and heterogeneous. In other words, South and North Korean novels during the Korean War had the first purpose in acquiring the war potential functioning as the means of spreading ideology to amplify hostility against enemies. However, ultimately both South and North Korea strengthened their regimes through the nationalism discourse that excluded heterogeneous elements out of their nations. Accordingly, the nationalism discourse of South and North Korea was assumed to contribute to the fixation of division, working in the deeper layers than just political ideology.

For the further discussion, I have a plan to examine how South and North Korean novels present about the racism and the nationalism after the Korean War and how they are related to the contemporary situation. This study will be meaningful in that it may prove the hypothesis that the nationalism discourse of South and North Korea that has been strengthened through excluding heterogeneous elements has contributed enormously to the fixation of division.

- 1) This term has been used in a various way like '6· 25', '6· 25 incident', 'The Korean War', and 'Fatherland Liberation War', but this paper will use the term, 'The Korean War', which is internationally in common use.
- 2) Choi Jang Jip, "One Understanding of The Korean War," *The Study of Korean War* (Taearm, 1990), p. 352.
- 3) The postcolonialism is admitted as one of the most interesting and challengeable areas of study that has been appeared recently. However, 'postcolonialism' is not easy to be defined

with a word because there are various theories under the name, postcolonialism. Postcolonialism is not only involved in various fields but its interpretation is also revealing differences among the scholars. Through reviewing the terminology problem of it, McLeod explains that the term 'Post-colonialism' is appropriate to mean a specific period of history or time. So the term 'postcolonialism' is used not just in terms of strict historical periodization, but as referring to disparate forms of representations, reading practices and values. This paper also use the term 'postcolonialism' in the same sense. John McLeod, Jongseong Park et al. Edited Trans, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Hanwool, 2003), p. 13. ,

- 4) Douglas Robinson, Jeong Hye Wook Trans, *Translation and Empire-postcolonial Theories Explained* (Dongmunseon, 2002), pp. 25-31.
- 5) In the postcolonialism, the national myth functioned as the main power to unify nations that resisted against colonialism, but it was possible only ignoring the variety of members of a nation derived from the difference of gender, race, religion, and culture. Because of this matter, it was pointed that many postcolonial nations underwent the painful experience watching over the progress of changing from the nationalism of liberty to the nationalism of oppressing. John McLeod, from the previous book, p. 109.
- 6) As the concept to be used to raise identity among individual people and unity of common points, it is said that race prefers biological features as an evidence of identity among individual people, while ethnicity is likely to use a broader standard than this. Particularly, it is said that the nationalism of postcolonial nations builds an imaginary community unified according to the concept. p. 119 on the previous book. On the other hand, Anderson explains that nationalism is a sculpture of a specific culture and the reason why it brings a deep attachment to people. Benedict Adnerson, Yun Hyung Sook Trans, *Imagined Communities* (Nanam Press, 2003), pp. 11-261 Reference.
- 7) During the war, the women who sold sex to foreigners were called as Maechunbu, Yanggongju, UN Madam, and Yanggalbo. How much serious the problem of prostitution during the war is confirmed in the novel <Youngwonhee Saneun Geot (To live forever)> (Baekyungsa, 1952, p. 257), which reads, " it is said that whatever houses you go, they are full of yanggalboes and the number of them are more than eight hundred. Haeundae was famous for the hot spring and the beach, but it has been newly famous for the town of Yanggalbo after the war." The women who sell sex to American soldiers appear also in the novel <Aejeongeui Gyegok(Valley of Affection)> by Park Young Jun (Samsungsa, 1953), and <Jeoryu(Low Flow)> by Choi In Wook([Jayusegye] 5, Aug. 1952).
- 8) You Ju Hyun, <Weather Maps> ([Jeonseonmunhark] 4, April 1953), p. 97.
- 9) John McLeod, from the previous book, p. 127.
- 10) In this sense, it is assumed that the nationalism discourse during the Korean War strengthened the value system of patriarchy through criticizing the sagging patriarchal system in society. In the Western case, the western nationalism that was a transmitted historical accumulation and an artificial formation was in a way an internalization of the naturally transmitted patriarchy in terms of the relation method with gender and at the same time it was a process of active settlement of gender discrimination through the medium of western bourgeoisie. Accordingly the western nationalism put the gender in a hierarchy by the aid of the discourse penetrating the bourgeoisie and it was also said that the nation-state that was worshipping the nationalism also functioned as a machine that discriminated women. Cheong Hyun Baik, *Nation and Feminism* (Dangdai, 2003), p.21.
- 11) Park Yeon Hee, < Sonyeongwa Maeriraneun Gae(A boy and a dog named [Merry])> (Munhwasegye, July 1953), p. 153.
- 12) By the way, <Beomseoneui Gil(The way to the Ship)> by Lee Moo Young was distinguished from other works in the point that one came to reunification with one's separated family after vicissitudes of life.

- 13) After this, I use all the works by Han Seol Ya as the text collected in <<The Collection of Han Seol Ya>> (Josunjakgadongmaengchulpansa, 1960). So I will put only the page number of the book in case of quotation.
- 14) This work appeared at first in [Rodongshinmun] (April 23-29, 1952), but later it was published as completed volume as a trilogy (Volume 1 <Daedong River>, Volume 2 (Liberation Tower), and Volume 3 (Ryongark Mountain) (Josunjakgadongmaengchulpansa, June 10, 1955). This paper used this volume as the text and put only the page number of it in the case of quotation. Refer to the book, The Study Group of Literature and Ideology Edit., Rethinking of Hanseolya Literature (Somyung Press, 2000).
- 15) <<The Collection of Han Seol Ya>> (Josunjakgadongmaengchulpansa, 1960), p. 391.
- 16) Kim Seon Ryeo, Lee Keun Sil, Jeong Myeong Ok, The History of Josun Literature (Kwahakbaikgwajonghapchulpansa, 1994), p. 147.
- 17) Schematization and monotone of North Korean novels during the war may be related to The Theory of None-conflict. Refer to Shin Hyung Ki and Oh Seong Ho, The History of North Korean Literature (Pyeongminsa, 2000), pp. 135-137.
- 18) Robinson points out the problem of description of Korean history in that it describes a piece of universality as if it was caused by national patriotism which was not fit with the reality of the time of colonization. That is to say, he argues that many studies about the Korean Independence movement have been influenced by the ideological stand-off between South and North Korea that was divided into two and has insisted its orthodoxy. Therefore, the history of the independence movement has a tendency of application of dichotomy like Nationalism and Communism. (M. Robinson, Minhwan Kim Trans, Cultural Nationalism under Japanese Colonial, Nanam, 1990, p. 250) However, nationalism cannot be the opposite meaning of Communism and it should be understood as a developed concept in each cultural system of South and North Korea in a different dimension from the political ideology called left and right wings.
- 19) Douglas Robinson divides the history of Indian Orientalism into three stages like Orientalism, Nationalism and Postcolonialism. According to him, the viewpoints of Nationalism historians are outstandingly similar with the epic of the orientalism that they wants to destroy. After all, he reaches the conclusion that the stage of nationalism is the stage that the Orientalism myth perpetuates. Douglas Robinson, from the previous book, pp. 32-33.
- 20) Commonly, it is said that Nationalism creates an ideology to pay a compliment to or to emphasize a nation as an excellent aggregate and the ideology intends to restore independence and political autonomy to make the right central point for the national loyalty, and it can be used as the basis of political platform set up to strengthen or maintain the present state even through creating a new political entity. M. Robinson, Kim Min Hwan Trans, Cultural Nationalism under Japanese Colonial (Nanam, 1990), p. 28.
- 21) <<To Live Forever>> ([Hankookmunharkjeonjip] 26, Minjungseokwan, 1976), p. 17.
- 22) It is not clear when this work was published whether it was 1951 or 1953. It was known that the work was published as a separate volume from the Press named 'Munyeonsa', but the original work has not been found so that this paper uses the text from <<Lee Moo Young Collection of Masterpieces 1>> (shingumunhwasa, 1975).
- 23) The negative descriptions of South Korean Soldiers could be found even from the novels <Kkul(Honey)> by Kim Nam Cheon ([Munhakyeseul] vol. 4 issue #1, April 1951), <Gigwansa(The Engineman)> by Choi Myung Ik ([Munhakyeseul] vol.4 issue # 2. May 1995), and <Anhae(Wife)> by Hwang Gun ([Munhakyeseul] vol.4 issue #6 September 1951).
- 24) Seo Dae Suk criticizes that North Koreans have rather damaged on Kim Il Sung's achievement through exaggerating Kim Il Sung's career of struggle and distorting Kim Il Sung's armed struggle as the whole story of Josun Independence movement because actually Kim Il Sung's Armed struggle against Japan was great even if they describes just as it was.

The content of this novel that attempted to show Kim Il Sung's Heroic aspect has also the similar tendency. Seo Dae Suk, *Modern Leader of North Korea* (Ulyumunhwasa, 2001), pp. 23-52.

- 25) Kim Il Sung considers Soviet Union as the suzerain state of the socialism camp and has worshiped her as the most advanced country in the ideological view, science, culture, military and all fields, but he came to have a thought against Soviet Union but friendly to China during the Korean War. Accordingly, the nationalism discourse in this work reflects the relationship with Soviet Union that has been changed during the Korean War. Refer to the previous book about the in-detail explanation of Kim Il Sung's Self-Reliance Ideology and Nationalism, pp. 138-145.

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Descriptive Study of Honorific Use In Korean E-mail Discourse

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Abstract

My study examines how Korean culture affects Korean language use in terms of age difference in a corpus of computer-mediated discourse in e-mails. In general, Koreans' worldview acknowledges an inherent hierarchy with regard to age, and considers [+age] as relating socially to [+power]. When younger Koreans write e-mails to older recipients, they express different morpho-syntactic patterns involving personal pronouns, address-reference terms, nouns, predicates, particles, and subject- and addressee-honorific suffixes. Unlike the case with English speakers, younger Korean addressers frequently perceive cultural pressure to use deferential linguistic features when communicating with an older addressee. This phenomenon is demonstrated through this experimental study. The main task of the experiment was to examine the way through which the concept of age is reflected by Korean honorific linguistic system. I asked 15 Korean native speakers between the ages of 20 to 25 to write emails expressing an impositive request to [+age (46-50 years old)], [-age (below 25 years old)] and [=age] recipients. The results show significant differences in the use of grammatical features in emails written to [+age] recipients, as compared to emails written to [-age] and [=age] recipients.

Introduction

This study will discuss the relationship between Korean cultural and linguistic phenomena as shown in a computer mediated discourse (CMD), e-mail, where primarily spoken forms of language are used to accomplish conversational communication in the absence of direct physical and contextual signs such as facial expressions or gestures. Studies of CMD constitute a relatively new field, and e-mail is one of the venues that have been actively studied only in recent years (Bjørge, 2007; Graham, 2007; Hatipoğlu, 2007; Chen, 2006). E-mail discourse provides a good data source to see both written and spoken cultural behaviors at the same time (Bjørge, 2007). E-mail discourse is engaged in by a great number of users in a huge worldwide network (Crystal, 2005, 2001, 1997). Examining e-mail discourse within the scope of different linguistic and cultural traditions provides a means to explore communication patterns that demonstrate diverse cultural thought patterns and linguistic patterns in use.

Research Questions

E-mail discourse is expressed in written form according to the nature of spoken language, so it can be a good source for researchers to study cultural features in language. Indeed, researchers (Bjørge, 2007; Chen, 2006) have found important cultural factors in language and language use in studies of e-mail discourse. This study focuses on the discussion of lexical and grammatical features of Korean language use in a corpus of e-mails written in Korean with the following research questions: (1) Is Korean honorific culture connected to the use of Korean language based on [\pm age] complex in Korean e-mail discourse? (2) If so, do the results of the

current experiment support the assumption that Koreans' usage of Korean honorifics are significantly related to each other according to [\pm age] difference?

Language and Culture

Culture exists in a close relationship with language, in that culture helps the users of a language govern and define the conditions and circumstances under which various messages may or may not be sent, noticed, or interpreted; indeed, cultural patterns and customs are sometimes explicitly encoded in a language (Scollon, 2001; Gumperz, 1996; Sherzer, 1987; Hymes, 1974). In the examination of the distinctive cultural behaviors of Korean language users, the present study brings out Koreans' honorific culture honoring the older people by the younger people, which I argue is a key to Korean culture, encoded in Korean language and reflected in Korean's use of language. In other words, Koreans' use of language shows a peculiar behavior when it is used toward a [+power] person by a [-power] person.

Ageism in Korean Culture

Although, in the individualist's view, Koreans' changing linguistic forms according to age differences of recipients may be considered as an unnecessary social behavior, it is an important social performance to keep their society harmonious in their belief. For example, English speakers also consider the hearers' age in their conversation, but these considerations are very differently demonstrated in their grammar and lexicon from those of Korean speakers. Koreans show grammatical and lexical change in their language use according to different [\pm age] recipients, considering [+age] as social power among the interlocutors, in more highly nuanced ways than available to English speakers. Thus, this present study shows that Korean honorification culture is embedded in verbal communication across various social relationships on [\pm age] differences among Korean interlocutors, especially in linguistic feature use. In their using honorifics, Koreans need to find proper linguistic forms of expression according to the age-related social statuses of their interlocutors. Therefore, when they use the chosen forms, the cultural values behind those forms are revealed.

Anderson (2003) claims that Korean culture is generally more collectivistic and less individualistic than American cultures. People in collectivistic cultures are likely to live together as a large family unit or tribe, whereas people in individualistic cultures tend to live alone or in smaller groups such as the nuclear family. Group decisions are not as important as personal judgments in the U.S., while the opposite is true in Korea. Specifically, Korean collectivism has been nurtured by Confucianism - the teaching of Confucius, who stressed the importance of social harmony through hierarchical social relationships. For that reason, Korean juniors are encouraged to show respect towards their seniors. When the junior interlocutor does speak to the senior, the speech that the junior uses should contain honorifics which linguistically encode Koreans' socio-cultural structures. For more than 2000 years after Confucius' teaching, many Koreans have continued to believe that their social world is hierarchical; this belief constitutes an important aspect of their culture which is reflected in their language. Korean language encodes social structure through honorifics, and Koreans habitually use honorific expressions reflecting their habitual thoughts about social power, especially relative "age".

It is always important for Koreans to know first who is older among interlocutors or people discussed in a topic. The appropriate linguistic forms must be chosen according to the hierarchy. On the other hand, it is not so important to know

who is older among siblings in English speaking culture. English speakers do not encode “age” of interlocutors or people, unless age is itself a topic of conversation. This entrenched, hierarchical social relationship is reflected in Korean linguistic patterns that feature a complex honorific system that reinforces a normative type of politeness – a sort of a socio-cultural indexing. Korean normative politeness can be expressed with grammatically and lexically encoded forms, honorifics, which are lexico-grammatical patterns that encode relations between the speaker and the addressed recipient.

Linguistic Patterns of Honorifics

Korean personal pronouns encode traditional Korean social hierarchy (Sohn, 2001). For example, there are two different first person pronouns in Korean: *cher/chey* and *nah/nae*. Both of them mean “I” in English, but the former *cher/chey* is to be used by a younger person to an older person to be polite. The latter *nah/nae* is mostly used by an older person to a younger person. However, the latter case is a little bit more complicated than the former because it can also be used among equal-aged interlocutors and by a younger person to an older person in a close relationship or a younger person to an enemy in an extremely distant relationship.

Korean second-person pronominal forms are more complicated than the first-person forms. For example, *erusin* (an elder) can be used to address an elderly person, while *nuh* (you) can be used plainly to a much younger person. There are four second person pronouns (e.g. *nuh/ney*, *dangshin*, *chaney*, and *chaki*), but none of them are used in addressing an elder. The address form, *erusin* (elder), is not originally a pronoun but a noun, although it is now used as a pronoun. One of the salient features of Korean second-person pronouns is that there is no appropriate pronominal form for a recipient who is older than the speaker. In such cases, pronouns are frequently replaced by other Noun Phrases (nominal substitutes) such as kinship terms, including *samchon* (uncle), *halmuhni* (grandmother), and *ahburchi* (father), or professional titles such as *seonsaeng-nim* (honorable teacher), *sachang-nim* (honorable company boss), and *koyswu-nim* (honorable professor). Therefore, speakers of Korean must be very careful in using honorifics so as not to be rude, especially to any elders and older hearers.

