

**Formation of Modern Literary Field:  
Intersection of Gender and Coloniality in Korean History**

by

**Heejin Jun**

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**Doctoral Committee:**

**Associate Professor Fatma Müge Göçek, Chair  
Professor George Steinmetz  
Associate Professor Geneviève Zubrzycki  
Assistant Professor Youngju Ryu**

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## Table of Contents

List of Pictures.....	iii
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	v
List of Appendices.....	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Chapter	
I. Introduction.....	1
II. Constructing Moral Boundaries across Gender and Nationalism.....	47
III. Setting Colonial Boundaries across Gender:	
Role of Interethnic Marriages.....	95
IV. Reproducing Boundaries in Gender and Coloniality:	
Survival Strategies in Literary Field.....	132
V. Conclusion:	
Being Women, Being the Colonized.....	189
Appendices.....	199
Bibliography.....	201

## List of Pictures

Picture I.1 <i>Balgaraki dalmakda (His toes look just like mine)</i> .....	3
Picture II.1 A Study of a Female Student Who Comes to the Capital for the First Time.....	78
Picture II.2 The Domestic Life of Madam Kim Ilyeop.....	89

## List of Figures

Figure I.1 Triangular Relationships.....	25
Figure II.1 Women in Traditional Korean Society and Colonial Korea.....	53
Figure II.2 Historical Transformation and Remasculinization of Colonial Korea by Korean Intellectuals.....	56
Figure II.3 The Change of Employment in Office Workers and Professionals .....	66
Figure II.4 Male Occupations in the Colonial Period.....	68
Figure II.5 Female Occupations in the Colonial Period.....	68
Figure III.1 The Number of Japanese Settlers.....	109
Figure IV.1 Quadrilateral Relationships in Colonial Korea.....	157
Figure IV.2 Social Conditions and Personal Experiences of Left-wing Female Writers.....	183

## List of Tables

Table I.1 Grouping following Gender and Colonial Status.....	9
Table I.2 Female Writers Published in Either Anthologies or Literary Journals.....	18
Table II.1 Editions of <i>Mujeong</i> and their Duration (1918-53) .....	57
Table II.2 The Number of High Schools and Students.....	65
Table II.3 Plans of Female Graduate Students in 1928.....	70
Table II.4 Actual Paths of Female Graduates in 1934.....	71
Table III.1 Interethnic Marriages between Koreans and Japanese in Korea from 1912 to 1934.....	98
Table III.2 Interethnic Marriages between Koreans and Japanese in Japan from 1938 to 1942.....	99
Table III.3 Marriage Settings in Western and Japanese Colony.....	110
Table IV.1 The Number of Newspapers in 1931.....	149
Table IV.2 The Number of Periodicals in 1931.....	149
Table IV.3 The Reading Habits of Female High School Students in 1931.....	152
Table IV.4 The Reading Habits of Male High School Students in 1931.....	153
Table IV.5 Books Borrowed from Baehwa Female High School Library.....	154
Table V.1 The Reasons for Female Writers' Success and Failure in Literary Field.....	191

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix 1. Literary Clubs .....	199
Appendix 2. Professional Literary Journals.....	200

## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation begins with several questions regarding colonial modernity, gender and nationalism in colonial Korea. Why do some New Women, especially female writers, get memorialized as ideal models, and others do not? If gendered nationalism produced the model of an ideal women and suppressed and regulated women to fit that frame, where can we locate the subjectivity of New Women? Even though male nationalists seem so powerful when they construct and enforce a model for ideal women, is their power undermined by their own status as the colonized? In order to answer these sequential questions, this dissertation follows writers' lives and their works in colonial Korea. The literary world, with its writers' groups, was the place to practice modernity because, in the colonial context, the participation of Koreans in the economic and political realms was restricted. As a consequence, the literary realm became especially important, and it offers us a valuable opportunity for observing the discourse and behavior of these colonial subjects. Using the comparative method to find the real reason for the success and failure of New Women, I argue that gaining access to economic resources and maintaining favorable public opinion contribute to the success of female writers. Although both successful and unsuccessful female writers had several marriages, divorces, and love affairs, the more successful second generation of female writers used



several strategies such as making politically expedient marriages, and publishing ideologically uncontroversial stories to maintain their popularity. In short, they learned the lessons of their first-generation predecessors. While male writers tried to control the behaviors of Korean New Women, they also attempted to overcome their own insecure position as the colonized by imagining Japanese women as their inferior.

The literary world of colonial Korea, in the form of novels, newspaper and magazine articles, and barriers to publication, clearly reflects these struggles and conflicts. At the same time, the colonial writers contributed to the construction and practice of social norms. Examining these multi-layered conflicts and the construction of norms in the colonial context, this dissertation suggests that no single category or duality, whether male/female or colonizer/colonized, fully explains the colonial structure or the struggles that took place within it.

## Chapter I

### Introduction

Novels are like mirrors one takes  
along on a walk through the streets  
of a city (Stendhal 1984[1830]).

#### 1. Introduction: His Toes Look Just Like Mine

As soon as Kim Dongin<sup>1</sup> (2004[1932])’s novel *Balgaraki dalmakda* (*His toes look just like mine*) was published, almost all members of the Korean literary world knew that the novel was based on writer Yeom Sangseop’s private life including his love affairs, a late marriage and a newborn baby. In this novel, having a licentious life before marriage, the main character is diagnosed as sterile because of his lavish love affairs. However, his wife somehow becomes pregnant and gives birth (Kim 1987: 243). The protagonist wants to know if he is the father of the baby. After a close examination of the baby, the main character is reassured when he finds that the baby’s toes and his own resemble each other. After being ridiculed by this novel, the supposed model for the main character—Yeom—wrote an article entitled “Modelbobokjeon”(Revenge of a Model) to pay back Kim

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<sup>1</sup> For Korean names, I follow the Korean custom (and the Chinese and Japanese custom for that matter) of putting the family name first. Thus, in this case, “Kim” is Dongin’s surname.

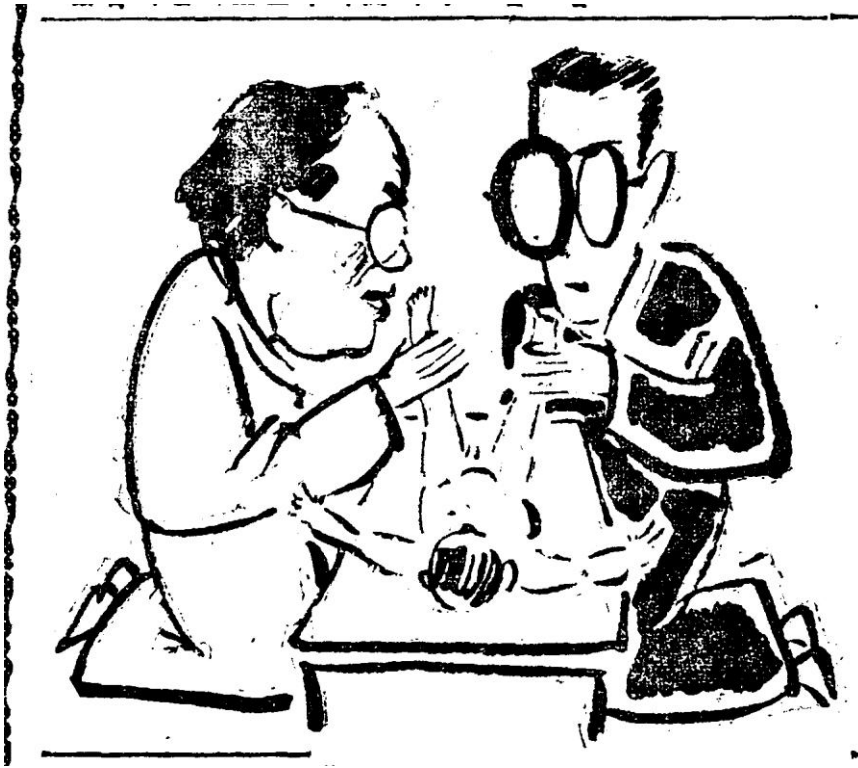
Dongin, only to find that no one would publish his story (Kim 1987: 243). After this futile attempt at revenge, Yeom wrote another defensive article published in a newspaper (Yeom Feb 21-Feb 27, 1932). In his own defense, Yeom argued that it was true he had a late marriage like the main character, but insisted that he was not promiscuous at all, as depicted in *His toes look just like mine*. He even recollected his first love, unsuccessful engagement, and other girlfriends to emphasize his innocence.<sup>2</sup> Later, the newspaper *Chosunilbo* (Chosun daily), the same newspaper that delivered Yeom's defense, ridiculed the whole series of events with some comments and a vignette.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *His toes look just like mine* was written for the purpose of avenging Kim Dongin's friend, Kim Anseo. Because Yeom, the model for *His toes look just like mine* wrote a story based on Kim Anseo's life, Kim Anseo asked Kim Dongin to help him get revenge against Yeom Sangseop. *Balgaraki Dalmakda* (*His toes look just like mine*) resulted from Kim Anseo's request and Kim Dongin's personal interest in ruining the career of Yeom, who was one of his rivals.