Korean honorifics also include a set of hierarchical address-reference terms which should be sensitively chosen and used according to differences in age and/or social status between the speaker and the addressed recipients and/or referents, as seen in Table 1. To address a professor or a father honorably, Koreans have to call him *kyoswunim* (honorable professor) or *ahburnim* (honorable father). These terms comprise the general title *kyoswu* (professor) or kinship term *ahburgi* (father) + the highest honorific title, *-nim*, which means honorable. A lower honorific for a teacher is *seonsaeng* (teacher) and, for a father, *ahburgi* (father); these eliminate the highest honorific title *-nim*. Surname *Lee* + Professional title like *parksa* (Ph.D) is a less exalted honorific expression than the previous expressions. In this case, the speaker may be an older person than the recipient or around the same age as the addressee. Stepping down to the next level of honorific address is the use of a person’s full name *Hyunwook Kim*+the second-level honorific title *-ssi* (Mr.–although even the English honorific titles, Mr./Mrs./Ms., are not hierarchical, indicating instead gender roles and marital status). Below this is Surname *Kim*+the third-level honorific title *kwun* or *yang*, for which there is no obvious English equivalent. Less honoring still is Surname *Kim*+Given name *Hyunwook*. The least honoring expression is Given name *Hyunwook*+plain vocative particle *-a/ya*, which does not have an English counterpart.

Speakers must select among these hierarchical expressions, taking into consideration the age and social status of both the speaker and the recipient. As seen in Table 1 below, when the level of honor goes up, the apparent age or social power of the speaker, as reflected in language, goes down. According to the speaker's choice, the recipient can engage the same habitual system to determine whether he or she has been honored or dishonored by the speaker, regardless of the speakers' real thoughts.

Table 1. Korean Hierarchical Address-reference Terms¹

Level 1: General/Kinship Title + the highest honorific title <i>-nim</i> Ex) <i>kyoswunim</i> (an honorable professor) and <i>ahburnim</i> (an honorable father)
Level 2: General/Kinship Title Ex) <i>seonsaeng</i> (teacher) and <i>ahburgi</i> (father)
Level 3: Surname + Professional title Ex) Surname <i>Lee</i> + Professional title like <i>parksa</i> (Ph.D)
Level 4: Full name + the second-level honorific title Ex) Full name <i>Hyunwook Kim</i> + the second-level honorific title <i>-ssi</i> (Mr.)
Level 5: Surname + the third-level honorific title Ex) Surname <i>Kim</i> + the third-level honorific title <i>kwun</i> or <i>yang</i>
Level 6: Surname + Given name Ex) Surname <i>Kim</i> + Given name <i>Hyunwook</i> .
Level 7: Given name + plain vocative particle Ex) Given name <i>Hyunwook</i> + plain vocative particle <i>-a/ya</i>

Certain Korean nouns, predicates (verbs), and particles also have variants that can be used to show deference toward [+age] people by [-age] people as well as to show the humility of the speaker. Although those honorific nouns, predicates, and particles exist only in a limited set, they are used regularly in communication between younger people and older people in Korea. In addition, Korean has a very productive suffixal device for subject honorification that appears right after a predicate stem. The two main bodies of Korean honorifics consist of addressee honorifics (the perspective of the speaker/writer toward the addressee) and referent honorifics (the perspective of the speaker/writer toward the referent). Addressee honorifics are usually marked in the address term and predicate suffixes. Referent honorifics can be divided into subject, object, and oblique features such as dative, locative, goal, and source honorifics. The nominals that function grammatically as subject, object, and oblique can have deferential forms that generate deferential predicates. Along with the levels of address reference terms, Korean has various speech levels of subject and addressee honorification in relation to the predicates. The representative speech levels are “plain,” “intimate,” “polite,” and “deferential,” arranged from the lowest to the highest level of the addressee or subject honorification as seen in 1) below.

1) Declarative Sentence:

Plain:	Nah-nun	chumsim	murknun- <i>da</i> .
	I-NOM	lunch	eat-RE.
	I eat lunch.		

¹ Refer to the abbreviation terms at the Appendix A before the reference in this paper.

Intimate:	Nah-nun I-NOM	chumsim lunch	murk- <i>a</i> . eat-IE. I eat lunch.
Polite:	Cher-nun I-HFPP-NOM	chumsim lunch	murka- <i>yo</i> . eat-PE. I eat lunch.
Deferential:	Cher-nun I-HFPP-NOM	chumsim lunch	murksu- <i>pni</i> -da. eat-AHSF-DE. I eat lunch.

As seen in 1), a Korean declarative sentence can convey four different messages and meanings through four different speech levels that can be constructed by using four different declarative enders: regular plain ender (RE), intimate ender (IE), polite ender (PE), and deferential ender (DE). The regular plain form can be used to a person younger than or junior to the speaker, indirectly meaning that the speaker is [+age] to the addressee or may be in a [-distance] relationship with the addressee. The intimate form of ender is good to use toward an equal-aged person or younger friend. In [-distance] relationship, it is often found that a [-age] person uses this intimate form even to a [+age] addressee as an in-group member who has a kinship relationship. Unlike the deferential ender, the polite ender is used to imply that although the speaker does not give deference toward the addressee, the speaker is polite toward the addressee, revealing the message that the speaker perceives relatively more [-distance] relationship than when s/he uses the deferential ender.

The verb *murkda* (eat or have) is a plain predicate appropriately directed toward a younger recipient, which should be changed into the corresponding deferential predicate like *chapsw-usi-pni-da* toward an older recipient as seen in 2) below. It is interesting that many Koreans habitually add the honorific suffixes *-(u)si* and *-p(ni)* into the deferential predicate *chapswusda*, which does not require any affixes because the verb itself already has honor meaning. But through inserting the suffixes *-(u)si* and/or *-p(ni)* the verb can indicate even greater respect toward a subject or an addressee. Thus, these honorific suffixes *-(u)si* and *-p(ni)* are powerful. Any plain verb can be made deferential by inserting honorific suffixes associated with the addressee or the subject that the speaker wants to honor.

- 2) Kyoswu-*nim*, ahburnim-kkeseo chinchi chapsw-*usi-pni*-da.
 Professor-HTa, father-HTa-HNOM meal-HN eat-HPre-S&AHSF-DE.
 Professor, my father is having a meal.

Like number agreement in English, Korean has honorific agreement which is a system of using the honorific suffixes *-(u)si* and/or *-p(ni)* in relation to their triggers (Sohn, 2001). For example, as in 2) above, these suffixes must be attached to the predicate if the subject or addressee of the predicate is a person who deserves the speaker's deference. This is illustrated through the subject *ahburnim* (father) and the addressee *kyoswu-nim* (professor) in 2) - when these persons are honored by the speaker, the suffixes *-(u)si* and *-(su)pni* should be inserted in the plain predicate form, *chapswuda* (eat or have) without omission. Unlike the subject honorific suffix *-(su)pni*, the addressee honorific suffix *-(u)si* can be replaced by a polite form of predicate like *chapswuseyyo* where *-(su)pni-* is somewhat reshaped into *sey*.

Concurrently, the ender of the sentence is transformed into a deferential form like -*usipnida* in 2) from the plain predicate ender form -*da*.

When a speaker of Korean uses honorific markers in his/her speech to a recipient who is older than the speaker, the speaker shows honor to the recipient by honorific. Thus, Korean speakers habitually and unconsciously use these honorifics with the assumption that all people in the world share the same ideas. Although the honorific system is complex, Korean speakers and recipients are accustomed to automatically considering aspects such as relative [\pm age] and/or [\pm power]. When an older recipient does not hear the level of honorific expression that s/he expects, there can be a conflict with a younger speaker because the older recipient perceives that s/he is not respected by the younger speaker. It is often very serious.

Thus, given the cultural relations cultivated within a collectivist social background, Koreans, especially younger persons, have developed a peculiar communication style, honorification, in their lexico-grammatical use. Specifically, this tendency or pattern of communication has generated a unique Korean communication culture. Consequently, this study will discuss the Korean honorific culture that indicates Koreans' thoughts about age as reflected in Koreans' linguistic features in terms of [\pm age] relationship, which may or may not be found in those of speakers of other languages. The venue of this discussion will be on the Korean e-mail discourse in status-unequal and status-equal sender and receiver relations.

E-mail Communication and Culture

Since internet communication is modern and originated in the west, we might expect that Korean internet communication would not exhibit distinctive and intricate aspects of Korean language and culture, especially grammar, such as its honorifics system. According to the case study that Chen (2006) has done, an L2 (Second Language) English learner has to struggle to overcome L1 (First language) cultural influence until s/he acquires a proper level of L2 e-mail communication, especially with [\pm age] and/or [\pm power] people such as her professor. As an Asian, the L2 English learner revealed several pragmatic problems such as unclear and delayed purpose statements with many irrelevant details. One of the conclusions that Chen (2006) made is that the development of the L2 learner's language use in e-mails with a status-unequal person takes a long time because it is neither an easy nor a simple process.

Bjørge (2007) studied the level of formality shown in the e-mails that international students sent to academic staff. She argues that factors such as age and position of authority come into play in e-mail discourses. The starting point of her study is to revisit Hofstede's previous empirical study of national average scores concerning attitudes towards asymmetry of power (2001). Hofstede's concept of power distance (PD) is "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally," and particularly, the extent to which older people are respected and even feared by younger people in a high PD culture (2001, p. 98). Hofstede (2001) relates his PD dimension to educational systems. According to him, high PD educational situations demonstrate a teacher-centered mode where a teacher is not criticized by students. In contrast, in low PD educational situations, teacher-student relationships approach equality, such that the teacher can be challenged by students at any time. Bjørge (2007) applies the theory of PD dimension into her study to explain linguistic behaviors shown in e-mails written by members of these two kinds of cultural groups.

Specifically, Bjørge (2007) examines the forms of address and complimentary closes used in English e-mails by international students at the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration. According to her classification of low and high PD countries, the US belongs to low PD culture, whereas Korea is a high PD culture. She compares and contrasts levels of formality/informality between those two different cultural groups. In terms of the range of formality and informality, she considers Dear+Honorific/Title+Surname, or Dear Sir/Madam as formal and Hi (+First Name) or First Name only as informal while Dear+First Name is neutral. The results show that students from high PD culture are considerably more likely to include a formal greeting than those from low PD cultures. In choice of formal greeting, Korean students show formality 100% of the time, while US students show it only 58% of the time. The results of the complimentary close in the formal/conventional to informal/personal range are similar. Korean students show formality 100% of the time once again, while the US students show it 33% of the time. Bjørge's (2007) conclusion is that there is considerable variation when it comes to the choice of greetings and closings in e-mail discourses among these two different cultural groups. Bjørge's study (2007) has an interesting finding, namely, that there is a cultural factor that causes speakers to use language differently, especially when that language is English.

However, her study does not explain clearly why and how the cultures of non-native English speakers can cause them to use English differently than English native speakers. For example, except for the explanation that Korean language belongs to High PD culture, she does not discuss how High PD culture affects the way that the Korean e-mailers think and how their different thought processes affect their different use of Korean language in email correspondence. Her study is about Koreans' use of English, not Koreans' use of Korean in e-mail discourse. Moreover, because her study is confined to only the choice of greeting and closing in e-mail discourse, it is too narrow and partial to provide a full picture of the relationship between cultural patterns and linguistic patterns. This present study moves forward from Bjørge while attending to her suggestions for further research, especially the age factor that has a huge influence on Korean culture and linguistic property; that Korean language use depends on social and cultural context, and that Korean culture is embedded in particular instances of use, as shown when e-mail senders and receivers are involved in an unequal-status communication.

Method

The main task of this study was to deal with Korean's honoring cultural behavior. I assumed that Korean honorification is culturally embedded in Koreans' use of linguistic forms, reflecting their concept of [+age] as [+power] as displayed in the delicate and complex honorific system. The connections between age, human relationships, and language use were assumed to be handled by Koreans' cultural habits in their daily life. To illustrate this, I undertook an experiment to examine the close relationship between language use and cultural view. This experiment elicited maximum and minimum levels of Korean honorification in the linguistic patterns because the sender would experience cultural pressure in two ways: the normative cultural pressure that came from writing an e-mail to a [+age] and/or [+power] person like a senior professor, and the face-threatening task of the message – making a request. On the other hand, the minimum cultural pressure case would be seen in the e-mails sent to close, younger friends. When the age of a requestee is younger, the Korean senders might perceive much less pressure to use honorification than when

addressing an older person. The hypothesis underlying the experiment was that we would find mechanisms of Korean language use in the e-mail messages that would reveal the close relationship between Koreans' hierarchical socio-cultural system and their choice of language use in e-mails.

Data Collection

For the experiment, variables were manipulated to be the same for all participants. The task assigned to all participants was to write an e-mail in Korean to [\pm age] recipients. Fifteen Korean e-mailers (9 females, 6 males) wrote a total of 45 e-mails. All 15 Korean participants were college students in the age range of 21-25 years old. They were asked to write three e-mails according to a written discourse completion test (DCT) with 3 different situations. The 3 different situations were controlled to examine the senders' language use towards 3 different status people: [$+$ age], [$=$ age], and [$-$ age] people, as follows.

Situation #1 – asking a senior professor for an extension	[$+$ age]
Situation #2 – asking a friend to come to a library with a class-note	[$=$ age]
Situation #3 – asking a younger friend for help in moving	[$-$ age]

One of the three situations involved a person of younger status asking someone of [$+$ age] status, one situation involved a person of equal status asking someone the same age [$=$ age], and the last situation involved an older person asking someone of a younger status. Note that all three senders in the three different situations were the same person; there were no replies for the senders' e-mails because the receiver was not a real person. I would examine how differently each person used his/her language towards those different aged receivers. The lexical and grammatical features reflecting Korean honorific culture in the e-mails were as follows: personal pronouns, address-reference terms, honorific nouns, honorific predicates, honorific particles, subject-and addressee-honorific affixes, polite ender *-yo*, deferential enders, plain enders, and abnormal enders. I expected that all Korean e-mails sent to [$+$ age] persons would show differences in lexical and grammatical levels from those sent to [$-$ age] or [$=$ age] persons.

The following is one of the three situations for which the participants were supposed to write an e-mail:

상황 #1: 황진웅박사님은 지금님께서 듣고 있는 강의를 담당하고 있는 교수님입니다. 그리고 다음 주까지 기말 페이퍼를 제출하여야 합니다. 그런데, 이번 주 도무지 페이퍼 쓸 시간이 없습니다. 어떻게든지 노(老)교수님을 잘 설득하여 페이퍼 제출 마감시간을 늘려야 하는 상황입니다. 그렇다면, 어떻게 부탁의 메시지를 담은 이메일을 쓸 수 있을까요?

Situation #1: Please, imagine that Dr. Walter Smith is a senior professor who gives a lecture in your class. You have a paper due in his class next week. However, you will be very busy this week and don't have any time to write it. You may really want to request an extension. So, you may have to write an e-mail to him right now. How do you request an extension through e-mail?

Results and Analysis

As we see below, Table 2 is based on situation #1, in which the senders of the e-mails were younger than the imaginary receivers. While the average sender's age was in the 21 to 25 age group, the imaginary receiver could be assumed to be over 40, because the prompt suggested that senders consider the recipient a "senior professor."

The situation is that the [-age] student senders had to request an extension of their paper due date from the [+age] professor. Therefore, the results of situation #1 below will demonstrate that a [-age] person may express cultural pressure toward a [+age] person.

Table 2

Situation 1: asking a senior professor for an extension [+age]

<i>Linguistic Features</i>	F	%
personal pronoun		
First person pronoun		
humble form : Cher/chey (I)	13	87
plain form : Nah/Nae (I)	0	0
Omission	2	13
Second person pronoun:		
Plain form; Nuh/Ney (you)	0	0
Replacement by GT/PT + HTa (you)	15	100
Address-reference term		
Formal: (Dear) + GT + FN/SN	0	0
FN + GT/PT + HTa:	6	40
PT + HTa (Kyoswu-nim [hon. professor])	9	60
GT + HTa (Paksa-nim [hon. Dr.])	0	0
Informal: Hey + GT + FN/SN	0	0
Honorific Nouns:	15	100
Honorific Predicates:	15	100
durida (give)	9	60
cheychulhada(submit)	6	40
Honorific Particles:		
kkey (dative/locative/goal)	8	53
kkeseo (nominative)	7	47
both	5	33
omission of both	5	33
subject-and addressee-honorific affixes		
subject honorific suffix <i>-(u)si</i> (<i>sy or sey</i>)	15	100
addressee honorific suffix <i>-(su)p</i>	15	100
both	15	100
polite ender -yo.	11	73
Deferential enders:		
<i>-(su)pnida, -(su)pnikka?, -sipsio, -(u)sipsida</i>	15	100

F: Frequency; %: percentage

As seen in the **personal pronoun** section in Table 2, when the Korean senders made a request to a senior professor, they were under cultural pressure, choosing humble forms in their use of personal pronouns. Out of a total of 15 participants, 13 people used the humble forms of the **first person pronoun** (FPP), *cher/chey* (I), to the professor in their e-mails, which is 87%. None of the senders used the plain form of FPP to their professor, although there were 2 persons who did not use either the plain or humble form of FPP: 13%. However, none of them used even the plain form of **second person pronouns** (SPP) such as *nuh/ney* or *dangsin* (you): 0%. Instead of using SPP, the senders used a title such as *paksanim* (hon. Dr.) or Professional title (PT) *Kyoswunim* (hon. Professor): 100%. Many Koreans used this replacement of pronominal terms by other Noun Phrases (NP) for SPP habitually, not even consciously, because this behavior is a deeply rooted and ingrained cultural habit in Korean. Thus, Professional title (PT) + *-nim* is a typical Korean way of addressing a second person instead of using the SPP, *you*, as many Americans do, although Koreans have a diversified set of second person pronominal terms (e.g. *nuh/ney*, *chaney*, *chaki/dangshin*, and *gwiha*). In the Korean cultural environment, people think that the person who uses the plain form of SPP, *you*, is older or of a higher rank than the person who hears it. The addressee is often of a lower rank than the addresser. If Koreans do not want to offend the addressee, they must use the SPP very cautiously.

In the case of **Address-reference terms** (ART) used toward the senior professor, only 40% of the Korean senders used the name of the professor. However, they did not use only General Title (GT) or name alone (0%). When they used the name of the professor, it was the form of the full name plus General Title/Professional Title (GT/PT) plus the highest honorific title (HTa) *-nim*. They did not habitually drop the first level honorific title, *-nim*, which is like a suffix of GT/PT, as long as they had deference toward the professor. In contrast, 60% of Korean senders did not even use the name of the professor, addressing him as PT + *-nim* (*Kyoswunim*) without putting his name. This was specifically Korean behavior which contrasts with Americans who freely use their professors' names with GT/PT title. The Korean younger senders might choose to follow their home culture, knowing that the American way of addressing a professor can be used only among school colleagues or to a junior scholar by a senior scholar in an academic field in Korea.

Honorific nouns (HN) such as *choeysong* (apology), *durim* (giving), *malsseum* (words), *cheychul* (submission) were actively used among participants 100% of the time. The plain form of *choeysong* was *miyan*. Even though English has formal and informal words that express similar meanings, like *apology* and *sorry*, it is acceptable for a younger person to say *I am sorry* to an older person in the US. But in Korea, it is not appropriate for a younger college student to use *miyan* (sorry) or *miyan hada* (I am sorry) to a professor because it can imply that the speaker is not inferior to the hearer in a situation where the student is obviously younger or lower than the professor. The student risks being considered impolite and someone who does not have a cultural sense. Also, the word *choeysong* linguistically requires honorific affixes and enders on the predicate, while the word *miyan* is mostly followed by plain forms of sentence enders. This rule is not only controlled by grammar itself, but also by culture. The honorific noun, *Durim* (giving), is in the same vein. The formal word *durim* should be followed by honorific sentence enders, unlike its plain form *chum*. Many Sino-Korean words such as *choesong* (apology) or *cheychul* (submission) that are borrowed from ancient Chinese have been used primarily among educated or aristocratic people Koreans, while *durim* (giving) and

malsseum (words) are not borrowed words but originated in Korea to be used toward an older person by a younger person or toward a master by a lower class of people to connote deference.

The plain verb forms of HN *durim* (giving) and *cheychul* (submitting) that were used 100% of the time in the experiment were *chwuda* (give) and *neyda* (submit), respectively. However, when they were used by a younger student to address an older professor, their shape was changed into the Honorific predicate (HPre) *druida* and *cheychulhada* 100% of the time. The enders of the honorific verbs *druida* and *cheychulhada* were automatically changed into honorific enders through cultural pressure mechanism when the younger sender perceived the pressure toward the older addressee, as will be discussed below along with honorific affixes. In the usage of HPres, affixes, and enders, Korean demonstrates the complex honorific system ingrained in its language, a system that European languages, including English, do not have. In the case of a young student sending an e-mail to a senior professor in Table 2, **honorific particles** (HPar) appeared as either *kkey* (to), which was used for indication of a dative/locative/goal with deference, or *kkeseo*, which has no English counterpart to be used as nominative: 67% of the time. The plain forms of the HPar *kkeseo* are *un/nun/i/ka*. 10 out of 15 participants used either *kkey* or *kkeseo* in their e-mail, because there were 5 people who omitted both (33%). Even though there was 33% of omission of both, this did not mean that the senders failed to show deference towards the older professor. They just decided that those sentences did not need those honorific particles in their e-mails.

Even when the senders did not use HPars, all the sentences that the younger senders wrote in their e-mails contained **subject-and addressee-honorific affixes** (SAHA) to show deference to the older professor, as the senders were under pressure of culture that came from the age difference. In this way, the younger senders could save the older person's face and could keep harmony with the older receiver. As was expected, 100% of Korean e-mailers used the subject honorific suffix (SHSF) *-(u)si* (*sy or sey*), as in the following sentence: "Kyoswunim, yozoom kunkangeun urtter-*si*-nchi-yo?" (Professor, how is your health recently?). Also, the addressee honorific suffix (AHSF) *-(su)p(ni)-* was used by 100% of participants. For example, there was a sentence, "Kyoswunim, chung-yohan putaki itt-*supni*-da." (Professor, I have an important asking.) Along with SAHSes, all the e-mails written based on situation #1 had deferential enders (DE) that came after the SAHSes. Those DEs were as follows: *-(su)pnida* (declarative), *-(su)pnikka?* (interrogative), *-sipsio* (imperative) and *-(u)sipsida* (suggestive).

Interestingly, 73% of the younger e-mail senders chose the polite ender (PE), *-yo*, out of four representative speech levels - plain, intimate, polite, and deferential - along with the DE. Although they did not use any plain or intimate forms of sentence enders, they chose to use at least PEs which meant that the senders reduced the level of cultural pressure and showed that they were in a closer relationship with the receivers. 90% of all female participants in the study used PE, and 50% of all males in the study did this. This study has not found any other significant gender differences based on honorific usage, but the usage of the PE, *-yo*, showed a significant difference between female and male e-mail senders. It was assumed that the female students had a tendency to be friendly to the senior professor, using the PE, while the male students tried to keep distance from the professor, using mostly DE.

According to Dell Hymes (1972), languages are not functionally equivalent because the role of speech varies from one speech community to the next. As Deborah Tannen (2005) mentions, each person's individual style is a combination of

features learned through interaction with others (hence social) plus features developed differently in each culture. Perhaps the impression of individual style results from the unique combination and deployment of socio-culturally learned features in America or Korea.

The results of situation #2 showed many differences from those of situation #1 in the Korean e-mails. In other words, we can confirm the assumption that Koreans have cultural ideas about [+age] people that English speakers or others may not share. The way that Koreans sent e-mails to [+age] people and the way that Koreans sent e-mails to [=age or -age] people were different. When they sent e-mails to [+age] people, they behaved as if the [+age] person had social power, so the language that they used towards the [+age] person contained honorific markers, words, and forms that they put away when they sent e-mails to [-age] or [=age] people. This move implies that the writers perceived the younger or same aged receivers as powerless. As we have discussed throughout this study, Koreans have the cultural pressure when they send e-mails to [+age] people but they do not or do not want to have that stress when they send e-mails to [-age or =age] people. Therefore, when they sent e-mails to their same-aged friends, they wrote e-mails as if they were more powerful than their friends were by not perceiving cultural pressure.

In Table 3, where the situation involved a sender asking his or her equal-aged friend to come to a library with a class-note, I assumed that there would be a little bit of cultural pressure. But the level of cultural pressure would likely be much less than that of situation #1 (writing a request e-mail to a senior professor). The results are shown as follows.

Table 3

Situation 2: asking a friend to come to a library with a class-note [=age]

<i>Linguistic Feature</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>
Personal pronoun		
First person pronoun		
humble form : Cher/chey (I)	0	0
plain form : Nah/Nae (I)	15	100
<i>(table 6 con'd.)</i>		
Second person pronoun:		
Plain form; Nuh/Ney (you)	15	100
Replacement by GT/PT + HTa(you)	0	0
Address-reference term		
Formal: (Dear) + GN + (SN)	0	0
FN + GT/PT + HTa:	0	0
PT + HTa (Kyoswu-nim [hon. professor])	0	0
GT + HTa (Paksa-nim [hon. Dr.])	0	0
Informal: (Hey) + GT (friend) + a/ya	1	7
(Hey) + GN + (a/ya)	14	93
No address-reference term	0	0
Honorific Nouns:		
	0	0
Honorific Predicates:		
	0	0
durida (give)	0	0

cheychulhada(submit)	0	0
Honorific Particles:		
Honorific:		
kkey (dative/locative/goal)	0	0
kkeseo (nominative)	0	0
Plain:		
Eykey(seo)/Hantey (dative/locative/goal)	1	7
Un/nun/i/ka (nominative)	14	93
Both	1	7
None	1	7
subject-and addressee-honorific affixes		
subject honorific suffix <i>-(u)si (sy or sey)</i>	0	0
addressee honorific suffix <i>-(su)p</i>	0	0
Deferential enders:		
<i>-(su)pnida, -(su)pnikka?, -sipsio, -(u)sipsida</i>	0	0
polite ender -yo.	0	0
Regular plain enders:		
<i>-da -ni/-(nu)nya? -kera/ura -cha</i>	15	100
Abnormal plain enders:	15	100
Casual Contractions of word or phrase:	12	80

F: frequency; %: percentage

In this situation, there was a change of the first person pronoun into the plain form *nah/nae* 100% of the time. All 15 participants used the plain form of FPP as seen in Table 3. The usage of the SPP was also changed to *nuh/ney* in situation #2 by 100%, showing no replacement of GT/PT + HTa address form for the SPP.

In the ART section, the deferential formal address pattern, “dear + GN” was used by 0% among 15 participants. Rather, 7% of the e-mails showed the pattern, “Hey + GT(friend) + a/ya.” Overall in situation #2, 93% of participants used informal ARTs such as, “(Hey) +GN + (a/ya).” The vocative particle *-a/ya* was popularly used in the e-mails; it implied an intimate relationship between sender and receiver, whether among close friends or when an older person addressed a younger person in a friendly manner. But this form can also have condescending connotations, because someone who uses this vocative particle might be of a higher status. Therefore, this form might not be used toward strangers or toward older persons in Korea.

In situation #2, the e-mails did not show use of HNs (0%). There were a couple of cases of using Sino-Korean terms in these e-mails, but the senders did not show deference with them. As a result, no HPres were followed. There were also no HPars like *-kkey* or *-kkeseo* in the e-mails. In situation #2, we see that the senders did not show deference to equal aged receivers; the senders used plain particles like *-eykey(to)/hantey* (from) for dative/locative/goal or *-un/nun/i/ka* for nominative by 100%. The SAHAs were also absent in the e-mails and neither the DE or PE “-yo” appeared in any of the emails.

As we see in Table 3, plain enders were used in the e-mails sent to equal aged friends by 100%. These sentence enders imply a cultural message related to [\pm age] that Koreans may not share with other language speakers. The users of DEs in a Korean e-mail should not be older than the receivers; if they are, it may mean that the users want to give respect to the receiver regardless of age difference or because the sender does not know how old the receiver is. On the other hand, if a sender uses

plain enders, the sender's e-mail implies the extra non-verbal meaning that the exchange is free of cultural pressure, showing an intimate relationship with or condescending to the receiver regardless of age difference. It may, however, also imply that the sender is condescending to the receiver.

In addition, there were interesting findings in the e-mails' sign-offs in situation #2. There were abnormal plain enders by 100% and casually contracted forms of words or phrases by 80% in the e-mails that the senders sent to their equal-aged close friends. The abnormal plain enders ended sentences improperly or incompletely, for example using *-maliya*, *-haseo* or *-deun*. More than 20 different examples of abnormal enders (AE) were found in the e-mails written based on situation #2. These abnormal sign-offs were morphologically different from the plain enders, which were *-da* (declarative), *-ni/-(nu)nya?* (interrogative), *-kera/ura* (imperative), and *-cha* (suggestive), although the abnormal enders (AE) share the same meaning as these plain enders (PE). The use of these abnormal enders can mean more than just that the users perceive the exchange to be free from the pressure of [+age] complex cultural pressure. It implies, rather, more of either a condescending or an intimate attitude toward the younger or equal aged receivers. Koreans dare not use any of these abnormal enders to [+age] people unless they are purposely trying to anger the older receiver, because these enders are viewed as disrespectful in the Korean language use.

Also, there were many casual forms of contraction typically found in spoken language in the e-mails based on situation #2. They included the use of *-haenwatseo* instead of *haenouwatseo* (have done), *-hanundey* instead of *handa kureondey* (do but), and *-duluttsum* instead of *duluttsumyun* (if you listened to). Technically, this language use is ungrammatical. But their use in the emails does not mean that the senders are illiterate people who do not know the correct grammatical expression. Only when they sent their e-mails to equal-aged or younger persons did they choose these forms of expression, because they were released from the pressure of culture. None of the people who wrote these expressions to their equal aged friends wrote the same ways in their e-mails to older professors. This fact shows another aspect of language use in relation to Korean culture of honorification.

As we examine the results of Table 4, based on situation #3 where the senders wrote e-mails to ask a younger friend for help in moving, we see clear similarities among the results of situation #2 and situation #3. When older persons ask their younger friends for help, the older senders might also be constrained to use honorific expressions under only the pressure of imposition to the younger receivers. Nonetheless, according to the results of situation #3, the older senders did not change their lexico-grammatical forms of expression in a deferential way due to imposition, something that we saw to be true in the e-mails sent to equal aged interlocutors in situation #2. This means that even in the impositive situation of making a request, the honorific expression was not used to be polite or to reduce the degree of face threatening towards same aged or younger receivers in Korea. Korean Honorifics were normatively used between [+age] and [-age] people. Because of this hierarchical social system, it may be easier for an older person to ask a favor of a younger person than vice-versa in Korean society. The cultural pressure that comes from [+age] hierarchical social status is the main factor that elicits honorific expressions in Korea.