<sup>3</sup> This vignette illustrates the imagined scene of the close examination of the baby. The person wearing the black suit is Kim Dongin, and the one in white clothes is Yeom Sangseop. In the article, the columnist worries about what the younger generation of writers would learn from this event.

Picture I.1 *Balgaraki dalmakda* (*His toes look just like mine*)



(Chosunilbo Mar. 6, 1932)

This small episode nicely captures some of the characteristics of the Korean literary field. One thing we can observe from this episode is that the literary world was quite small; most writers, critics and newspaper and magazines reporters almost instantly recognized this story as a fictional replica of Yeom's life story, even though the writer of *His toes look just like mine*, did not clearly identify the model for his novel. Therefore, Yeom had to defend himself using several routes such as coterie journals and popular newspapers. Secondly and more importantly, this event demonstrates escalated tensions within this newborn Korean literary field. Unlike traditional Korean literature that used Chinese characters and writing styles, Yeom and Kim were the leading figures in each of

their prominent literary circles, which tried to dictate the future direction of the authentic style of Korean literature. They were constantly competing for the authority in Korean literature. This event shows, beyond the apparent literary debates and theoretical polemics, Kim's desire to secure his position in the literary field, which led him to exploit rumors around Yeom's marriage and the birth of a child.

Kim Dongin is one of the writers who drew inspiration from other people's life stories. In addition to this novel, Kim wrote many other people's stories, including his own, using the novel format (Jeong 2008; Kim 2006[1930]). But Kim Dongin is by no means an exceptional case. When I started to read historical documents, magazines, newspapers, and novels written during the colonial period, it was obvious that gossip, in one form or another, was widespread. Every magazine issue reveals love stories, secrets of birth and news of marriage, divorce and death, much as current popular magazines deliver the news and stories of celebrities. Maybe male and female westernized intellectuals were the colonial Korean version of rock stars.<sup>4</sup> Newspapers were not much different from magazines. Moreover, as I already mentioned, many novels were based on other people's private stories.

In addition to repeating, reproducing and evaluating other people's life histories in literature, many writers, including Kim Dongin, tried to regulate others' lives through their writing. These attempts did not necessarily succeed. In fact, many episodes show the

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<sup>4</sup> This focus on the sexuality of female intellectuals and their personal events in this period has been understood as arising from political conditions. Under Japanese colonial rule, discussions on politics and other social and economic issues were regulated and suppressed. Therefore, magazines were filled with gossip to arouse interest (Misook Jo 2005: 225-6).

very opposite. Kim Dongin, a prolific writer and a self-proclaimed genius,<sup>5</sup> was not able to find a safe haven in the field of colonial literature. He had suffered from several health problems and economic difficulties. Finally, during the Korean War, his family decided to leave him behind when they took refuge in southern Korea. He had to stay behind taking care of his own ailing body with only some money, some bread and a blanket. When his family came back to their home, the money and the blanket were gone; only his dead body remained (Sangjin Yi 2004: 55-6).

His tragic fate only reminds us of the miserable deaths of several Korean female intellectuals, especially writers from both nationalist and communist groups. Their collective tragedy seems to draw our attention to the simple fact that their lives were burdened by historical circumstances: modernization, colonialism and wars. Under these circumstances, this small group of writers faced several economic difficulties, although historical conditions affected their lives in various ways and to various degrees. Certainly, however, they refused to be passive victims of their historical contexts. Although many of them failed to reach their goals, their endeavors are nonetheless crucial to understanding Korean modernity, because their efforts affected the later historical trajectory of the modern Koreas.

This study attempts to explicate what the important historical circumstances were and how Korean colonial writers responded to these historical limits and opportunities. At this point, however, I feel obliged to warn readers that this study will not be another version of the conventional saga of the successful modernization of Korea. Before

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<sup>5</sup> Kim Dongin was known to boast about his literary ingenuity. For example, he argued he was the first person to use the third-person pronouns 'he' and 'she'.

clarifying the full plot of this study, let us dwell a little more on the historical background and theoretical considerations.

## **2. Historical Background**

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Korean Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and Japan were similar in their isolation from the Eurocentric world system and their closeness to Chinese civilization (Cumings 1981: 4). Despite the resemblance between Korea and Japan, however, Japan was able to meet the challenge of modernity through the Meiji Restoration in 1868, whereas Korea was annexed to become Japan's colony in 1910. Korea has constantly been under the influence of imperial powers since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Ever since Korean people encountered a Japanese ship in Ganghwa (1876), they have faced imperial powers who wanted to control the Korean peninsula. In fact, Korea became a battlefield of imperial powers—mainly Japan, China, and Russia. Each of them had their own interests in Korea: China did not want to give up its traditional privileges over Korea, Russia wanted to penetrate Korea for access to the ice-free ports that it lacked within its cold mainland, and the Japanese expansion in East Asia derived from the *Samurai* desires to extend Japanese influence to resist “white imperialism” (Beasley 1985: 7). Due to imperial powers' desire to invade Korea, Korean people had to undergo two wars (the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)). Because of its victories in these wars, Japan was recognized as having the exclusive privilege of controlling Korea in 1905. Five years later, in 1910, Korea finally became a Japanese colony.

From 1910 to 1945, the Korean peninsula was under the control of Japanese colonial power. The colonial period of Korea (1910-1945) is often characterized as having three phases. The first decade of Japanese rule (1910-1919) has been called “*the dark period*”<sup>6</sup> because of the comprehensive repression of cultural and political life in the colony (Eckert 1990: 260). During this period, Korea did not have the right to organize any political groups or assemble any meetings. However, after the March First Movement in 1919—a nation-wide movement declaring national independence with over one million people participating in the demonstration—the surprised Japanese government reformed its policy, taking into account this cultural reaction (bunka seiji: 文化政治 (cultural policy)).

The second decade of Japanese rule (1919-1931) is thus referred to as “*the cultural policy period*.” During this period, there was a fundamental change of economic policy, such as investing in rice cultivation and rescinding the existing company law,<sup>7</sup> and guaranteeing comparatively liberal political and cultural activities. This cultural policy had three significant implications for Korean people. First, they participated in governance. Second, a large number of social organizations emerged: while there were only 985 organizations in 1920, two years later there were 5,728 (Eckert 1990: 286). Finally, the expansion of vernacular publications and the establishment of native education institutes had a large impact on the Korean populace and helped resuscitate Korean nationalism.