Table 4

Situation 3: asking a younger friend for help in moving [–age]

<i>Linguistic</i> Feature	F	%
Personal pronoun		
First person pronoun		
humble form : Cher/chey (I)	0	0
plain form : Nah/Nae (I)	13	87
Replacement by KT		
Nuna(elder sister)	5	33
Hyung (elder brother)	2	13
Second person pronoun:		
Plain form; Nuh/Ney (you)	14	93
Replacement by GT/PT + HTa (you)	0	0
Address-reference term		
Formal: (Dear) + GN + (SN)	0	0
FN + GT/PT + HTa:	0	0
PT + HTa (Kyoswu-nim [hon. professor])	0	0
GT + HTa (Paksa-nim [hon. Dr.])	0	0
Informal: (Hey) + GT (friend) + a/ya	0	0
(Hey) + GN + (a/ya)	14	93
No address-reference term	1	7
Honorific Nouns:	0	0
Honorific Predicates:	0	0
durida (give)	0	0
cheychulhada(submit)	0	0
Honorific Particles:		
Honorific:		
kkey (dative/locative/goal)	0	0
kkeseo (nominative)	0	0
Plain:		
Eykey(seo)/Hantey (dative/locative/goal)	3	20
Un/nun/i/ka (nominative)	14	93
Both	2	13
None of them	0	0
subject-and addressee-honorific affixes		
subject honorific suffix <i>–(u)si</i> (<i>sy or sey</i>)	0	0
addressee honorific suffix <i>–(su)p</i>	0	0
Deferential enders:		
<i>–(su)pnida</i> , <i>–(su)pnikka?</i> , <i>–sipsio</i> , <i>–(u)sipsida</i>	0	0
polite ender <i>–yo</i> .	0	0
Regular plain enders:		
<i>–da</i> <i>–ni/–(nu)nya?</i> <i>–kera/ura</i> <i>–cha</i>	13	87
Abnormal plain enders:	15	100
Casual Contractions of word or phrase:	13	87

F: frequency; %: percentage

First of all, the usage of FPP was similar in situations #2 and #3. *Nah/nae* (I) was used by 87% of the writers in situation #3. Thirteen out of 15 participants used the plain form of FPP. In addition, the interesting finding about FPP usage in situation #3 was that FPP was also replaced by NPs, such as Kinship Title (KT) like *nuna* (elder sister)/*hyung* (elder brother), just as SPP was replaced by NPs in Table 1 based on situation #1. Forty-six percent (46%) of 15 participants who directed e-mails to younger close friends used the NP replacement of FPP. The plain form of SPP *nuh/ney* (you) was still used by 93% in the e-mails based on situation #3. Even though only 7% of the e-mails in situation #3 dropped the pronoun, this does not mean that these senders showed deference to the younger receiver. However, avoiding the form could make their relationship softer and cushion the request.

None of the older senders used HNs, HPres, or HPars in Table 4 in their e-mails. But 20% of older senders used plain particles like *-eykey/hantey* (dative/locative/goal), and 93% used *-un/nun/i/ka* (nominative), and 13% used both. So the total number of particle users in Table 4 was actually 100%. We can assume that none of the older senders used the SAHAs along with DEs. However, regular plain enders were used by 87%, which means 13 out of 15 participants used regular plain enders, while abnormal plain enders were used by 100%, which means all of the older e-mailers used at least one abnormal plain ender in their e-mails sent to younger receivers. The casual contractions of words or phrases were used 87% of the time. None of the Koreans in situation #1 used either plain enders or abnormal enders; but in situations #2 and #3, the majority of the senders used either plain enders or abnormal enders by more than 80%. This result may show that Koreans who send e-mails to older people use honorifics under cultural pressure, while Koreans who send e-mails to younger or equal aged people rarely use honorifics when under less cultural pressure.

There are a number of conclusions to be drawn based on the preceding experiment. First, we find that the language use for situation #1 is extended and similar to standard written language, while the language use for situations #2 and #3 is simpler, shorter, and of relatively casual spoken variety. These findings were true among all the e-mails written based on the three different situations. Second, the e-mails to an older person from a younger person show various grammatical and lexical forms that reflect a close relationship between Korean language and culture. The younger senders are more likely to use honorifics in their e-mail correspondence with older receivers under the pressure of a hierarchical relationship, and this complex is reflected on their use of language. So, according to the results of the experiment, age difference among interlocutors can stimulate Koreans to use honorifics and push younger addressers to honor older addressees in their written e-mails. Even in a heavily impositive relationship between older and younger people, the level of imposition does not affect the older people's use of honorifics toward the younger people. Yet the honorifics are always used by the younger people toward the older people. In other words, only the cultural pressure that comes from [\pm age] complex triggers Koreans' use of honorifics.

Conclusion

This study examines a corpus of computer mediated discourse (i.e. e-mail) to explore how Korean honorific culture is reflected in Korean e-mail communication. In the experiment, this study documented and analyzed Korean e-mailers' linguistic indications of human relationships between [$+$ age] and [$-$ age] people. The results argue that Korean honorific culture, which reflects the hierarchical relationship

between [+age] and [-age] people, affects Korean language in use. This reflection of [+age] social hierarchies in language is also one of the things that makes Korean different from English. For the future study, it is suggested that along with [+power] relationship, how [+distance] relationship may affect on Korean language use in relation with the use of (dis)honorifics.

Appendix A: Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used to label the linguistic terms, especially for morphemes, employed in this study.

*: ungrammatical
 AHSF: addressee honorific suffix
 AE: abnormal ender
 ART: address-reference term
 CB: context building
 DE: deferential ender
 FN: full Name
 FPP: first person pronoun
 Future: future tense
 GN: given name
 GT: general title
 HC: high context culture
 HF: humble form
 HFPP: humble form of first person pronoun
 HN: honorific noun
 HNOM: honorific nominative particle
 hon.; honorable.
 HONSF: honorific suffix
 HPar: honorific particle
 HPre: honorific Predicate
 HSPP: humble form of second person pronoun
 HTa: the first level honorific title/particle
 HTb: the second level honorific title/particle
 HTc: the third level honorific title/particle
 IE: intimate ender
 KT: kinship term
 LC: low context culture
 N: *nunch'i*
 NA: not applicable
 NOM: nominative particle
 OBJ: objective particle
 Par: regular plain particle
 Past: past tense
 PE: polite ender
 PPar: possessive particle
 PT: professional or occupational title

RE: regular plain ender
 SFS: sharing fellowship stage
 SAHA: subject-and addressee-honorific affixes
 S&AHSF: subject and Address honorific Suffixes
 SHSF: subject honorific suffix
 SN: surname
 SPP: second person pronoun
 TC: topic change
 VPar: vocative particle

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Multiculturalism in South Korea

Prof. Dr. Jeong Min Lee

Abstract

South Korea has long been a homogeneous country, which has maintained its own language and culture with a strong pride in national identity. However, the number of multicultural families and foreigners is increasing in South Korea, matched with a rising xenophobia towards these groups. Especially, foreign wives and children from multicultural families are up against the dominant expectations of Korean family traditions, language, culture, education, and employment. Despite demographic changes in Korean society, many migrants, foreigners, or bi-ethnic children have experienced Koreans' xenophobia and racial discrimination. However, "Multiculturalism" does mean not only "other countries" or "other cultures," but also anything in the world, because each person is different in terms of age, gender, religion, hobby, lifestyle, way of thinking, etc. The misperception of "multiculturalism" in South Korea is becoming a big issue to be carefully considered at this moment.

Introduction

South Korea has long been a homogeneous country, which has maintained its own language and culture. However, a rapid increase in the number of migrants, such as foreign workers, immigrant brides, and international students, has been changing the demographics since 1990 (Choi, 2008; Kim, 2009). Kim (2009) projected the continuation of current demographic changes in Korea:

The presence of such a large number of migrant workers, along with a sizeable number of foreign brides and professional foreign workers, marks a significant departure from the proverbial image of Korea as an ethnically homogeneous society. Although the proportion of foreigners in Korea represents a little over 1 percent of the total population of 48 million as of the end of 2005, chances are...that the country will become a multiracial and multiethnic society in the near future. (p. 71)

According to recent statistics (Korea National Statistical Office, 2011), the total number of migrants at the end of 2010 was 1.2 million, which is 2.5 percent of the total population in South Korea. Among these migrants, the number of intermarriages has also increased continuously from 5,534 in 1992 to 33,300 in 2009. Of the 33,300 intermarriages that took place in 2009, 25,142 involved Korean men with foreign women (Korea National Statistical Office, 2011).

In most cases, intermarriage in Korea is synonymous with *mail-order brides*. Often men in rural Korea marry non-Korean immigrant women primarily from developing Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and China through international marriage brokers. The emergence of this unique intermarriage pattern is mainly the result of two cultural and historical shifts: sex ratio imbalance, and rapid rural-urban migration of Korean single women (Kim, 2009).

Kim (2009) argued that Korea has maintained a family-oriented culture where the eldest son was expected to be the most responsible person in the family. This engendered a general preference for sons over daughters. According to Kim (2009)

and Kim (2004), medical development has played a major role as a catalyst of sex-ratio imbalance at birth by allowing Korean women to abort unwanted daughters. This created a gender imbalance where the number of Korean men is far greater than the number of Korean women.

The second reason is the rapid industrialization and rise of capitalism in Korea after the Korean war of 1950 to 1953, which led to urbanization and major societal changes (Cho, Seol, & Lee, 2006). One result of these changes was an increase in women city dwellers. Women in rural areas preferred to join the urban labor market and to participate in the formal economy. Many single women who did not have family responsibilities moved to urban areas. Moreover, many of those women have been reluctant to marry men, mostly farmers, who live in the countryside. As a result, male farmers in rural and remote areas continue to struggle with the lack of females for marriage, leading to their search for spouses from other countries.

Korean ethnocentrism negatively impacts many immigrant wives and their bi-ethnic children who comprise an underrepresented group in South Korea. Both wives and children are up against the dominant expectations of Korean family traditions, language, culture, education, and employment (Lee, 2003). Most previous studies on this population (Choi & Choi, 2008; Kim, 2007; Na, 2008) mainly focused on the adjustment of immigrant women and the lack of openness and acceptance of this population by many native Korean people. The Korean social structure and educational system have been designed to *Koreanize* bi-ethnic children and their families (Kang, 2010).

Statement of the Problem

Despite demographic changes in Korean society, Lee (2009) argued that many migrants, foreigners, or bi-ethnic children have experienced Koreans' xenophobia and racial discrimination. Factors such as Korean social structure, politics, Confucianism, and Koreans' attitudes towards non-Koreans have exacerbated a lack of cultural diversity awareness in newly "multi-culturalized" society in Korea. Thus, the overt marginalization and discrimination of multicultural families and foreigners demand greater attention, awareness, and appropriate intervention. From now on, this paper examines the possible reasons why Koreans are struggling with understanding multiculturalism from the perspectives of historical and cultural points.

Ethnocentrism and racism in Korea.

Korea is well known as an ethnically homogeneous country with a strong pride in national identity. Expressions such as 'one nation,' 'our country,' and 'one bloodline' (Lee, 2009) have been commonly used in politics, academics, and mass media to evoke a collective identity and emphasize the notion of ethnic purity. In this section, I examine, in a historical context, the reasons for the development of ethno-nationalism, which negatively impacts racial and ethnic discrimination in South Korea at this time.

Korean history begins with the mythology of Dangun, a founding father of the Korean nation. From childhood, even in elementary school history textbooks, students learn the story of Dangun. In the story, the concept of one bloodline arouses a collective identity as pure people. Because of this ideology and Confucianism, Koreans have never invaded other countries and have maintained a homogeneous language and culture.

However, Korea has been affected by Western powers since the late 19th century and was colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945. Under the oppression of the

Japanese colonial regime, Koreans were prohibited access to the Korean language and culture and suffered inhumane treatment. This caused extreme fear and hatred toward foreigners. In addition, in the wake of independence (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), U.S. soldiers occupied South Korea and the Western concept of racism was added to Korean's ethnocentrism; white people were considered to be a superior race and mass media projected them as heroes. Korean society was negatively influenced to discriminate and look down on dark-skinned people from the Philippines, Thailand and other such countries.

After the dramatic economic development under the autocratic leadership of former president Park (1961-1979), undocumented migrant laborers streamed from Southeast Asia into Korean sweatshops where Korean owners mistreated them with violence and low payment (Kim, 2011). Today, even though the demographics continue to change in Korea due to the influx of foreign workers and the soaring number of intermarriages, racial discrimination towards migrant workers, foreign wives, and mixed-blood children is still prevalent because of historical practices of xenophobia and ideology of the one-bloodline notion (Choi, 2008).

The Korean government has attempted to protect these underrepresented groups through legislation and financial support. NGOs, local organizations and small social movements have emerged to help them assimilate to the Korean culture (Kim, 2011; Kang 2010). However, it is, in effect, another form of racism if bi-ethnic children from a bicultural heritage are led to assimilate only to their Korean father's culture without adequate opportunity to access their mother's culture.

Patriarchal domination.

Confucianism, as one of the major ideologies in Korea, significantly influenced gender hierarchy, creating distinct power differentials between husband and wife (Seol et al., 2005). One of the high values in Korea from the Confucian view is 'respect' for elders and husbands; therefore, husbands take for granted that they will have more power and will be respected by their wives. Despite globalization and the infusion of Western ideologies, traditional gender differentials are still very much prevalent, especially in rural areas, generating inequality based on ageism and sexism (Jambor, 2009). Lim (1997) confirmed that Koreans are raised under the strong influence of "patriarchal cultural traditions" (p. 32).

Based on Confucian beliefs, gender roles in Korea were highly specified: the man goes out to work and has responsibility to financially support his family, while the woman stays at home doing housework and child-rearing. Lim's (1997) study showed that even though the feminization of labor is starting to change some of these dynamics, women's time on housework is about three times more than that of men. In addition, caring for children is still solely the mother's responsibility; therefore, if the results of the children's education are not successful, it is the mother who takes all the blame.

These patriarchal traditional gender roles are arguably exacerbated in intermarriage circumstances. In a study on stresses on migrant women in Korea, Na (2008) asserted that the main reason for immigrant wives' stress is the Korean husbands' dominance which sometimes causes domestic violence. Wives are not only considered lower class but are also expected to fulfill multiple household roles.

These studies showed the complex issues facing a multicultural family in South Korea. Korean fathers have more power than mothers in general. Immigrant mothers are not familiar with Korean language and culture. Because of the low socioeconomic status in multicultural families (Seol et al., 2005), mothers also work and have little

time to spend with their children. However, foreign mothers, who have less power than the fathers, have more responsibility for child rearing. This complex context may confuse their bi-ethnic children in their ethnic identity formation.

Education system.

The Korean educational system is still heavily teacher-centered, involving memorization and a strong emphasis on test scores (Kwak, 2004). Globally, Korea is glorified with students' high achievement in math and science, leading to advancement in the technology industry (Sorensen, 1994). However, the educational system is also criticized by progressive educators for its lack of creative, innovative, and multicultural approaches (Kim, 2002; Shin & Koh, 2005). This section will examine possible reasons why Korean education still sticks to the traditional teaching methods, which are influenced by Confucian ideology, rapid economical development, and political structures.

Since 1443 when King Se-Jong created the Korean alphabet, Han-Guel, Confucian ideology has been deeply rooted in Korean society (Yum, 1987). Confucianism is considered in this section as defined from the view of ageism (Jambor, 2009) among five moral principles. According to Yum (1987), it is defined as a strict hierarchy between elders and youngsters. For example, in domestic and school contexts, children and students are not supposed to have different opinions from parents and teachers. Teachers are respected by students and have absolute power. This ideological framework established the hierarchical relationship between teacher and students in the classroom setting and became an obstacle to students' critical thinking, dialectical relationships with teachers, and discussion practice based on problem-posing approaches.

In addition, Korea has undergone dramatic economic development and political change since the end of Korean War in 1953 (Kim, 2002). Former President Park ruled as a dictator with absolute authority over the rapid change in the economy during 1967- 1979. With regard to education, he focused on financial and military training so that Korea could escape from the poverty and danger of invasion. Most of the schools in Korea followed a curriculum in which mathematics and science were emphasized and other subjects were ignored (Sorensen, 1994). The Park administration established a college entrance examination system which consisted of three subjects: Korean, English, and mathematics. This examination comprised only multiple-choice questions and required students to memorize everything from textbooks. This educational system impeded students' creativity and prevented them from opportunities for group work to share ideas and learn from each other (Shin & Koh, 2005).