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<sup>6</sup> This period is also called *budan seiji* (武断政治 : repressive policy) in Japanese.

<sup>7</sup> Until the establishment of a new company law, a business required permission to begin operations and could not just simply register.



During the third and final decade of Japanese rule (1931-1945), the Japanese colonial state required Korean people to actively support and participate in its economic and military plan. When the Japanese Army attacked Chinese troops in Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese government adopted the slogan “Japanese and Korean as one body (nai-sen ittai: 内鮮一体)” and “harmony between Japan and Korea (nissen yuwa: 日鮮融和)”.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the Korean people were to take Japanese names. Therefore, the Korean peninsula became “the Military Supply Base” of Japanese imperialism. This forced assimilation and mass mobilization for war continued until 1945 when the Japanese were defeated in WWII.

After the Japanese defeat, Korea was divided and placed under the control of the Soviet Union on the Northern side and the U.S.A on the Southern side. This division and the escalating conflicts between the North and South led to the Korean War (1950-1953). My main focus is limited to the Japanese colonial period, and this study does not directly deal with either the pre-colonial period or the post-emancipation period. Still, it is worth mentioning that these intense experiences of modernism and imperial power provided Korea, like most of the world, with crises and opportunities to build new social orders. Some blueprints were imported from the metropolitan areas of the empire (Steinmetz 2007) while others were determined by each country’s history, culture and social context (Tilly 1984). The Korean people, and especially the Korean writers, who are my subjects, faced the need to build a more stable social position and competed to maintain their precarious privileged positions.

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<sup>8</sup> During this time, the Japanese colonial state tried to develop the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (dai tooa kyooei ken: 大東亜共栄圏).

### 3. Colonial Writers

#### (1) Colonized and /or Women

In this dissertation, my main focuses are writers and their construction of a literature field under the colonial condition. After western literature traditions had been introduced, some scholars, scientists, religious leaders, writers and politicians, who had absorbed western knowledge and culture, tried to adopt and introduce western knowledge into Korean society and build up a Korean replica of the western system. Korean colonial writers had to build their literature field and, within the literature world, they had to compete with each other to obtain a secure position in colonial society. For that matter, I observe the conflicts, struggles and anxiety over insecurity among writers through rumors<sup>9</sup> about and continuous remarks directed at other writers, and try to understand their behaviors from several different angles. Two categories, gender and colonial status, constitute my primary framework.

Table I.1 Grouping following Gender and Colonial Status

	Male	Female
The Colonizer	Japanese Men	Japanese Women
The Colonized	Korean Men	Korean Women

Table I.1 is probably too simplistic of a classification to capture the colonial Korean society. However, it shows how uncertain and unstable the hierarchical social order of a

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<sup>9</sup> It is important to note that rumors “did not hide their status as rumor” (Neubauer 1999). Usually, phrases such as “people are saying” or “there’s a rumor going around,” appear in the first part of magazine articles.

society can be, when two relatively stable social hierarchies of colonial status and gender intersect. Most likely, Japanese men occupied the highest position in the colonial order. Who then would be placed in the next position? Would it be Japanese women or Korean men? On what basis would the hierarchy be determined? There is considerable ambiguity in the hierarchy and historically actualized answers differed from case by case. If we add the instability of the gender hierarchy to the already fluid social hierarchy of the colonial society, the possibility of social regulation can spiral out of control. When the supposed total control of men over women lost its legitimacy with the collapse of Confucianism as a state ideology and the emergence of western-educated New Women, how did Korean men and women intellectuals react to the situation?

Since the opening of ports in 1876, the hegemony of the western ideology of civilization-enlightenment (and later modernization) had increasingly intensified even under Japanese colonial rule. As in most colonized countries, the encounter with the West in Korea led to the acceptance of Western criteria in shaping governmental and social institutions and personal lives. But not without Korean's own rationale. Most Korean intellectuals sought to import Western laws and practices such as equal human rights, the abolition of inherited social status, and gender equality in order to accomplish the ultimate nationalist project of the independence of Korea from Japanese colonial rule.

To be a legitimate writer of modern literature in colonial Korea, both men and women had to receive a western education. While opportunities for western education were quite limited even for male students, for women they were even scarcer. Riding on the tides of the modernization mission, some women started to receive a modern education and gain access to occupations that had been dominated by men. These women,

who nearly adopted [Western] “civilized/civilizing subjects”, were called the “New Women”. The concept of New Women, which originated in England, referred to educated and modernized/Westernized women—in contrast to traditional ones. One Korean definition of New Women stated that “New Women [*Sinyeoseong*] should obtain the knowledge and consciousness of equality and, unlike traditional women, have the will and drive to practice their dreams” (Sochun 1924; quoted in Baeyong Yi 2003: 22). Another definition of New Women noted that these women “face this historical epoch head on and expand the consciousness of the self toward the other side of the globe and find and perform the women’s role in Korean society as well as in the world” (Palbongsanin 1924; quoted in Baeyong Yi 2003: 22). These definitions were clearly normative rather than descriptive, representing mainly the needs and wishes of the authors.

Korean male intellectuals, the Japanese colonial government, and the New Women themselves had great social expectations of those perceived to be an emerging new generation of women and tried to regulate them so that they would live up to their expectations. However, there was significant ambiguity in the social and ethical norms governing the behavior of these New Women. The expectations of the different historical actors potentially diverged in their interpreted significance of the phenomena of New Women. New Women were simultaneously a symbol of emancipation and the focal point of a new regulation of women. They could be something either totally new [western] or traditional. That means they were neither; they were instead multi-layered. The very multi-layered nature of New Women seems to magnify the arbitrariness of judgments of them. While some of these New Women maintained their social status and are still

memorialized as ideal and honorable women, others gained popularity in the early 1920s but soon after were socially ostracized and died homeless.<sup>10</sup>

In my dissertation, I specifically focus on why some New Women, especially modern female writers, were venerated as ideal figures while others were not and, as a result, how some female writers could successfully join the Korean literary field while others failed. In order to answer these questions, I trace the emergence, construction, and transformation of the social and ethical norms that guide gender relations, as well as the reactions of female writers to these norms. As Chakrabarty (1997: 374) has mentioned, “such public narratives of the nature of social life in the family” are one of the products of modern print capitalism and the Western Enlightenment project. In addition, the definition and norms of domestic life and women are also inseparable from the hierarchical thoughts of civilization and nation building, in that not only nationalist sentiments but also colonial rules helped to construct the norms and definition of New Women (Chakrabarty 1997; Chatterjee 1990). Hence both the processes of modernity, modernization and Westernization and the processes of nationalism and colonialism contributed to the construction of the New Women in Korea; what I intend to do in my dissertation is to identify the interaction among these components.

In the construction of New Women, male intellectuals were indispensable historical actors. Korean New Women experienced social expectations and regulations; Korean male writers participated in the process of social regulation but were also themselves the product of social regulations. As mentioned above, their insecure place as

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<sup>10</sup> A few of those women have been reevaluated and commemorated in a highly selective fashion. For example, Na Haeseok (1896-1948) is celebrated as the first female fine artist in Korea. However, other parts of her life were largely deleted from public memory.

colonized males forced them to compete with female colonizers. In this dissertation, the social space of Korean colonial writers well exemplified that of emerging occupations, specialization, and gender conflicts inside such spaces. The pressures of competition and their desire to climb the hierarchical ladder are most evident in their descriptions of relationships between Korean men and Japanese women in their fantasy world. I will follow novels dealing with interethnic marriage, especially between Korean men and Japanese women, and try to delve into male writers' inner desires within the order of the Japanese empire.

In this manner, I hope to rethink the history of the colonial period of Korea that is still described in antagonistic binaries: the colonizer vs. the colonized, men vs. women, collaborators vs. nationalists, traditional intellectuals vs. modern and Western-influenced intellectuals. Yet things are often much more nuanced in reality. As Spivak (1987) so carefully points out, the concept of women, throughout all time periods, has never been homogeneous.<sup>11</sup> One should not only be cautious about the variations within the category of colonized women, but also be cognizant of the presence of other agents who impact the emergence, construction, and transformation of gender relations. In this study, the New Women lived under regulations and expectations that were different from those experienced by traditional women, but even among themselves, the New Women faced different conditions according to their class, religious beliefs, and occupations. In addition, the Korean male intellectuals, the Japanese colonial government, the Japanese immigrants and the Western missionaries and merchants were also important historical

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<sup>11</sup> Spivak (1987) raised the question of what women are: "Not merely who am I? but who is the other women? How am I naming her? How does she name me?"

actors who affected the destinies of the New Women. Korean male writers should also be considered to understand their attempts to participate in the social regulation of New Women, especially female writers and Japanese women in colonial Korea. Until now, the Korean male's relative superiority has not been questioned. However, it is worth asking why many Korean male writers eagerly engaged in the regulation of New Women. Following the male writers' literary depictions of both Korean women and Japanese women, this dissertation reveals the anxiety of male writers under Japanese imperial order.

Through my historical analysis of the Korean colonial writers, I hope to bring new insight into the relationship among gender, nationalism and imperialism, the understanding of which is currently underdeveloped in the sociology of literature. Most scholars agree that nations and nationalism are social constructions and, when it comes to considering the "women question" within the context of nationalism, they seem to dismiss women as being under the influence of male intellectuals. Even if the women were indeed fully under the influence of male intellectuals' imaginations and regulations, could women have contributed to the construction of nationalism in any way? If so, how? In seeking answers to these questions, I view the history of colonial Korea through comparative lenses, comparing the successful writers to their non-ideal counterparts to delineate the construction and formation of ideal figures and the role of women in imagining the features of the nation. In contrast, the colonized male did not receive enough attention to reveal their social positions. They could be either nationalists against imperial power or collaborators in building a stronger empire, but under the binary categories, the inner insecurities of the colonized male could not be considered. The

simultaneous occupation of a superior position—gender—and an inferior position—the colonized—impacted the Korean male intellectuals’ lives. While male intellectuals tried to produce the ideal New Women, at the same time, they attempted to maintain their social position in several ways. By following male writers’ literature, this dissertation will look at their endeavors.

## (2) Female Writers: Sample Selections and Materials

For this research, I primarily used historical materials. For female writers, I collected data from several encyclopedias, several Who’s Who in Korean literature<sup>12</sup>, a list of literary journals and literary clubs (using a database I created, See Appendix 1 and 2), memberships in these clubs, their publications in periodicals and appearances in anthologies. After crosschecking these materials, I collected 27 female writers, and among them, I chose 6 writers who were studied more extensively in this dissertation. Three of those authors are the model of failure and three are the model of success. To understand their personal lives and social activities which underscored gender and ethnic power struggles in colonial Korea, I utilized periodicals, literature, diaries, letters,

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<sup>12</sup> The encyclopedias and Who’s Who in Korean Literature lists follow:

Choi, Dukkyo. 2004. *Hankuk Japji Baekneon (The Century of Korean Magazines)*.

Encyber, (Dusanencyclopedia). "<http://www.encyber.com/>."

Kang, Shinhang et al. (ed.). 1985. *The Encyclopedia of Korean Literature (Hankuk Munhak Sajeon)*.

Kim, Dongri et al. (ed.). 1973. *The Encyclopedial of Korean Literature (Hankuk Munhak Daesajeon)*.

Kwon, Youngmin (ed.). 2004. *Hankuk Hyundae Munhak Daesajeon (The Encyclopedia of Modern Korean Literature)*.

Sukmyung YeojaDaehakkyo Hankukeo Munhwa Yeonkuso, (Sukmyung Women's University Korean Language Institute). 2006. *The Directory of Korean Female Writers (Hankuk Yeoseong Munin Sajeon)*.



autobiographies, biographies and memoirs. In addition, government statistical data and surveys from periodicals were also consulted.

More specifically, I looked at three categories of information: 1) membership in literary clubs, 2) publication in anthologies<sup>13</sup> and 3) contribution to newspapers and magazines (Kwon 2004). Although I identified 27 writers, some of them participated in literary groups only because of their popularity or other talents (such as acting). This was usual because of the lack of clear boundaries defining social groups. In addition, for some writers, their presence in an anthology of women writers was their only publication according to my data. In addition, one writer, Ju Youngsuk is listed in a dictionary of female writers (Sukmyung YeojaDaehakkyo Hankuk Munhwa Yeonkuso 2006), but I was not able to find any of her published works. Women who participated in literary clubs, but did not have any publications or writings were excluded from my analysis. In addition, the next generation such as Roh Cheonmyeong (1912-1957), Mo Yunsuk (1910-1990), Jang Deokjo (1914-2003) and Yi Seonhui (1911-?) should be intensively studied in other projects. Not only were they too young to demonstrate many social activities, but they were also not left-wing writers who are my research interests in this chapter. Finally, I did not follow some writers who appear in anthologies but did not

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<sup>13</sup> I collected data from seven anthologies which lists follow:

*Heondaeseon siin seonjip (The Anthology of Modern Poets)* 1938

*Heondaeseojeong siseon (A Selection of Modern Lyric Poems)* 1939

*Hyeondaeseon munhak jeonjip (The Collection of Modern Korean Literature)* 1938

*Hyeondaeseoryu munhak seonjip (The Anthologies of Modern Korean Female Literature)* 1937

*Joseonmyeongjak seonjip (The Collection of Choseon Masterpieces)* 1936

*Joseon siin seonjip (Anthology of Choson poets)* 1926

*Yeoryudanpyeon geoljakjip (Anthology of Female Writers' Short Stories)* 1939

leave any records of their personal histories or other works from other historical sources.

The final list of female writers appears in Table I.2.

Table I.2 Female Writers Published in Either Anthologies or Literary Journals

Name	Years of Birth and Death	Schools	Occupation	Literary Journal	Canon			Book	Newspapers, Magazines
					Female Writers' Anthologies*	Other Anthologies**	Sum		
Kang, Gyeongae	1906-1943	Pyeongyang Sungui Female School	Novelist	1	2	1	3	0	7
Kim, Malbong	1901-1962	Japan	Journalist, Novelist		2	0	2	1	1
Kim, Myeongsun	1896-1951	Japan	Poet, Novelist	4	0	3	3	2	4
Kim, Ohnam	1906-1996	Japan	Writer of Korean Verse, Teacher		1	1	2	0	0
Kim, Ilyeop	1896-1971	Japan	Poet, Essayist	3	0	0	0	0	5
Kim, Jahye	?	Ewha Women's College	Teacher, Journalist		1	0	1		0
Kim, Hwallan	1899-1970	Ewha, U.S.A.	Educator	1	0	0	0	0	0
Na, Hyeoseok	1896-1946	Japan	Poet, Novelist, Artist	1	0	0	0	0	2
Roh, Cheonmyeong	1912-1957	Ewha School	Poet, Journalist	2	1	3	4	1	0
Mo, Yunsuk	1910-1990	Ewha Women's College	Poet, Teacher	8	2	4	6	1	8
Park, Indeok	1896-1980	Ewha, U.S.A.	Educator	1	0	0	0	0	0
Park, Hwaseong	1904-1988	Japan	Novelist, Teacher	3	3	2	5	0	7
Baek, Gukhui	1915-?	Ewha Women's College	Teacher		2	0	2		0
Baek, Sinne	1906-1939	Daegudorip Sabeom College, Joseon Female	Novelist, Teacher	1	3	1	4	0	3