Regarding political structure, Korea continued to be influenced by the Japanese colonization era when autocracy was maintained through militant government. The powerful classes, even after the end of colonization, were deeply embedded by a dictatorial political system and insisted on military-style education (Shin & Koh, 2005; Sorensen, 1994). The educational system encouraged teachers to follow whatever the government ordered and students obeyed whatever teachers instructed. According to Kim (2002), central government regulations on educational policies hinder schools' autonomy and students' creativity. In the classroom setting, students are still reluctant to ask questions of teachers and are not used to collaborative activities.

In this educational environment, Korean children may not have enough time to think about themselves and may not know how to express their opinions or

themselves to others because they are used to adults' instructions. It might be even more difficult for bi-ethnic Korean children due to their language difficulties and minority status both at home and school.

Conclusion: Issues of 'Multiculturalism' in Korea

Multiculturalism exists everywhere if there are more than two people in a society. It should be understood as a concept of understanding others and embracing others' perceptions with respect. However, the term "multiculturalism" is used with a limited meaning in Korea. When Koreans use the term "multicultural," they tend to mean "intermarriage family" with a stereotype as "the poor," "Southeast Asians," "the uneducated," "ones who need help," etc. If one spouse is from somewhere other than Southeast Asia, such as America, this multicultural family is not considered as a "multicultural family in Korea." "Multiculturalism" does mean not only "other countries" or "other cultures," but also anything in the world, because each person is different in terms of age, gender, religion, hobby, lifestyle, way of thinking, etc. The misperception of "multiculturalism" categorizes a group of "multicultural people," who are treated as "underrepresented" in Korean society.

However, on the other hand, immigrant people, especially, women and bi-ethnic children from multicultural families in Korea have a great opportunity to become poster figure for multicultural Korea, if they received the necessary support from government. Although they would have faced hardships, they will be able to strive to represent the Korean government and their efforts in promoting a multicultural Korea.

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Korean Confucianism and Influences

Eun Hee Kim

Abstract

Despite Confucianism as a religion of sort, it has been a philosophy that influenced the way of life in Korean society. Since Confucianism took a critical role of forming Korean culture and tradition, traces of Confucianism is easily seen in Korea's language, etiquette, education, clothes and manners. According to a survey conducted in 2014 by Gallup Korea, even though only 0.5% of respondents consider themselves as Confucian, the study team found out through further questioning that 91.7% of people are still influenced by Confucianism in terms of way of thinking and behaving. This explains that Confucianism is no longer a popular religion in Korea but it still remains deep inside of Korea's structure of mentality and daily life.² Although this is not only an aspect of religion, we can be deeply aware of Korean's moral sense or their way of thinking, through Confucianism which had been widely spread over their general thoughts and life styles. Also we are going to take a look at respect of elder, authoritarianism issue and sexual inequality.

1. Korean Confucianism

Nothing has shaped Korean society as much as Confucianism. This philosophy was accepted so eagerly and in such a strict form that the Chinese regarded the Korean adherents as more Confucian than themselves. Confucianism influenced the growth of the Chinese examination system that became the means of attaining high government office. It also contributed to the stability of society and perpetuated a very rigid class structure for centuries. Of the total population, ten percent was of the *yangban* class, the upperclass landowners whose goal was education in the Confucian classics and government and military service.

Both the Koryo (936-1392) and the Choson (1392-1910) dynasty adopted Confucian principles of government. That system incorporated concepts of loyalty, filial duty, respect for age and status and veneration for learning. Loyalty governed the relationship between ruler and subjects. The bonds were hierarchical, strict and unequal. This tradition also incorporated the notion that the ruler and his officials must be virtuous in order to retain their mandate to rule. If they are no longer virtuous, the people have the right to revolt.

Confucianism also had an impact on economic development. Its beliefs helped to perpetuate a static agrarian society and promoted contempt for the development of commerce, an activity seen as self-serving and socially divisive. A road system was maintained, but trade within the country and with the outside world (except for China and Japan) remained limited.

Today more than 200 shrines and numerous academies are scattered throughout South Korea. Although large numbers of people claim to be Buddhists, Christians, or

² GALLUP KOREA, '2014 Korean Religion', (<http://m.missionlife.co.kr/view.asp?arcid=0922940918&code=23111111>) According to a survey conducted in 2014 by Gallup Korea, Buddhist 22%, Christian 21%, Catholic 7%, Atheist 50%.

Shamanists, everyone to one degree or another is Confucian. The ideals recommended by Confucius over 2,500 years ago continue to guide people in their social relations in the home, workplace, school and government. Most Koreans still look to their leaders for major decisions. Leaders are to be moral. If they are not, as in the case in recent Korean history, leaders lose legitimacy.

The young are to respect their elders, children their parents, wives their husbands, daughters-in-law their mothers-in-law, students their teachers, employees their employers and friends their friends. Tradition dictates that each family member must be diligent in fulfilling his or her role. Children learn before the age of ten that their lives are not their own, but belong to their family. Decisions are familial, not personal. The Confucian tradition influences one's choice of a marital partner because spouses may not have the same paternal ancestor. The decision of whom to marry is one that is made on the advice of the parents. Paternal grandparents are considered the real grandparents. The Confucian system guides people in the names they use to address family members and relatives. Three traditional family rituals (marriage, ancestor worship and funerals), though somewhat changed, continue to be celebrated with a degree of ritual elaboration worthy of the past.

2. Living According To Confucian Values

Confucius was born in a time of turmoil. Seeing families and individuals suffering from social disorder, he concluded that society would function properly only if virtues were taught and lived. He wanted to produce excellent individuals who could be social leaders, and he wanted to create a harmonious society. He believed that excellence would be achieved through the cultivation of an individual's virtues and intellect. Therefore, education is essential. For Confucius this meant more than knowledge; it also involved the development of skills in poetry, music, artistic appreciation, manners and religious ritual. Confucius valued education because it transmitted the lessons of the past into the present. Convinced that the past provides good models for the present, Confucius thought that education could show the way to wise and happy living. He also believed that social harmony is established when people play their social roles properly. The sense of social responsibility was codified in five great relationships.

3. The Five Great Relationships

In Confucianism, human beings are not individuals but interwoven threads of relationships with many people. To a great extent, in Confucianism thinking human beings *are* their relationships. All relationships, however, are not equal. The level of a relationship may be determined by personal factors, such as friendship or family connection, or by more formal social factors, such as age or socioeconomic status. Confucianism recognizes this inequality and actually lists relationships according to a hierarchy, beginning with the most important:

A. Father-son. Family is the foundation of society with the relationship between father and son at its core. (This relationship also represents all parent-child relationships.) The father must be responsible for the education and moral formation of the son, and the son must be respectful and obedient and must care for the father in his old age. The parent-child relationship is so fundamental that it can function as the model for similar relationships, such as that between employer and employee.

B. Elder brother-younger brother. An elder brother must assume responsibility for raising the younger siblings, and the youngest siblings must be compliant. He has a unique and important status in the family.

C. Husband-wife. Each person in this relationship is responsible for the other's care.

In Confucian thought, the relationship is hierarchical. The husband is an authoritative protector, and the wife is a protected homemaker and mother.

D. Friend to Friend. In Confucian culture, a friendship entails serious obligations, and a friendship made in youth is expected to last a lifetime. In friendship there is often a certain hierarchy: the friends may differ in age or rank or health or wealth or knowledge. The mentor relationship – which implies a difference in age between the two – is common in Confucian cultures, too. This type of relationship might be, for example, that between a teacher and a student, which in Confucian cultures entails serious mutual responsibilities.

E. Ruler-subject. Above all, a ruler must act like a father, assuming responsibility and care for the subjects who are like his children. Thus, the father-son relationship is primary in that it is the model for most other relationships. Confucianism holds that social order begins in a harmonious home and then extends outward – to town, province and country. The last item then brings the list full circle, back to the smallest unit of society – the family.

In Confucian societies, consequently, people see each other quite strongly in terms of their relationships and social roles, and because the family is the primary model for all groups, age determines position. The implications of the Five Great Relationships may be seen in modern Japanese and Korean companies which act like large families, and management plays a fatherly role. Similarly, an employee's identity comes largely from his or her place in a company, and job titles are significant. The exchange of business cards – on which the person's title is prominently featured – is a careful ritual. Seniors have responsibility for juniors, and one's pay and role are largely based on seniority. Harmony is all-important. And personal excellence comes from the manifestation of five virtues.

4. The Confucian Virtues

Although they emphasize harmony between people, the Confucian virtues do not lead to antlike conformity. Some Confucian virtues, such as love of education and the arts, help individuals develop their unique talents. But the virtues most prized by Confucianism are indeed largely social virtues. Individual uniqueness, although valued by Confucianism, is expected to be muted, subtle and relational.

1. ㄹ(In), Humanity.

The ability to feel sorrow for the misfortunes of fellow men and love them all equally as parents love their children equally. Confucius defined humanity in the following ways:

- A. To love people, especially one's parents.
- B. Not asking others to do what you would rather not do.
- C. To behave with the nature of propriety by controlling on oneself.
- D. To have unbending desire to accomplish what is right regardless of how insignificant, the result may initially seem when compared to the amount of effort put forth.
- E. To value others' honor before your own.
- F. To put others' freedom, before your own.

2. ㄹ(Ui), Righteousness

The ability to feel ashamed of unjust acts and to do one's duty to others. Mencius said; "for the ordinary person life and death are the most important in the

life. However, for virtuous person to and live and die for righteousness is far more important than life and death themselves."

3. 飠/ (ye), Propriety

This word relates to doing what is appropriate for the situation. For each situation, there are appropriate words to say, proper ways to dress and correct things to do. Self-control is a sign of strength. In Western culture, which values individualism, the notion of *Ye* might seem oppressive. *Ye* means good manners.

Confucius said, "propriety must be practiced for the proper development of personality, and whoever lacks sincerity in his words, cannot be considered a gentleman."

4. 𠂔/ (Ji), Wisdom

The ability to judge right from wrong, not especially in matters concerning the right and wrong of others but in matters concerning oneself.

5. 𠂔/ (Shin), Trust

The ability to keep one's words and promises, not only to one's friends but to everyone in general. Without trust a person loses all principles and dignities and becomes a liar and a cheater.

Confucianism stresses additional virtues, particularly loyalty, consensus, hard work, thrift, emotional control and sincerity. The Confucian sense of sincerity means to do what is right, particularly in fulfilling one's job duties and social obligations properly.

2. Hierarchical Structure

In Confucian thought, hierarchy is necessary to maintain group and social harmony. In olden times, social structure was divided into five classes and everyone in the society was bound by the class and status they were in. Each class had its particular rules and customs to be followed. Nobody could act beyond their class's boundary or challenge the higher authority. In modern Korean society today, although the pyramid-styled social structure does not exist anymore, the hierarchical structure is still functioning in every corner of Korean society; in their language, family life and even at the work place. In the family, a person's status is determined by their roles, gender and age while the status of a person at the work place is based on the position and then followed by age, experience and education background. Most of the time, gender is also considered as an issue to determine a person's promotion in the company.

The basic manner of being a subordinate and inferior is to be loyal and to obey the superior. Confucius believed that those who do not offend their superiors are never troublemakers. Confucius said: "A young man should serve his parents at home and be respectful to elders outside his home". Educated by Confucian teaching, every Korean is expected to respect the old and the authorities wherever they are. In the family, the children must respect and be loyal to their parents; the younger must obey the elders. At the work place, this similar principle is applied. The bottom-up communication is consistently promoted in most Korean companies. A strong vertical and tall organizational structure is formed with the patriarchal leadership pattern.

Based on the vertical and tall organizational structure, the management decision-making process is highly centralized with the authority concentrated on senior levels. Inferior and junior levels are not given much freedom to make decisions on managerial matters. In many Korean companies, decision-making by the top is well accepted and common.

Because of the greater hierarchical allocation of power, Korean employees follow with less questioning - they adjust their behavior to accommodate their superiors. In the morning, they strive to be in the office before the boss arrives as well as leave only after the boss has gone for the day. As a whole, subordinates just follow the command of the upper management. If they fail to do so, they can be considered as very rude and might receive invisible punishment from the upper level and their peers. (*Tan Soo Kee, 2008*)

3. Gender Inequality

In traditional Korean society, women were largely confined to the home. From a young age, women were required to learn the Confucian virtues of subordination and endurance to prepare for their future roles as wife and mother, while being denied any opportunity to participate in activities outside the home. Their role was limited to the management of the large extended family and the producing of a male heir so that the family line could be continued. Career development for a woman was overlooked as their main task in life was merely to serve men. One classic Confucian adage states that "It is a virtue if a woman has no ability." Woman should pursue being a wise wife and good mother, but not as a capable working woman outside. The task of earning income for the family is the duty of the husband; a woman should just stay at home to look after household matters and take care of the children's education. This aspect of Confucian teaching is still deep-rooted in many Korean minds, especially among the old generation. Women are expected to sacrifice their career for the needs of their family, especially after getting married and having children.

Many Korean women with high levels of education and talent are frustrated in their attempts to find challenging positions in society. When they are young and single, discrimination is lesser but when they get married the situation is changed. Married women in Korea found more difficulties in reaching a high level job in the corporate world. Many male managers in Korea are reluctant to recruit them. Their reasons are that married women frequently ask for leave, poor working performance and lack of concentration for work due to their multiple roles as a mother and a working woman. Married women are also less committed and more costly compared to male employees who can fully concentrate on work and do not have pregnancy and childcare leave. Many working Korean women also found that it was hard for them to be a good mother and an outstanding employee in their company at the same time. Often, family matters are more important to women than work. As a result, many women have to sacrifice their careers for the needs of their children and husband. (*Tan Soo Kee, 2008*)

4. Conclusion

The traditional Confucian values left their strong influences on Korean culture although it is facing challenges from the new culture of the West. The hierarchical structure, gender inequality are the main features that resulted from Confucian influences. The Five Relationships and the Confucian virtues that are stressed in Confucian teaching are the determining factors of Korean lifestyles. Hierarchical relations between superior and subordinate, employer and employee, senior and junior were determined by the principle of filial piety, brotherliness and parental affection. The five virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and sincerity are the basic ethic-codes in addition to the three bonds. Many Koreans live by abiding to the ethic code; if they fail to do so they may receive a severe punishment from society.

Sometimes from the modern Western perspective, one may criticize traditional Confucian values as adverse and discriminatory, seen not only in the hierarchical order but also through the repression of individual freedom when dealing with interpersonal relations. It may take a long time to eradicate traditional Confucian values from the Korean culture as Korea is a very old Confucian society. Particularly, hierarchical order is not easy to eliminate as they are deeply-rooted in Korean culture. It is undeniable that there are some good traditional values to be preserved. By maintaining the good ones while bringing in new concepts and systems, certainly a better moral culture will be developed and continue to grow in strength for Koreans.

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Korean Spirit Of Freedom During Japanese Colonization (Mobilized Korean Through Japanese Colonization Into Indonesia)

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Abstract

Korea and Japan has built a diplomatic connection long before Korea had become Japan colonization from 1910 to 1945. The policies that had been released by the Japan government in Korea increased the negative response from the Koreans. Through the qualitative method with the descriptive design, this paper focuses on *the form of Korean people's spirit of freedom during Japanese Colonialization. The survey focuses on Korean military's spirits of having freedom from Japanese Colonialization, in particular those who were mobilized into Indonesia during Japanese Colonialization in Indonesia (1942-1945)*

I. Preface

Compared to Indonesia that had been occupied by Japan in only 3.5 years, Korea had a strong historical connection for a long time with Japan because the country had been occupied by Japan for 35 years since 1910 to 1945. Discussing and analyzing the independence movement between Korea and Indonesia will give some differences. Korea that had been officially occupied by Japan government in 1910, known as a closed and isolated country from the international world therefore, it is known as the *Hermit Kingdom*³ in 17 to 19 century. Korea had faced a hard challenge because after the *Kanghwa* pact, the crucial moment of its openness to the world, it became Japan colonization for 35 years. Indonesia had different history from Korea. Indonesia had occupied by the Dutch for around 350 years and become Japan colonization for 3.5 years.