		Movement							
Bok, Hyesuk	1904-1982	Japan	Actress	1	0	0	0	0	0
Song, Gyewol	1910-1933	Kyeongseong Female Commercial School	Novelist, Journalist	1	0	0	0	0	0
Oh, Sinhye	1913-		Writer of Korean Verse	1	0	0	0	0	0
Yun, Simdeok	1897-1926	Japan	Singer, Actress	2	0	0	0	0	0
Yi, Seonhui	1911-?	Ewha Women's College	Novelist, Journalist		3	0	3		4
Im, Okin	1915-1995	Japan	Novelist	1	0	0	0	0	0
Jang, Deokjo	1914-2003	Ewha School	Novelist, Essayist, Journalist	1	3	1	4	0	7
Jang, Yeongsuk	1915-?	Ewha Women's College	Teacher		1	0	1		0
Jang, Jeongsim	1898-1947	Missionary School	Missionary		1	0	1	2	0
Ju, Suwon	1910-?	Ewha Women's College	Teacher		2	0	2		0
Ju, Yeongsuk	1908-?				0	0	0		0
Ji, Haryeon	1912-?	Japan	Novelist	1	0	0	0	0	0
Choi, Jeonghui	1912-1990	Training School for Preschool teachers	Novelist, Kindergarten Teacher, Journalist	5	3	1	4	0	8

\* Female writers' anthology include *Hyeondae yeoryu munhak seonjip (The Anthologies of Modern Korean Female Literature)* 1937, *Yeoryu danpyeon geoljakjip (Anthology of Female Writers' Short Stories)* 1939.

\*\* Anthologies include *Hyeondae joseon siin seonjip (The Anthology of Modern Poets)* 1938, *Hyeondae seojeong siseon (A Selection of Modern Lyric Poems)* 1939, *Hyeondae joseon munhak jeonjip (The Collection of Modern Korean Literature)* 1938; *Joseon myeongjak seonjip (The Collection of Joseon Masterpieces)* 1936, *Joseon siin seonjip (Anthology of Joseon poets)* 1926

I divide female writers according to their writing periods and their political stances. As previously mentioned, due to the Cultural Rule in the 1920s, various cultural activities were pursued by Korean intellectuals with modern educational backgrounds. Although severe censorship was still effective, journals, newspapers and magazines were able to publish even explicitly political material (Robinson 1988: 4). During this period, the Korean cultural field can be classified into three broad but not mutually exclusive trends. The first was nationalist cultural discourse, which pursued the civilizing mission of modernization and industrialization in order to restore the national sovereignty of Koreans. The second trend includes various socialist movements that sought non-capitalist paths toward modernity. The final trend was characterized by the emphasis on the actual enjoyment of fruits of the Western modernity. The trends overlapped to some extent, but by indentifying the times at which they emerged, we can order them chronologically. Members of the first generation, which adapted nationalist discourse, were born before 1900 and began their social activities in the 1920s. This generation includes Kim Myeongsun, Kim Ilyeop, Kim Hwallan, Na Hyeseok, Park Indeok, Yun Simdeok and Jang Jeongsim. Among this first generation are several women who, despite their participation in literary circles, are difficult to define as writers: Kim Hwallan, Park Indeok, and Yun Simdeok fall under that category.<sup>14</sup> Kim Myeongsun, the first Korean woman to write a novel, published two books, but died homeless. Kim Ilyeop, publisher

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<sup>14</sup> Kim Hwallan, who became the first female Ph.D in Korean history, should be remembered as an educator and an activist for women's movements rather a writer (Jeong 1996; Kim 1998). Park Indeok also established a vocational school and tried to convert Korean people to Christianity (Pahk(Park) 1954; Pahk(Park) 1965). Park Indeok gained fame as the first woman to pay alimony to her ex-husband (Samcheonri Jan 1933). Yun Simdeok was the first soprano singer and actress. But after falling in love with a married man, she and her lover committed double suicide, and the story of that event circulated through many newspapers and magazines (Dongailbo Aug 5-9 1926).

of the first female magazine and an activist for women's emancipation, moved to a temple and became a nun after four marriages that all ended with divorce. Finally, Na Hyeseok, the first female western painter and writer, died homeless in a municipal hospital. Except for Jang Jeongsim, who devoted her life to writing religious poems and publishing religion magazines,<sup>15</sup> these women were constantly scrutinized by the press and society, and their behaviors were continuously reported and evaluated. Therefore, I choose Kim Myeongsun, Kim Ilyeop and Na Hyeseok as model of failures. Among the second generation, Park Hwaseong, Choi Jeonghui and Kang Gyeongae are the main focus in this dissertation. Unlike the first generation, they received acclamations from male critics, put their works in female anthologies and maintained their positions as writers until the end of colonial period. The main topics on female writers are what caused the differences between the first generation's failure and second generation's success and what their strategies were.

#### **4. Theoretical Framework**

##### **(3) Nationalism and Colonialism**

During the last few decades, scholars have built upon the concepts of nation and nationalism in relation to its origins, aspects, and intensifications. Regarding its origin, the questions that have arisen are: Is the nation an ethno-cultural or a political and social community within a territory? Is the nation a modern product or an immemorial one? In

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<sup>15</sup> Unlike other female writers, Jang Jeongsim attracted very few comments and reviews. An article on women's poetry mentioned that Jang Jeongsim's book did not receive much attention from reviewers or other writers. According to the author of this article, Jang published a collection of religious poems, but the quality of these poems was poor and unimpressive (Park 1934: 27-8).

addition, some scholars such as Giddens (1985) and Gellner (1983) have emphasized the political dimension of nationalism,<sup>16</sup> while others have shed light on the cultural dimension of nationalism (Anderson 1991[1983]; Gocek 2002: 2; Smith 1986).

However, this cultural/political dichotomy has faced difficulties in explaining nationalism as it has occurred in the rest of the world.<sup>17</sup> As Chatterjee (1990) has mentioned, the colonized refused to be accepted members of the civil society of subjects of the empire and instead created a different domain—the cultural and spiritual domain. In addition, the Western “modular” form of nationalism did not include the idea and movements of anti-colonial nationalism (Chatterjee 1993: 5). However, this cultural and spiritual domain of the colonized was hard to maintain, both in general and in the Korean case. First, the colonial conquest itself was not only the result of military power, political rulings and economic dominance, but also the consequence of cultural knowledge (Cohn 1996: ix).<sup>18</sup> This cultural knowledge helped to classify the “traditional,” “eastern,” and

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<sup>16</sup> Both Giddens (1985) and Gellner (1983), followed by Max Weber’s (1948: 176) definition of state which says “a nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce state of its own” recognized the importance of the monopoly of legitimate violence of state and this pre-existence of the state is a necessary condition of the emergence of nationalism, not the other way around.

<sup>17</sup> These difficulties lead to several different attempts at understanding nationalism. For example, John A. Hall (1993) argues the necessity of middle grounded ideal types of nationalism. Following the historical and political conditions, he characterized the patterns of nationalisms as thus; political conditions in Northwest Europe necessitated the emergence of nationalism in Britain and France: “the logic of asocial society”; the fiscal crisis of the French state left nationalist solutions, which was adopted by Prussia and Japan: “revolution from above”; the desire of independence and the danger of Creole’s privileges resulted in another nationalism: “desire and fear blessed by opportunity”; Czech wanted to remain their geopolitical position between Russia and Germany: “Risorgimento nationalism”; finally, “integral nationalism”.

<sup>18</sup> The Japanese colonial state, as a latecomer to imperial powers, had the advantage of benefiting from previous colonial experiences and practices. Its geographical proximity to Korea provided another advantage. In addition, unlike most European empires, the Japanese state encouraged its populace to migrate to Korea and establish close ties with the colony. By 1940 Korea had 708,418 Japanese residents, which represented 3.2 percent of the Japanese population (Eckert 1990: 256). The presence of a significant



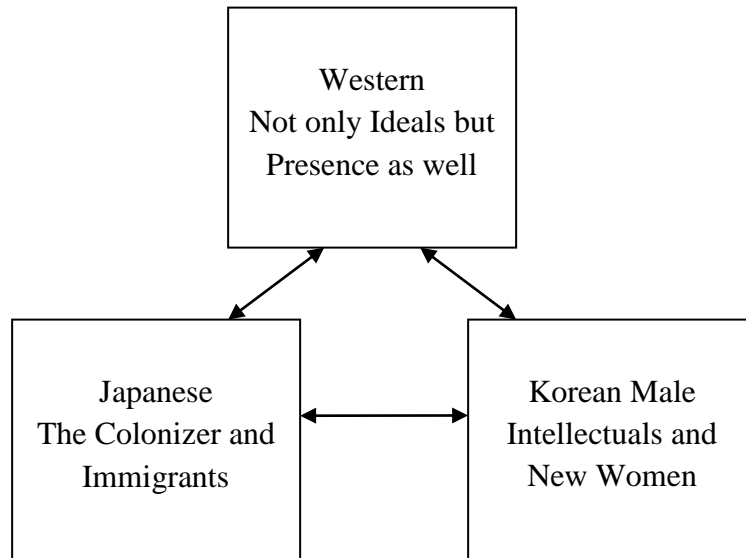
“Asian” society. Second, the value of progress and modernization conflicted with the maintenance of traditional society (Gocek 2002). Finally and most importantly, Japanese imperialism was unable to distinguish the Korean tradition from the East Asian one. So even though occupying a cultural and spiritual domain could have been a successful strategy for challenging Western imperialism, it was not effective for the Korean intellectuals who tried to find distinctive characteristics of Korean history and tradition in order to compete with *both* the West and the Japanese. In the end, it became just another excuse to collaborate with the Japanese government (Choe 2005; Kong 2005).

Even though I admit the particularity of Japanese imperialism and colonial Korea here, one should not emphasize differences alone. If one focuses only on differences and the divergence of colonial Korea from the Western colonial cases, one would fail to observe the cultural impact of the West in Korea through knowledge and philosophy as well as its institutional impact through schools, hospitals and churches. Moreover, the engagement of Koreans as teachers, nurses, and doctors in western institutes made it possible for them to avoid nationalist accusations of collaboration. Therefore, in this study, as shown in Figure I.1 Triangular Relationships, I intend to triangulate the impacts on Korea by including both the Western influence and the Japanese one; my historical actors will include Japanese colonizers—colonial governors, philosophers, scholars and immigrants—as well as Korean male intellectuals from nationalists to communists, and Western residents in Korea as well as, emerging Korean female intellectuals.

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number of Japanese residents in Korea provided a role model for Korean nationalist intellectuals and enabled the Japanese state to establish direct control over the colony.

Figure I.1 Triangular Relationships



#### (4) Causality: Gendered Nationalism

The increased interest in nationalism has led to a focus on the relationship between gender and nationalism. This is partly because “nationalism assigned everyone his place in life, man and woman, normal and abnormal, native and foreigner” (Mosse 1985: 16). Connected with this approach, national emancipation practices imposed a whole new set of controls on society, excluding many others from it in the process. Therefore, “the story of national emancipation is necessarily a story of betrayal” (Chatterjee 1993: 154). For example, especially during the thirty-year rule following emancipation and until now, official South Korean historiography has constructed masculine national identity using patriotic masculine war heroes (Choi 1998). In this context, Korean women had to be assigned as guardians and mothers. In addition, for national [economic] development, the Korean government legitimated women’s

subordination in the male-centered social hierarchy. For instance, not only in the emancipation process but also in the anti-colonial movements, women were portrayed as nursing mothers to the exclusion of other roles. It is true that nationalism is dangerous and deeply gendered (McClintock 1995: 352-3). As South Korean official historiography demonstrates, the masculine nationalism narratives proclaim “men’s” duty to protect the “Motherland” and the nation’s women. In this process, women were not able to take their places in either the symbolic realm or in the public sphere (Mosse 1985; Smith 1998).

However, given Gellner’s argument that nationalism is a recent invention and Anderson’s view of the imagined community, why is it that gendered nationalism affects women so negatively? Is there any chance for women to participate in the imagination and invention of the nation? When people as rational actors are able to produce and imagine the image of nation, why are women there only as subjects to adopt the regulations and practice them? These are the theoretical questions I bring to the Korean case.

I intend to approach these questions in the Korean context by analyzing women’s strategies for survival under pressure. Most Korean women existed under the name of nation, participated in the construction of nation, received the ideal role of women, and built the role of women as well. After male intellectuals presented their ideas in several publications, New Women also wrote for papers and magazines and delivered lectures. Using the cases of both successful New Women and social outcasts, I shall try to explain what kinds of strategies the New Women used and how they became successful. Although some successful women did not match the ideal model of the New Women because of their lack of obedience to their husbands and in-laws and their practice of free

love, they were nevertheless memorialized as heroines of Korean history. Finding the reasons for their successes and failures will be the main focus of my research. In addition, I hope that this research provides a chance to rebuild the causality of gendered nationalism. Previously, most scholars shed light on either the role of women in the national project or the effects of gendered nationalism. However, it would be valuable to shift the focus toward women's strategies in the national project and their impacts on the construction of nationalism.

## **5. Main Arguments**

The primary research question of my dissertation is “How did Korean male and female writers survive in the colonial literary field?” This is followed by secondary questions, such as “Why did some Korean New Women become memorialized as ideal women, while others died homeless and still others were condemned?” and “How did male writers use Japanese women in their literature to maintain their social status?” To answer these questions, I will investigate their individual experiences within the larger historical and political transformation of Korea from the opening of the ports in 1876 to the end of the Japanese colonial period in Joseon Korea (1910-1945) as well as the concomitant emergence, construction and transformation of ethical norms toward women. I ultimately argue that it was the negotiation among nationalism, imperialism, modernity and gender that ultimately determined the fate of New Women in Korea.

First, I should define who the New Women were and argue that they were not homogenous. Second, I plan to suggest that ethical norms toward women are not consistent but rather historically contextualized. Third, I consider the place of male

writers, who simultaneously created pressures on women and themselves occupied the insecure position of colonized subject. Finally, my dissertation examines how diverse actors participated in the process of the emergence, construction and transformation of ideal women figures with diverse interests.

### **(1) Becoming Successful Writers: The Construction of Literary Field**

Although the history of women has been spotlighted in historiography during recent decades (Hall 1980; McClintock 1995), these studies have mainly focused on women as a homogenous group sharing the same experience of betrayal (Chatterjee 1993).<sup>19</sup> The concept of women as a homogenous group, however, has limited usefulness in explaining unequal opportunities among women. The history of each country demonstrates that women are not only a social reality but also often a rhetorical tool by which the colonizer, the ruling class, and men obtain legitimacy. It is on these relationships that I intend to focus.