Through the *Kanghwa Treaty*, Korea stared open to the international world, and Japan took this as well as a chance to conquer Korea in politics, economics and military power. As the proof of its power toward Korea in economics, Japan pushed Korea to open three ports in Busan, Incheon, and Wonsan as the trade access with Japan (Edward, 2005: 38). Japan gained better access to conquer Korea after its victory in Sino- Japan war.⁴ Japan got stronger after the country defeated Rusia in Russo-Japan war between 1904-1905.⁵

Since 1907, Japan government in Korea had increased the pressure by directly controlling the law department of the Korean government. The Koreans got freedom boundary as the effects of the policies released by the Japan government in Korea.

³In the beginning of the 19 century, China and Japan actively involved in the international business so they had connection with the West countries. Korea known as the *Hermit Kingdom* can be traced in Edward A. Olsen, *Korea: The Divided Nation*, (Westport: Praeger Publisher, 2005), page 34-36. Korea isolated herself from the international world except to China and Japan based on the last kingdom's policy, Jaseon Kingdom which applied the isolation policy (Kim Ki Hyuk, *Opening of Korea: A Confucian Response to the Western Impact*, (Seoul: Yon Sei University Press, 1999), page 13

⁴Shin Hyong Sik, *An Easy Guide to Korean History* (Seoul: The Association for Overseas Korean Education Development Press, 2010), page. 39-44.

⁵Japan and USA had signed the Katsura Treaty secretly in July 1905 before the Portsmouth Treaty. Based on the treaty, USA granted Japan to occupy Korea. As the compensation, Japan had to acknowledge USA's hegemony in the Philippines. This is the reason why USA finally supported Japan to occupy Korea. To learn more about the Korean fight on her freedom against the Japan colonization please check Lee Hyun Hee, etc, *New History of Korea* (Gyeonggi-do: Jimoondang, 2005), page 514

Finally, Korea became the Japan's colonial annexation since 1910⁶. Japan did a lot of changes in Korea such as: eliminating the Korean government institution in which Japan thought was useless, expanding the railway, fixing the road in Korea, improving the farming and opening the industry from 1910-1919 (Frederick, 1969: 183). Japan colonial also forbade media publication, put the Koreans who were considered rebellious in the jail (Shin, 2010: 159), took over the Koreans land, that for more than 40% of the Koreans lands were taken by the Japan colonial at that time. They also monopolized trading, mining, banking, and controlled all the economic activities in Korea (Shin, 2010: 160).

This paper focuses on a special event when strong diplomatic bonding was built between Korea and Indonesia, an independence movement of Koreans in Indonesia during Japan colonialization. We will see the early rising of Koreans response to Japan colonial and relates it to the independence movements happened in Korea and outside Korea. The researcher will talk about the independence movement in Korea and outside Korea from the Japan colonialization and the meaning of its movement. The researcher believes that the Korean independence movement during the Japan colonialization happened not only because of the hatred to the Japan colonial but also because there were other factors that pushed and supported the movement.

II. Koreans Response to Japan Colonialization

We can see that there were a lot of changes in Korea after Japan annexation in 1910 in Korean society. The changes that we talk from 1910-1919 are not good changes that showed better improvements in Korean society, instead it made the Koreans suffered a lot. The suffering was caused by the raising of Koreans unemployment because of the elimination of their government institution by the Japan colonial, the freedom boundary for the media publication, also the limited access to own the land, etc. We can see, that in the beginning of the Japan colonialization was the worst time in Korean history (Michael, 2007: 41).

The downturn of Koreans in the beginning of the Japan colonialization did not make the Koreans gave up. The fights from the Koreans to the Japan colonial continued and were even increasing. They got support from those who had privilege to have in touch with foreign countries to fight for their independence. Lee Hyun Hee and friends in their book, *New History of Korea*, wrote that the independence movement in the early of the Japan colonial was done by the private school teachers and Christian schools that learned a lot about the democracy and freedom from the West (2005: 539).

The most important independence movement in the beginning of the Japan colonialization in Korea was the *Samil Undong* or known as the March 1, 1919 Movement. *Samil Undong* is the independence movement initiated by a joint society in Korea including the religious leaders like Son Byeong Hee, Lee Seung Hun, Han Yong Un and some students and farmers. The *Samil Undong* movement failed to free the Koreans from the policies released by the Japan colonial at that time. Even so, the Koreans were not giving up fighting for their freedom and their independence especially those who stayed outside the Korea Peninsula. The Korean independence movement from the Japan colonialization outside Korea will be the main focus of this paper. To start the discussion, the writer will explain how the Korean independence movement reached Indonesia while both nations are geographically separated.

⁶Michael E. Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), page 33-35.

III. Japan's Mobilization on Koreans

Japan's attack to China initiated in July 1937 gave bad impacts to Koreans and Taiwanese because Japan colonial mobilized not only nature but also humans. There were three types of mobilization that forced to Koreans: women mobilization, soldiers' mobilization and laborers' mobilization. *Gunsoks'* mobilization is the mobilization that can be related to Korean independence movement in Indonesia. *Gunsoks'* mobilization or soldiers' mobilization is included as the laborers mobilization. *Gunsok* is a part of the Japan military system but they are different from the official Japan soldiers which are called *Gunnin*. *Gunsok* is a part of the Japan military system but the members could only function as the assistants to the official Japan soldiers.

In the World War II, many Koreans were forced to be the *gunsoks* by Japan colonial and they were mobilized to many areas in Korea, Japan and other South East regions. These Koreans helped Japan colonial to handle the war prisoners. The members of Japan war prisoners were the Dutch, English and Australia soldiers who joined the Allied Forces. The Allied Forces armies had become the Japan prisoners since 1941 in the South East regions.

To handle the prisoners, in May 1942, Japan released a regulation for Koreans and Taiwanese to gather young man to be the *phorokamsiwon* (the war prisoners guard), or *gunsok* (the soldiers). During the World War II, the *gunsoks* had some duties like fixing the plane or other transportation used by Japan in the war, translating, also taking care the war prisoners⁷. The working place for the *gunsoks* were the airport, mining area, the develop regions (building bridge, railway, etc) by Japan, the jail for the Allied Forces armies that become the war prisoners⁸.

During the candidates' recruitment for the war prisoners' guards, Japan used policemen. The policemen were recruited based on the physical condition, education level, job, age (between 20-35 years old) and the position in the family⁹. Japan gathered for around 3,223 people. In October 10, 1942 these candidates officially become the *gunsok* for Japan. They were hired by the Japan government for two years and had to obey for any instruction given by the Japan government including to be ready to be placed in any regions in South East Asia.

After the prisoners guards were trained psychologically and physically for around two months, in June 14 they were departed from Nuguchi unit¹⁰. In August 19, 1942, at 5 pm of Busan time, the ships that carried 3,223 prisoner guards departed from Busan port to Kyushu, Japan. There were 8 ships full of Japan soldiers headed from Kyushu to regions of South East Asia. These prisoner guards were under strict

⁷Yuuichi, Higuchi, *shogunheishi ni sareta choosonjin: ichigonensensookanosoudoointaiseinokenkyuu* "The Joseon People that Become the Japan Victims: The Study of the General Mobilization in the Fifteen Years War (1931-1945)" Kaishaheironsha, 1991, page 12-13.

⁸Jeong Hyeo Gyeong, *ibid*, page 32. Japan placed more young Korean as *Gunsoks* in the military system than the Japanese soldiers. The Japan composition of its military members was 20% were front liner soldiers, 40% were those who were dealing with logistics, transportation and the rest around 40% were the *gunsoks*, those who were working in the hospitals and jail for the war prisoners (Aiko, Utsumi, *ibid*, page 81). We can see that Korean *gunsoks* were not counted as the navy or army. They were ranked as the lowest military helpers in the Japan military system.

⁹Jeon Jeong Gun, *Akamichireul nomoso* "Through the Equator Line" Namseongchulphansa, 1963, page 73-75

¹⁰The psychological training that they got is about the loyalty as Japan soldiers to the Japan authority called *cheon hwang* which is the kingdom. They were also trained to obey their superiors as stated in Japan military doctrine in Meiji era, 1882. The prisoners' guards also got the military training in Nuguchi unit. Many of them were suffering because of the hard rules and Japan's military treatment to them. Kim Ju Suk, a graduate of Bulgyojeonmun registered himself as a prisoner guard on his will. During the military training he got harsh treatment from his superiors. He couldn't stand their harsh behavior and he wrote a letter about it. He wrote it to a friend in his home town. As result, he got a very harsh punishment because his letter was found out by the authority (*Nambanggihaeng* "A Journey to the South", page 225).

supervision of the Japan military. They didn't know where they headed to.¹¹

The Dutch power in Indonesia ended with Kalijati treaty which is the handover of power in Indonesia from the Dutch to Japan, held in March 8, 1942. There were around 90.000 war prisoners after the Japan victory on the Dutch in Indonesia.¹² These prisoners were under the responsibility of Korean *gunsoks* which were mobilized in Indonesia. The 1.400 Korean *gunsoks* arrived in Tanjung Priok in September 14, 1942.

Japan built some jails in some regions in Indonesia, which was officially opened in August 15, 1942. There were 5 places for the war prisoners in Indonesia: Jakarta, as the jail center, Bandung 2 jails, Cilacap 3 jails, Surabaya 4 jails, and Malang 5 jails. Each jail could fit 3000 prisoners and the Korean *gunsoks* were the officers who were responsible on the prisoners. The jails that Japan made were originally the Dutch's building like churches, Dutch military offices, schools, etc. Before each the prisoners guard sent on duty in each jail in Java, Japan trained them once again after their arrival in Jakarta.¹³

IV. Korean Gunsoks Independence Movement in Indonesia

The arrival of Japan in Indonesia gave a big hope to Indonesian because they thought that Japan would help Indonesian to fight the Dutch who occupied Indonesia for hundred years and colonized Indonesia¹⁴, but on the other hand, this hope was only a dream. Japan colonial used Indonesian to fight the Allied Force by persuading young Indonesian to join their army. Japan released a policy to open voluntary soldiers which called *Heiho*.

The *Heihos* recruitment was held 3 times. It started in the beginning of 1942 for age 16-25 years old. Those who succeeded would get military training for 2 months and learned Japanese language for 6 months. These *Heihos* got some training in some places across Indonesia like Cimahi-Bandung, Magelang, and Pasuruan Banyuwangi.¹⁵

Indonesian were not aware that the Japan military arrival in Indonesia also brought some soldiers from Korea, Taiwan and China. This is the reason why Korean *gunsok* is not well acknowledged by Indonesian publicly. Moreover on their relationship with Indonesian *Heihos* that finally contributed to the independence movement for Korean and Indonesia during Japan Colonization.

The Indonesian *Heihos* was on duty under the Japan soldiers' supervision who actually was Korean prisoners guards or *Gunsoks*. Therefore, Indonesian *Heiho* was the subordinate of Korean *Gunsok* who got duty in the same place. Japan put Korean *Gunsok* in charge to supervise the *minganin*, while the *Heiho* is the security officers. There were around 3.000 *Heiho* in the places where the Korean *Gunsok* were also on duty.¹⁶

During the duty (in the jail and in other places of the *minganin*), the Korean *Gunsok* showed dissatisfaction upon the treatment and behavior of the Japanese

¹¹Nambanggihaeng, "A Journey to the South" page. 81

¹²There were around 90.000 war prisoners in Indonesia. There were 65.000 Dutch prisoners and 25.000 of the joint armies of Americans, English and Australians (Rickles, *ibid*, page 248).

¹³Aiko Utsumi, *Choosenjin BC kyuusenpannokiroku* "The Punishment Record on BC Level to Joseon People", Keisooshoboo, 1982, page 85.

¹⁴Republic Indonesia National Archives, "Under Japan Colonialization: A Memory of forty two people within their experience, Jakarta, 1988, page 14-15.

¹⁵Yayasan Kesejahteraan Persatuan Keluarga Besar Bekas Heiho Indonesia (Welfare Foundation of Indonesian ex-Heiho), *Buku Kumpulan Kenang-kenangan Heiho di Indonesia 1942-1945* "The Collection of Heiho's Memories in Indonesia 1942-1945", Jakarta, 1980, page 21-37.

¹⁶Utsumi Aiko, *ibid*, page 61-62.

soldiers. This dissatisfaction accumulated in some meeting with the decision to fight for their country freedom. They asked Indonesian *Heiho* to join and to cooperate with them to fight the Japan colonial.

This dissatisfaction of the Korean *Gunsok* was not only because of the harsh treatment from the Japan soldiers but also because the extension of their duty in Indonesia without their approval. This incident really created rebellion of the Korean *gunsok* against Japan authority.

The Korean *Gunsoks*, after the extension, were also pushed to join another military training. The military training was in a military training center in Sumowono unit in Semarang. There were 200 Korean *Gunsoks* who joined the training. They had to join a three months training started in November, 1944.

Those who mastered foreign languages especially Chinese and English contributed a lot during this uprising. They got the information from the *hwagyo* group also the Allied Forces' prisoners about the situation and position of the Japan military in the war. Lee Yuk Gwan¹⁷ got the information about the *Cairo Declaration* so they knew that the Allied Forces would arrive in Indonesia because Japan had possibly lost the war. They also found information about the *San Fransisco Declaration* and other information related to Japan condition in the battles¹⁸. Having such information pushed the Korean *Gunsoks* to hold intensive meetings about the establishment of *Koryeodokribcheongnyeondang* "Korean Freedom Fighters Youth Group". The founders of the group were: Im Hyeon Geun, Park Chang Won, Paek Cha Won, Paek Mun Gi, Lee Eok Gwan, Kim Hyeon Jae, Lee Sang Mun, Jo Ji Hong and Son Yang Sung¹⁹.

They also tried to cooperate with Indonesian *Heiho* and English prisoners and they won the deal. The activities, of course, were hidden from the Japan authority. The Allied Forces prisoners and Indonesian *Heiho* that cooperated to the fighters Korean Independence group were those who were located in Jakarta jail, Bandung, Semarang and Ambarawa²⁰. Unfortunately, out of 200 from those who got the military training in Suwono unit, only 120 Korean *Gunsoks* agreed to join the movement.

From these 120 *Gunsoks*, they chose 10 important leaders to launch the mission of *Korean Freedom Fighters Youth Group* that was established in December 29, 1944. The mission of this group is to get the independence of their home country from the Japan colonialization²¹.

The independence movement from the *Korean Freedom Fighters Youth Group* happened in January 4, 1945. There were three Korean *gunsoks*, Sun Yang Sup, Min Yeong Hak and No Byung Han who were considered as the provocateurs' of the Ambarawa uprising²². The incident started when the three of them refused to move to the new region which was Singapore. They attacked the Japan soldiers by shooting the gun and even pointed it to their superiors which were the Japan soldiers. This incident pushed other Korean *gunsoks* to save themselves because they did not want

¹⁷Lee Yuk Gwan originally came from Gyeong Gi Do Province, in 1934 he worked in Seodaenum as a *gansu* (Mun Chang Jae, *ibid*, page 158-162).

¹⁸Part of the news that they listened was: "We, as Koreans, must work together to save ourselves from Japan authority. We have hoped to possibly cooperate with the Allied Forces armies." (Aiko, Utsumi, *ibid*, page 127)

¹⁹*Nambanggihaeng*, "A Journey to the South", page 229.

²⁰Hangukdokripkinyeomgwang (A Secret Formed of the Korean Freedom Fighters), Korean National Archives.

²¹A Secret Formed of the Korean Freedom Fighters and Dokripundonggwangye (Independence Movement Document).

²²Chung Nam came from Son Yang Sup and Min Yeong came from Chung Cheong Bukdo. Son Yang Sup and No Byung Han committed suicide in Januari 6, 1945 while Min Yeong Hal killed himself in January 9, 1945 (Kim Do Hyeong, *ibid*, page 328).

to be involved in the incident²³. The three Korean *gunsoks* who started the incident got a hard fight from the Japan soldiers were there. The Japan military sent more soldiers to fight the rebels²⁴.