The industrial revolution, modernization and imperialism all had a strong impact on the status of women, but the impact was not equal on every woman. The modernization myth, including female education and equal individual rights, was indeed a myth though it included a sliver of truth. Women benefited from it to some degree, not only along class lines as Marxist feminists would argue, but also along other characteristics. For instance, although Korea was a Japanese colony, the physical presence of the West in Korea through missionary schools and hospitals provided economic and psychological shelter for Christian Korean women and also oriented them

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<sup>19</sup> According to Chatterjee (1993: 154), “the story of nationalist emancipation is necessarily a story of betrayal.”

toward Western values. The presence of this institutional support could be a significant factor in shaping their personal lives: Western institutions such as schools and churches were places that culturally introduced and spread the Western/Victorian model of woman. Yet such Western institutions also provided a steady income for New Women, who could eventually work there as professionals and thereby attain their economic independence and sustain their liberal thoughts. Yet others who did not have access to such institutions would not have these opportunities. Under these presence of western institutions and ideas, building a new social space—the literary field—was a huge challenge for male writers (For a theoretical discussion with French example, see Bourdieu 1996). On top of the challenges that their male counterparts faced, female writers had to confront one more daunting task. In addition to co-building a social space with male counterparts, they had to prove their aptitudes to write to male writers and critics. Under the condition of limited publication market and useful resources, female writers, through their writings and social relationships, searched for suitable strategies with little margins of error in a desire to fully enjoy and practice western ideas and culture.

I thus approached the women as a diverse group who developed different survival strategies in a male-centric society. In this dissertation, by comparing the first and second generation of New Women—especially writers—I plan to explore how a few women were remembered as ideal and successful, while others were not.

## **(2) The Construction of Ethical Norms and Female Writers' Responses to Them**

Catherine Hall (1980: 44) argues that every society has rules about which activities are suitable for which sex, but these rules are not constant over time and place.

In that sense, gender-based regulations are not given but rather historically constructed (Bourdieu 2001).<sup>20</sup> The emergence of capitalism and the change in the division between the private and public spheres through professionalization<sup>21</sup> (Clack 1968) led to the sexual division of labor and the emergence of gendered roles in the public sphere. However, approaches that focus on inequality and gender roles are predicated on the emergence of capitalism (see for a British example, Davidoff and Hall 1987; for a Korean case, see Lie 1996). These approaches often fail to recognize the process of consent and negotiation in constructing ethical norms. The ethic is not a complete set of controls but a loose map for individual behaviors that guides us with respect to which behaviors should or should not be done. This construction of the ethical norm is based on diverse actors' participation in the discourse.

It is interesting to note that within the colonial era, the cultural policy period (also known as the Renaissance of Korean culture) was when Korean intellectuals experienced relative freedom from the Japanese government. Yet this period was not a Renaissance for the Korean women, because the New Women, ironically, suffered from a lack of economic opportunities. Since the labeling of this period as the Renaissance sheds light only on the male intellectuals, I propose to call the period instead “the remasculinization” of Korea (Jeffords 1989). During this period, as male dominance on the Korean peninsula increased, the male nationalists defined the role of women as more passive. For example,

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<sup>20</sup> According to Bourdieu (2001: 82-3), “the history of the continuous (re)creation of the objective and subjective structures of masculine domination, which has gone on permanently so long as there have been men and women, and through which the masculine order has been continuously reproduced from age to age.”

<sup>21</sup> The Professionalization was partly a result of the scientific and intellectual developments of the seventeenth century, but it was also due to the new division of labor that was taking place in the capitalist organizations of trade and industry (Hall 1980: 52).

one of the first-generation Korean nationalists, Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), personally changed ‘the ideal model of a woman’ from ‘the educator of the nation’ to ‘the sacrificing assistant to the male leader.’ Because of this ideal, some women became social outcasts, while others found ways not only to survive but also to become ideal models themselves, at least in history.

When the New Women emerged and started to argue for their individual rights as human beings, the male intellectuals were not happy to accept and respect this unexpected argument. Rather, they tried in several ways to control these New Women both in reality, for example, by not providing enough jobs for them, and in narrative, using newspapers, magazines and even novels. Educated women were needed, but they should be careful not to be lazy and lavish.

In colonial Korea, this process of engendering and creating new solutions was not a one-time event. Rather, the construction of norms and visible/invisible regulations was a constant and continuous process. All members of society—Korean male intellectuals, the Japanese government, the western missionaries, and the New Women themselves—tried to find ways to avoid harsh punishment and adopt new strategies for surviving the situation. Being docile was one strategy adopted by women, but some second-generation female writers used other strategies as well.

### **(3) Korean Male Writers: Colonized or Male**

The historical patterns of modern Korean literary practices cannot be properly grasped without a serious consideration of modernization under the Japanese colonial rule. Our modern world consists of a vast majority of people who experienced modern



transformations under colonial or semi-colonial rules. The Korean case is of special importance because it allows us to avoid falling into the “Euro-centrism” of modern colonialism studies. This is because Korean people experienced modernization under the only non-Western empire during the inter-war era (Barlow 1997: 5; Chae 2006: 2-3; Ching 1998: 30). In this period, as the sole non-Western imperial power, Japan constantly wrestled with how to reconcile its supposedly inferior racial characteristics (“yellowness”) with its superior position in the modern colonial system. In this process, Japan shared with other colonized people what W. E. B. Du Bois (Du Bois 1989[1903]) calls double consciousness. That is, “colored” people dissected themselves under others’ (i.e., whites’) eyes (Fanon 1994[1967]: 116). What they came up with was a logically contradictory solution that they were embodying the spiritually superior Asian uniqueness, while claiming that they were not of the “yellow” race (Ching 1998).

This circumstance forced Koreans to find ways of coping with the schism between the Japanese particularity and the universality of the Western ideal. The process of building the “modern” Korean literature illustrates this ambivalence of colonial modernity very well. In the agrarian society of the early 1920s, where more than 80 percent of people were peasants and the illiteracy rate was more than 90 percent (Cheon 2001: 91), there were only a handful of writers.<sup>22</sup> To these enthusiastic modernist intellectuals, the urgent tasks were to clear the debris of the already shattered old order for the march of the modern, rather than to question the modern colonial system and simultaneously construct a new “order of things” (in the Foucauldian sense) (Foucault

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<sup>22</sup> Kwnag-hyung Park and I gathered the names of modern Korean writers from four encyclopedias and *Who’s Who in Female Korean Writers*. We found only 288 writers.

1971: xv-xxi) or new “schemas” (as William Sewell (2005) put it). In order to do so, they investigated the universal humanity expressed in the western and Japanese modernity and tried to “find” the universality in their own Korean particularity (or, in actuality, to embellish the universality with their own particularity). Even though the modernist intellectuals attempted this in the “more accessible” medium of Korean letters rather than Chinese letters, the actual execution was limited to the prestigious few who were supposed to know what is universal (Cha 2001-110). In the entire country, these qualified men did not exceed a few thousand people (Suil Choi 2000: 90). This circumstance required the writers to claim special authority through exclusionary practices of literary club building and by ridiculing Japanese women in their novels. As the colonized under the Japanese empire, the Korean writers used the same “yellowness” (in both Korean and Japanese) to dream about putting Japanese women under their feet. Because of their racial similarities, Korean men were allowed to marry Japanese women (within their inner-logic); the Japanese government even encouraged intermarriage to build a strong bond between the Korean and the Japanese. How did male writers portray these mixed marriages? By following these love stories and mixed marriages in literature, we can discover the ambivalent emotions aroused by Japanese women.

#### **(4) Diverse Actors, Diverse Interests**

In the construction of ethical norms, debates continued on many questions and issues, especially the legitimacy of regulations. While the debates went on, the participants in these debates collaborated and clashed with each other regardless of their social status, class, political stand, nationality and gender. Therefore, the antagonistic

stands between the male and female, the colonizer and colonized, the communists and nationalists, and the traditional and the Western-influenced intellectuals often ended up collapsing and getting reorganized according to the issue. To understand the diverse interests among diverse actors, it is therefore important to delve into the historically constituted recognition web, as Somers (1995) argued. The concept of the New Women is also embedded in a historically constituted male-dominant culture. This structured web is necessary to understand how we think and why we seem obliged to think in certain ways that are relatively free from individuals' classic social, political, intellectual, and gender stances.