From the incident, 12 Japan soldiers shot to dead and 2 Indonesian *Heihos* got injured²⁵. The two injured *Heiho* in Ambawa incident was the proof that there was good relationship between *Korean Freedom Fighters Youth Group* with the Indonesian *Heihos*. In other words, these *Heihos* were those Indonesian who fought against the Japan soldiers to help the Korean *gunsoks*.

The Ambarawa uprising in 1945 which was held by the *Korean Freedom Fighters Youth Group* ended with the punishment given to the 12 initiators of the group. The other 3 members who started the incident ended their life by committing suicide²⁶.

V. Conclusion

Through this writing, I want to make the point that Korea was a nation and a society with a long experience of Japanese Colonialization had aware and recognized their freedom since Korean people got some ideologies and influences from abroad. The Japanese rules during occupation had made Korean people severed so that Korea people pushed their self to guide some independent movements not only all around Korea, but also in abroad.

I can see that Korean people made a great deal of difference in responding to Japanese rule for having their independence. The Korean Military mobilized to Indonesia's independent movement proved that Korean people's spirit of freedom from Japanese colonialization was universal. Their response toward Japanese Colonialization was not only for the independent of their nation in spesifictly, more than that Korean *Gunsok* kept in touch with Indonesia *Heiho* and asked or invited them to fight together for the independent of their nation from Japanese Colonialization.

²³Lee Wol Chul, *Ambarawa euigoewi gwanjeongi* "A Memory of the Ambarawa Uprising", *Jabaeui chueok* (je jb). A Memory from Java part 1, Gwanmunsa, 1969, page 32

²⁴Lee Wol Chul, *ibid*, page 31-32

²⁵Nambanggihaeng, "A Journey to the South", page 223; Aiko, Utsumi, *ibid*, page 167-168

²⁶Lee Wol Chul, *ibid*, page 34 The Ambarwa uprising also inspired the prisoners in Jakarta. They were about to have the same revolt but it could be handled by Japan soldiers.

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Literature Across Borders: An Empirical Reading of Lee Byungju

Eva Latifah, Ph.D

Abstract

This paper attempts to reintroduce Lee Byungju and his works, especially for Indonesian scholar. This paper argues that Lee's unpopularity among current young readers is due to the gap era between writers and recent readers. Other reason is because not every one could see and look back to the problem within him. Using the term "across borders" the study of Lee will helps breaking the boundaries, such as language and culture, between two countries. This paper also offers the meaning of across borders in its widest meanings, as follow 1) beyond the limit between history and literature, 2) across cultures, as it's original meaning, for literature comparative study, 3) out of the box, which introduce Lee with his unpopular works (Lee well known as medium-length novel writer, but here I suggest to look at his essays).

Introduction

Lee Byungju is one of the Korean writers whose works had been translated into foreign languages.²⁷ His works received attention due to his special distinction, especially for his medium-length novel *Alexandria*. The novel *Alexandria* was considered as his first debut, even though he had already published *the Day Without Tomorrow* (내일 없는 그날) at *Busan Ilbo*. *Alexandria* is one of his works that has been translated into Mandarin and English. The background of the story captured in *Alexandria* is extremely huge and the narration is fine. These two reasons might be the strong points of the novel. But, unfortunately, Lee is not well known by Indonesian scholars. Perhaps it is related to the fact that Korean studies programs, in which literature is one of the studies, are relatively new in the field of liberal art studies in Indonesia.²⁸

²⁷ The translation of Lee's work had started from 2011. The first novel translated to Chinese language was *Alexandria-the Novel*. Then, at 2012 the same novel was also translated to English. Both translation works was published by Bybooks. The last translation of Lee's book is to English with the title *the Wind and Land-scape of Yenang* at 2013.

²⁸ My paper presented at the Byeng-ju Lee International Literary Festival 2015, held in Hadong, is 인도네시아 학생들이 보는 이병주. 인도네시아 대학교 학생들을 중심으로 *Indonesian Students View of Lee Byungju: Case of University of Indonesia Students*. The paper is focused on the reasons why Lee Byungju isn't well known by Indonesian scholars. The result of the study shows many aspects that could be divided into internal and external reasons. The internal reasons are as follows; first, the difficulties of Lee's work, second, the lack of information about his works, then, the unpopular issues taken by writers, etc. The external reasons, for example, the limitation of research experience on Korean language and literature upon teachers, lack of knowledge about Korean language that influences students ability to understand Lee's works, the textbooks that does not provide information about Lee, etc.

The interesting point is the unpopularity of Lee's works is also found in the Korean society.²⁹ Even though the reason is quite different, the fact that Lee's works are not properly read both in Korea and Indonesia has to be remarked. Professor Lee Jung-Suk from Hansung University noted at the Byeng-ju Lee³⁰ International Literary Festival 2015 that if in the years of 1970 Koreans can be split into Lee's readers and Lee's non-readers, the current trend is without separation because no one reads Lee's work. The attempt to learn and study Lee's work by Indonesian scholars in university level reminds her about promoting Lee inside Korea. There might be some things that can be done to keep Korean people in touch with Lee's work. The Korean site named 문학으로 가는 길 *A road to Literature*³¹ posted that Lee Byungju is one of the writers that are less known compared to other writers in the same era. So, the Byeng-ju Lee International Literary Festival was held to promote his name and his works. The festival is under the 이병주 다시 보기 (Look at Lee Byungju Again) project. In order to promote Lee and his works, the 이병주문학관 Memorial House of Lee Byungju was built in Hadong. This literary house also became a place to hold the Lee Byungju festival.

This short paper is based on the experiences on teaching Korean literature and attending the Lee Byungju International Symposium held at Hadong October 2015. This paper will focus on Lee's works as a guide in understanding Korea. Lee's works was chosen due to several reasons such as; Lee is one of the Korean writers that were already introduced to both eastern and western society. Another reason is, Lee is one of the Korean writers that writes stories based on history. We can learn history through literature. Lastly, Lee is not only a writer but also a critic, journalist, essay writer, etc. With his various genres of works, we can see his deep thought on Korea and its' history.

Lee Byungju and His Works

Lee is a Korean writer who started his activity in the Korean literary world when he was over 40 years old. Even though he was no longer young since his first

²⁹ Lee Junsuk defined him as a stranger in the Korean literary world due to his unpopularity. The reasons for his neglect are, first, the difficult theme, and second is point of view of Korean history. 한국문학이론과 비평 제 50 집, 2011.3, pp. 191-211

³⁰ Romanization of 이병주 and other Korean names might differ to one another, depends on the Romanization standard used by the writer. There are such romanization system on Korean Hangeul. Mostly, Korean use the Revised Romanization of Korean. This romanization is officially used by Korean since 2000, that's why this system is also called as Ministry of Culture 2000 system. Other common system is McCune-Reischauer that was popularly used before 2000. In this paper, I am using the Revised Romanization (RR) system, so the name of 이병주 is romanized to Lee Byungju. Otherwise, the name of Festival is written as Byengju Lee because it is the name of the festival, therefore I could not change it to the Romanization system used in this paper. The name of the festival used the McCune-Reischauer system.

³¹ nownforever.co.kr/xe.index.php?mid=news&document_srl=1807

debut, he produced huge works for the rest of his life.³² He wrote many types of works, such as short stories, essays, and novels. One of his outstanding works is *Alexandria*, a medium-length novel that consists of thousands of characters, backgrounds, and stories. At 1977, which marks the twelve years after his first debut, Lee was awarded the Korean Literature Writer Award and Korean Literature Composition Award for his medium-length novel *Fallen Leaves* and the *Swamp of Exile*. After he passed away in 1992, the publications of his works still run. Along with the rising of Korean popularity through Korean Wave, the translation of Lee's works to foreign languages began, together with other Korean literature works.

Lee is also well known as a writer who shows a distinctive type of writing. His sentences are mostly flat, limited in expression. The words are not simple and easy to grasp. Therefore his sentences are considered as lacking of feel and touch. Critics said that reading his works seems more like treating a historical book than a novel. In the term of subjects, he prefers to write about difficult and unpopular themes. He loves to write history based novels instead of writing a love story novel. For the reasons mentioned above Lee's works are more suitable to a specific type of readers. A reader who'd like to see history within a piece of work. A reader who loves to believe in a historical novel than history itself. Jonghui (2015) in his book *Misreading 오독* quotes Lee's answer when being questioned about the meaning of history. According to Lee, history is 믿을 수 없는 일 some thing unbelievable.³³

There are a few reasons and opinions about why a writer as good as Lee Byungju is not popular among current readers. The gap between young readers and the era when Lee lived might be one of the reasons. Time flies and the trend changes. Young readers seem to prefer reading easy works. This is related to the development of technology that influenced the way of postmodern lives. The expressions such as *all matters can be handled in an easy step* or *the world is in your hand* can explain how some thing can be solved in a simple way. With the rapid development of internet connection one can run a business without moving anywhere, for instance. This instant life makes the types of literature becomes simple. The popularity of webtoon or digital literature is an example for this phenomenon. Mass culture or popular culture doesn't match with Lee's works which is full of pain with a heavy theme. Jonghui (2015) argues that not all of his work is unfit with the mass of pop

³² From his first debut in 1965 until his death in 1992, which is 27 years of activity in the literary world, he wrote about 100 volumes of books. Most of his works are medium-length novels.

³³ Junghui added more explanation about this matter. History, as is its nature, shows datas, dates, tables of things that happen around the world. But, the weakness of it is it doesn't cover any detail of human's feelings or expressions towards the case. Moreover, in the case of political reasons, sensitive or forbidden matters are covered by design. Historical novel comes to release this weakness and find its way to show the truth (2015: 89-91)

culture. He showed three pieces of Lee's works that has popular (mass) appeal.³⁴ So, the compilation book of Lee's short novels was published to break the boundaries between the current readers and Lee.

Another reason that might be the answer to the previous question is his bravery to receive pain. Lee Byungju confessed that a lot of pain makes him write. **한이 많아 글을 쓴다** is his one of famous words. I think, this sentence is the key to see his works. He is a writer who lived through the pains of Korean history, such as Japanese occupation, Korean war, Korean division, ideological conflict between North and South, etc. Lee never felt shy to show the black spot of Korean history. He wants to find the answer of that blank spot of Korea's black history. He wants to go through the pain so he could learn a lesson. His eagerness to expose the pain of Korea's history became a reason for Korean readers to avoid his works. Not everyone can see the pain of one's own. In other words, Lee is one of the writers who will take a risk to be unpopular for the sake of his idealism.

Why Lee?

As a lecturer and researcher focusing on Korean literature, I have a concern to share a full comprehension of Korean literature. The introduction of Korean literature is growing rapidly nowadays. The translation of Korean literature, such as short stories, novels, poems are done well and are getting better day after day. The introduction of representative writers and their works of each era were already done. But I found no information related to Lee. With all of his strong points, he deserves to be presented to Indonesian scholars.

In this valuable chance, I would like to share my argumentation to introducing Lee to Indonesia scholars. Lee is a good choice to be a representative writer who writes Korean history through literature. In another word, students can read a piece of work and at the same time learn about Korean history. The history represented in his works might be more or less different with the formal report or a history book itself. He focused on the pain faced by people who like it or not received the fate of becoming a victim of social or political changes. Different from native Koreans who might avoid seeing a black history within him / herself, literature with a historical view might be interesting for foreigners. In Indonesian literature, we can see the works of Pramudya whose works was forbidden for Indonesian readers for decades, being popular in other countries (including Korea). In some tendency, introducing Lee might be favorable for Indonesian readers. Readers can see history with a different point of view. In writing his works, Lee spent his time in research and

³⁴ “이병주 소설과 문학의 대중성” in Kim Yunsik & Kim Jonghui (compilation) “망명의 늪”, pp. 162-171.

interviewing people related to the topic he writes. So, the evidence within the work speaks about his arguments.

His idea about literature's aim is also one of my considerations. Lee Byungju believes that literature is a way to make human as a human. For him, this is the basic point of literature. If a writer and his/her work can not remind human as a human, the writer and the work can no longer be seen as literature. This point needs to be noted. Especially as a lecturer whose job is in the faculty of humanities. The writer and or work with humanistic values need to be studied.

The last but not least, Lee's works compared to a very famous French writer. He is well known as Korean's Balzac.³⁵ Balzac is a very famous writer among French literature that has many similarities with Lee Byungju. One of the similarity is both writers are accepted as realism writers. The comparison with a world famous literary writer can be seen as Lee's strong point. Not many Korean writers have had this special treatment. I do believe that Lee could also be compared to Indonesian writers. The comparison that can be flourished from comparison studies between Korean and Indonesian literature. With the increasing number of studies between the two countries, the goal of promoting two countries in many fields could be reached.

Across borders

The literature term across borders is mainly used in comparative literature. The term across borders³⁶ can sometimes be substituted with across cultures. This term is used to see literature from different countries. Until XVIII Century, study of literature focused on pieces of works from the same country. But, at XIX Century, for the first time the demand to study literature from another country increased rapidly. The study of literature of one's own country is not enough for the study itself. To have a deep and rich understanding about one's own country, one has to study other works of other countries. This shifting of view happened in Europe at the end of XVIII Century.

The term literature across borders now become a significant issue for Korea. The publication *K-Literature: The Writing World's New Voice* as the subject for *Korean Culture No.8* is best example for that. Jung³⁷ emphasized the meaning of

³⁵ Honoré de Balzac is a French writer who wrote many works in short stories, novellas, and novels. Born in 1799 on Saint Honoré's day, 20 May, in Tours, France. He was the son of Anne Charlotte Laure Sallambier and Bernard François Balssa (d.1829) who among many others had positions working as a secretary to the King's Council. Balzac also discusses art, literature, and metaphysics. Has a background as a journalist, he wrote essays and explores themes of man and his place in society, his influences came from his environment, politics, love, and wealth. He died on 18 August, 1850, and lies buried in the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, France. Lee shares many similarities with Balzac that made Lee got this nickname.

³⁶ Across cultures is commonly translated into 국경을 넘다 in Korean language. This term is related to comparative literature, that's why we will find the explanation about it in the word 비교문학학 at the Dictionary of Korean Literature Terminology.

³⁷ Jung Yeo-ul is a literary critic who writes this special edition. She is a young critic whose graduated from Seoul National University and has regular feature in *Hankyoreh*

across borders by “*Literature can do a lot to help people in this social environment bridge their differences and avoid conflict. So globalizing Korean literature is about more than just exporting Korean books--it is about creating environment where people of the world can share their true feelings.*” So, we can assume that breaking the boundaries between cultures can help people bridge differences and avoid conflict, as well as share the true feelings.

In this paper, I use the term for three other meanings. That three other meanings, at the same time, are the reasons that made the term “across borders” as the subject of the study. First, the word “across” means that Lee Byungju goes beyond the limit between history and literature. Lee is one of the Korean writers who could break the boundaries between history and literature. The term historical novel refers to a novel that takes history as a subject or background of the story. The characters in the novel could be a real one or fictionally added. Lee Byungju goes across the limit by adding not only a few characters but huge numbers of characters. The characters captured in his novels are real people (even though the names might be changed) that he interviewed while writing and finishing the novel.

Across borders also means that it has potential to be compared to Indonesian novels. As it was already previously stated, the term “across borders” means to go beyond the borders. The borders between Korea and Indonesia, especially in the literary world, should be broken by comparative studies between Lee Byungju and Indonesian writers. Two Indonesian writers that could be compared are, as I mentioned on the paper presented at the Byung-ju Lee international symposium, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Ahmad Tohari. Both writers write medium-length novels. Both writers also write novels based on true story and related to history. Also, both writers, write a story as a medium of critic and commit to political view.

The term “across” here can be used as a term of going beyond the main works of Lee. Even though Lee Byungju is known for his medium-length novels, his essays are also interesting to explore. The study and translation of Korean essays have not done well yet in Indonesia. Essay is a good piece of literary work that can show the real Korea because unlike other works, which can be classified to fictional stories, essay is a kind of prose that express one's thought freely 생각을 자유롭게 표현한 산문 문학. The study of Lee's essay might be fun and worth the time because Indonesia is not an unfamiliar country for Lee Byungju. He mentioned Indonesia in his essay, 긴 밤을 어떻게 새울까(2015: 17-18). The study can help also in bringing down barriers of language and culture between two countries.

Conclusion

This paper shows that Lee Byungju is one of Korean writers who garnered global attention. His works were translated in 2011, 2012 and 2013 to Chinese and English languages by ByBooks publisher. So, Lee Byungju has many advantages to

newspaper. Jung also has contributed writings on literature, the humanities, film, and television to the *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Cine 21*, *GQ Korea*, etc.

be introduced to Indonesian scholars. Even his name doesn't considered as a representative writers of his era, but the fact that he writes valuable pieces of works can not be denied. He has earned praise in Korea as one of Korea's most engaged authors for his medium-length novels, *Fallen Leaves* and the *Swamp of Exile*.

Unfortunately, Lee Byungju and his works are not properly read nowadays. His unpopularity comes from the gap between recent reader's era and his. Mostly because Lee and his generation go through much hard and pain situations, but not current young readers. The capability to deserve pain and bravely to the find the answer of black history no longer remain.

Lee Byungju and his works can be use as the subject of comparative study between him and Indonesian writers, such as Pramoedya and Ahmad Tohari. The term "across borders" can be put as key word for this purpose. The study of Lee, include his essay, can helps breaking boundaries between cultures, bridging differences, and bringing down barriers of languages and cultures between the two countries.

I'd like to quote Jung's sentences to close this paper "*How much history goes into a single line of writing? A newspaper might need only a few hours to report something that happened earlier that day, but the birthing of a work of literature takes far, far longer. For the present to become history and for history to become the letters of the future requires both great contemplation and eclectic experimentation.*" I would like to take this far journey in bringing Korean and Indonesian literature across borders. However it takes.

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The Reflection of Confucianism during Joseon Dynasty

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Abstract

Even Korea had adapted Confucianism since the ancient period, the Confucianism developed substantially in Korea since it became the fundamental part of Korean society during Joseon Dynasty (14th-19th Century). This paper examined the reflection of Confucianism during Joseon Dynasty through historical references based on historical sources focus on Europeans perceptions and recognitions during 17th until 19th century. The analysis result shows that during Joseon Dynasty, Confucianism had contributed to hold nation together. In otherwise, Confucianism had brought Korea into isolationist country as politically so that European's records on Joseon Dynasty distortedly presented to the world.

Introduction

Confucianism has been a vital force, shaping the culture not only of China, but also Korea in particularly. The cultural and traditional values of Korean have in general been derived from Confucianism, particularly during Joseon Dynasty. Since the first king of Joseon Dynasty decided to adapt Confucianism as the fundamental principle in politics, education, family, marriage, and other areas for over hundred years, the Joseon Dynasty did not just close its door but sought active diplomatic relationships aiming at brisk political, economic, and cultural exchanges with Northeast Asian countries (China, Japan).

Facing the power of European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Joseon dynasty initially rejected them. Looking at what Hamel wrote about Korea, their rejection toward the trade relation proposed by the advancement of the Netherlands VOC in 1610³⁸ show one concrete fact of their rejection towards European. Through some essays or texts about Hamel found in books and internet websites, we can find during the fifteenth to near the end of nineteenth century Joseon dynasty was an isolated nation-a hermit kingdom.

This paper will explore how Confucianism developed and influenced political, economic, culture and social area in Joseon Dynasty and finally show the result of it which focus on The Western's perception on Korea during 17th until 19th century based on historical references.

I. Confucianism During Joseon Dynasty

As the mainstream of Korean culture, Confucianism has been strongly present in Korea since Joseon Dynasty governemet (1392-1910). Confucianism has been adopted as the fundamental of Joseon government, so that such as family system, ancestor worship, and patriarchal family structure had been emphasized.

³⁸ BR, Jean-Paul, *Hamel's Journal and a description of the Kingdom of Korea 1653-166* (Seoul: Seoul Press, 1994), p.90.

Joseon Dynasty was a largely agriculture society. As traditionally agriculture society, strong man has been prevalent and women could not strongly voice their minds/opinions and make important/urgent decision. In other words, man and women during Joseon Dynasty performed different jobs and responsibility. Even Confucianism indentified five relationships as fundamental to public stability (husband and wife, father and son, king and official, elder and younger brother, between friends), Confucianism intended human relationship of difference is not to bring confrontation, but to pursue harmony.

Chinese roles in Northeast Asia (Korea and Japan) were dominant. Not only Joseon Dynasty, but also Japan adopted this Chinese Confucian. Joseon Dynasty was exclusively treated Confucianism not as political ideology only, but also implemented in their economic life. Since Joseon Dynasty as the last royal with the longest ruling Confucian dynasty founded by Yi Song-gye or King Taejo (1392-1910). Yi Song-gye had adopted a pro-Ming stance which calculated to confer legitimacy. Joseon Dynasty used the term *Sadae* (“serving the great”) to describe its foreign policy toward Ming China, and every effort was made to maintain a friendly relationship. As in practice, Joseon Dynasty dispatched four regular embassies to Ming each year, to offer New Year’s felicitations, to congratulate the Ming emperor on his birthday, to honor the birthday of the imperial crown prince, and to mark the passing of the winter solstice. Embassies were sent additionally whenever a ruler died, a succession to the throne occurred, or a queen formally was invested in either Joseon Dynasty or Ming.

The purpose of all those missions was not only political, but they served also as medium for cultural borrowing and economic exchange. Articles exported in this way by Joseon Dynasty included horses, ginseng, furs, ramie cloth, and straw mats with floral designs, while in return Joseon Dynaty obtained silk fabrics, medicines, books, and porcelain ware. Thus the relationship with Ming China on the whole proceeded satisfactorily³⁹.

II. Confucianism and The Development of Science and Political Rules During Joseon Dynasty

The 1392 was the age of the development of Neo-Confucianism and it was the age when scholarship developed in many fields, and the state itself bent its energies to the compilation and publication of variety of scholarly works. Many practical books which content closely related to the governance of the new dynasty were published. Through those books they cast itself as a Confucian state.

Confucianism discovered all knowledge useful to the political and social life such as filial piety, loyalty, and considerations. Accordingly, in 1542 there was a long controversy at court because of Japanese envoy coming into Joseon with silver and asked to trade. The Confucians purists kept in their thinks that the precious metal had no practical use in daily life, but in other hand they need to maintain friendly relations with the Japanese. As result, with compromise they agreed to make trade on silver with Japan with particular portion. Yi Onjok (1491-1553) suggested that: ”A king should not value things that are brought from a far; he should value only virtue. The rare treasures of gold and silver are not urgently needed for the people’s life or for their food or clothing⁴⁰.

³⁹ Carter J. Ecjert, *Korea Old and New A History*, (Seoul: Ilchokak Publisher, 1990) p.122.

⁴⁰ Lee, *Sources of Korean Tradition Volume One: From Early Times Through The Sixteenth Century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.338-339.

From those evidences above, we can see how the Joseon Dynasty treated commerce during fifteenth century. To find know how was Joseon Dynasty in seventeenth century in relation with foreign commerce, I suggest to have a look at Choi⁴¹'s writing discusses about Hoi An as center for maritime trade among Europeans, Northeast and Southeast Asia countries. Through his writing we can find that a lively overseas trade in Hoi An has not attracted any attention from Joseon Dynasty. For this he argued the silence of Joseon Dynasty on maritime trade in seventeenth century is very exception. Further he also supposes if the international policy of Korea in that period had made Korea kept only to tributary system.⁴²

Furthermore, his writing brought us to a story, thus twenty four of Jeju islanders had were drafted to Annam (Vietnam) in March 1687. They could spend their times around one year in Vietnam. The king of Vietnam treated them well and finally sent them back to Joseon by the Chinese ship with a letter for the emperor of Joseon. But Vietnam did not get any reply from Joseon. Through this unexpected visit of Jeju Islanders into Vietnam, we can find how Vietnam was eager to create relation with Joseon Dynasty in seventeenth century, but it was failure because Joseon Dynasty never gave any response at all for this.

I try to find some clues for this through the content of letter⁴³. In the letter, the king of Vietnam informed how 24 Jeju island people had drafted to Annam. The king also stated its own consideration why he decided to ask Chinese traders, who had come into Annam for loading trade commodities, to send back Jeju Islanders by their merchant ship. In the final part of the letter, the king asked Joseon to give reply for his letter and asked to give it to the owner of the ship so that Chinese owner ship could go back to Vietnam again and send the ship into China. The script written by Choi Sang Su⁴⁴ also provides the content of the letter. According to his script, Joseon repaid back the amount of rice and also the ship toward China, and sent them back to China without sending any reply to Vietnam.

The negative response of Joseon toward Vietnam unexpected event in seventeenth century, however, was the reflection of Joseon Dynasty's diplomatic policy. In other words, the tributary system with China had influenced Joseon Dynasty's foreign policy. Joseon Dynasty still kept stick with its tributary system with China. Joseon Dynasty still kept maintaining a policy of rigid exclusionism against Chinese political interference and had no interesting in responding toward Vietnam

The exception of Joseon Dynasty (Korea) in international trade, I suggest to see the promotion of agriculture in fifteenth century of Joseon dynasty. Joseon Dynasty was predominantly an agrarian state. Land was the main source of wealth and revenue. Accordingly a great deal of effort was put into increasing the land's productivity. The new land system offered by Yong Tojo (1337-1398) made all the land belonged to the state, and the state granted the land to the people. There was no one did not receive land, and there was no one did not cultivate land. Because all the produce from land went to the state. In other side, advanced agrarian methods were introduced from China. As result of technological advance and new land system created a dramatic increased in food production. King Taejong (1367-1422)

⁴¹ 최병욱, 「16-17 세기 호이 안과 베트남의 대외무역」, 『바다의실크로드』 (청아출판사, 2003).

⁴² Ibid., pp.112-113.

⁴³ Ibid., pp.122-123.

⁴⁴ 최상수, 『한국과 월남과의 관계』 (한울학회, 1961), p.111.

redoubled the efforts to promote agriculture, and it led agriculture to be regarded as the root of wealth.

At the end of fifteenth century, however, commercial activities were carried out largely. The *cangmun* market at various population raised up. But, it became debate topic within Joseon Dynasty's government, as written in the following paragraph (Lee, 1997a: 333-341):

[from Songjong sillok 20; 27;24a-b]

....although people trade at the market –place to obtain what they do not have for what they have, they are abandoning the root of agriculture to seek the branch of commerce. This is causing the price of commodities to rise, thus inflicting a great deal of damage. The governor also reported that he has already instructed all the country magistrates to prohibit markets.⁴⁵

[From Myongjong sillok 6:28a]

Yi Hwang, expositor in the Office of Special Advisers, stated at the morning lecture session before His Majesty: “Markets at various localities are causing many people to seek commerce, and the number of robbers and thieves has also increased. For these reasons, the government had prohibited the markets.”⁴⁶

[From Yulgok chonso 23:49b-51a]

Yi I:..... If one is economical. One's heart is never dissolute, and one's mind is at ease with anything that may occur. If one extravagant, one's mind will always seek external things and will never be satisfied, not even for one day.

[From Taejong sillok 20:24a-b]

Yu Paeksun: On commerce:.....it has been said that farming is the root of government. It has also been said that when too many people pursue the petty occupation of commerce, farming is at the mercy of the marketplace.

The evidence above provides me to argue that the rejection of Joseon Dynasty toward international trade was reflection of Joseon's economical policy and a Confucian's consideration.

III. Joseon Dynasty Through The Eyes of Europeans.

Unlike the case of contemporary Korea, Joseon Dynasty was a subject for Europeans records prior to the late seventeenth century until nineteenth century. Many European put their interest toward Joseon Dynasty and wrote some records about Joseon on many section: geography, politic, social, culture, woman, law, religion. it was found some distorted records on Joseon culture and society. During these centuries, foreign trade was very active. In the process, missionaries, merchants, and travelers began to sojourn in all around the world. As a result, new territories, including Joseon Dynasty, were explored, and navigators mapped unfamiliar regions, and recorded as much as detail pertaining to the land, people, and their customs.

Focus on examining their records on Joseon period used in the book titled *wegokdwen hankuk woeroun hankuk* (Distorted Korea), I can understand how was Joseon Dynasty become paradise of imagination for them in describing Korea during Joseon Period. Based on some Europeans literature sources translated into Germany and English feed, Lee Je-eun show us how Europeans (missionaries, merchants, scientist) presented Joseon Dynasty as an 'unique' and 'exotic' country. Most of all their records show that they knew how Confucianism was significant in politic, social and culture of Joseon Dynasty., and they expanded it entirely. Unfortunately some of their records on Joseon Dynasty, particularly their description on Joseon Dynasty customs were distortedly described. For example, Martino-Martini (1614-1661) described Joseon society as barbarian because of savage funeral ceremony.⁴⁷

The varying records of Europeans accounts on Korea during Joseon Dynasty reflected the changing of social perception on Joseon impropriety. A Netherland records about Joseon Dynasty in seventeenth century which was recognized as the most journal/reference within larger bodies of records on Joseon Dynasty is "Hendric Hamel *Phyoryugi*" (The Drift of Hendric Hamel) (1668). Hamel wrote accounts dealing with Joseon Dynasty exclusively as a person adrift on Jeju island and had to live in Joseon kingdom for thirteen years. He wrote some accounts on Joseon in depth and published it, with description of geography, history, government, people, manners, language, and customs. Some of his accounts reflect Joseon Dynasty geography more correctly than Martino-Martini wrote. Unfortunately, his long experience of living in Joseon did not make his accounts on Joseon people's character propriety and uncontradiction. Hamel wrote that Joseon people's characters were shameful because they did not believe Christianity. As a European people was interned in very long times in Joseon Dynasty by accident, Hamel could not easily to have his sight on Joseon people's character affirmatively.⁴⁸ I recognize that the distorted descriptions on Joseon Dynasty society was regarded as the effect of Joseon Dynasty government's political policy which expanded Confucianism in entirely. Besides, some Europeans made their records on Joseon Dynasty without any experience on visiting Joseon Dynasty.⁴⁹

Unlike their sights on China and Japan were regarded favorably for their political power, technological and economic achievement as noted by European merchants and missionaries who had visited Joseon Dynasty in nineteenth century, Joseon Dynasty was regarded as a country with great factional strife affection and

⁴⁷ 이지은, 『왜곡된 한국 외로운 한국-300 년 동안 유럽이 본 한국』
(책세상출판사, 2006).p.43.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* p.62.

⁴⁹ *ibid.* p.38

also corrupt officials. These Europeans (British) merchants regarded Joseon Dynasty during that period as a country with great internal discord and strong isolationist policies that prohibited contact with foreign powers (the West).⁵⁰ Through story of Hendric Hamel, the accident of French ships in 1866, and the accident of American ships in 1871, all those historical records brought us explanation how Korea during Joseon Dynasty greatly confronted the expansion of imperial powers wishing to establish relation with Korea. Besides it also show us the Joseon Dynasty government's effort to hold Confucianism tightly and rejected all kinds of the West influences.

Conclusion

The society of Joseon Dynasty owed their political and cultural growth largely through Confucianism which adopted strictly. In the progress, Confucianism's ground was further hardened and it brought Joseon Dynasty into the advance of some fields: education, technology government, and economic in early of Joseon dynasty. The isolationist policies during Joseon Dynasty, we find that some accounts about Joseon Dynasty which based on firsthand experience of visiting Joseon Dynasty, particularly on geography and politic, showed us objectively perception and description. Through those accounts we find that Europeans in seventeenth century to nineteenth century put special their attention of Korea's natural resources Unlike geography and culture of Korea during Joseon Dynasty, for society, religion and culture, some of their accounts based on their subjectively perception as Europeans, the result of it showed us Korean during Joseon Dynasty was barbarian society.

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