For example, the Japanese colonial government, scholars and settlers participated in constructing the model of the ideal Korean New Women. First, the establishment of civil laws in Korea helped improve the social and legal position of powerless women (Kang 2005). Then, the Japanese government encouraged the education of women, since it wanted to produce pro-Japanese mothers who would then rear pro-Japanese children. The goal of education in public schools was naturally the production of devoted subjects of the colonized Korea (Chōsensōtokufu 1919: 19). In addition, the Japanese settlers portrayed traditional Korean women in an undignified fashion as people without any consciousness of hygiene and humiliation (Ugaramon 1914). This image of traditional women highlighted the necessity of Korean women's enlightenment.

The Korean intellectuals, under Japanese hegemony against "white (European) imperialism," faced the task of preserving their traditions as well as providing a future vision for their people. Yet that vision, though enlightened, had to be neither Western nor Japanese; rather should maintain the virtues of Korean tradition. These pressures had led

Korean intellectuals to join the push for women's education and enlightenment from the 1890s onward. Using various methods such as publishing in the print media of books, newspapers, and magazines as well as giving presentations, male intellectuals participated in the public sphere to help in the construction of the New Women. In addition, in the private sphere, they practiced their attitudes and expectations toward this new kind of woman by changing their orientations toward women in the context of their own families.

As shown above, when it came to women's issues, the Korean male intellectuals and the Japanese colonial state found themselves on the same side, easily sharing the ideal model of the "nursing mother." This nursing mother model urged women to "read newspapers, magazines and books" (Yi 1962[1931]). However, this enlightenment was not intended to emancipate women. Rather, it only asked her to support her husband mentally and raise their children as members of either the Korean independence movement or the Japanese colony. In addition, Korean male intellectuals argued that "to be healthy, women should be careful about hygiene, exercise, nutrition, and cleanness" (Yi 1962[1931]) in the public sphere. These regulations were violently enforced by the Japanese government.<sup>23</sup> This example demonstrates how specific interests and historical conditions need to be taken into account to understand the transformation of narratives on women issues and women's survival strategies, for one cannot assume the anti-colonial intellectuals to be for the Korean women, and the Japanese colonial government to be against them.

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<sup>23</sup> During the period, Japanese officers regularly visited Korean households to examine the level of cleanliness.

Moreover, since nationalism and tradition did not totally originate from history or race, but are socially constructed and produced during the modern period (Anderson 1991[1983]; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1983), the active role of women as historical agents in this construction process should also be recognized. Yet, so far, most studies on nationalism and gender have focused on the repressive role of nationalism toward women (Eley 2000; Hall 2000). What needs to be undertaken next is what I endeavor here; that is, to focus on the possibility of the agency of women in the construction of nationalism in general, and on the role of the New Women in the construction of Korean nationalism in particular.<sup>24</sup>

## **6. Research Method and Materials**

### **(1) The Comparative Perspective**

This dissertation has three comparative points. From a big-picture perspective, the presence of a non-western imperial power—the Japanese imperial state—provides a chance to compare the Japanese case with western cases. The similarities in race and traditions, as well as the regional closeness of the Korean and Japanese, make Japanese imperialism unique. For example, unlike the obvious and strong racial order evident in the Western case, the Japanese government took two totally different stances. It argued for ‘the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏 *Dai-tō-a kyōeiken*)’ and described the Korean people as an inferior race at the same time. Because the premise of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is that we are brothers and the big brother is obviously Japanese, the inferiority of the Korean people was assumed. However, in the

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<sup>24</sup> I hope this consideration of the opposite direction will not lead to the replacement of male intellectuals with female intellectuals (Eagleton 1986: 4).

grand plan to build the Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Korean people would eventually achieve the level of the Japanese people. This structure of Japanese imperialism evoked different reactions from the colonized. Many nationalists, who originally hoped to be independent from the Japanese imperial regime, later became collaborators sharing the ideology of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In spite of its obvious differences, these conversions originated from the same love nationalists had toward their countrymen. Because of the relatively loose hierarchical order in the Japanese empire, the Korean nationalists dreamed possibilities to be equal to the Japanese unlike other western cases.

In addition, as my research question is based on a comparison between the successful female writers and the social outcasts, it overcomes the weakness of previous studies that viewed Korean New Women as a homogenous group (Choe 2000; Kim 2004). Although they all had very sensational stories, some of them were continuously blamed and denigrated because of their licentious behaviors and others were not. This study will explain why, by explicitly and implicitly comparing the first and second generations of female writers. Because of the complexities of their personal lives, Mill's method of agreement and difference does not directly apply in this study. The New Women did share similar social status, the same occupation, and similarly eventful love stories (marriages, divorces, and affairs). Their different endings, however, inspired me to delve into their differences—such as whether they belong to nationalist or Marxist literature groups, their varying degrees of support from their families and husbands, distances from the metro, and the various ways in which they controlled the tone of women's emancipation in publication.

The comparative perspective is not limited to the colonial Korean context. This study could also contribute to a comparison of the Korean case with other colonial situations in general. As mentioned earlier, Japanese imperialism was different from ‘white imperialism,’ and racial, cultural, and traditional similarities between the Japanese and Korean demanded another model for the ideal Korean New Women. The comparison between other colonial countries under the white imperialism and the East Asian cases of Taiwan and China (a case of semi-colonization) will demonstrate how historical and geographical conditions affect public narratives and social practices.

Moreover, the New Women concept itself is not limited to Korea. Rather, most countries, including Western Europe, India, Japan and China, developed the same or a similar concept. However, this should not tempt to us to consider the New Women phenomena as universal, either. Therefore, in this research, I will use the Japanese New Women as an indirect reference point of comparison. Although the Japanese New Women who participated in the feminist movements during the Meiji period (1868-1912) also argued for equal human rights and emancipation from a class- and male-dominated society, their lives were relatively stable and free from social pressure (Fujieda 1995; Moon 2003). For example, some Japanese New Women, who in 1911 started a magazine entitled *Bluestocking* (*Seito* in Japanese), were married and received generous support from their husbands (Moon 2003).

This study also sheds light on the Japanese women who married Korean men. The studies on white women in the empire emphasize their role as educators and demonstrators of civilized and westernized ways (Ramusack 1992). Similarly, many Japanese women, the wives and daughters of officials and businessmen, engaged in

education and believed that Korean women should adopt the values and behaviors dictated by the Japanese government and school textbooks. The other side of Korea, however, was full of economically lower-class Japanese women who did not have a chance to be educated, and worked in socially degrading places such as bars and in the service sector. Like Korean New Women, these Japanese women in colonial Korea, were portrayed in male writers' novels. By examining these novels, I hope to understand male writers' imagination and regulation of women in general and Korean and Japanese women in particular. As members of the colonized, male writers tried to overcome their unstable status through their novels as they endeavor to strengthen their places in their imagined and actual social orders.

## **(2) Constructing Narratives**

In order to capture these historical processes and mechanisms in the construction of ethical norms, I employ William Sewell's (2005) notion of structure and agency. According to Sewell, the notion of structure includes the intrinsic danger of determinism, and it alone does not explain social changes (Sewell 2005: 125). In order to overcome the lack of explicability, the structure should be considered as having a dual nature as a composition of schemes and resources (Sewell 2005: 136). From this perspective, one can combine structure and agency in order to explain the historical construction and transformation of ethical norms.

Social history and social processes are inherently contingent, discontinuous, and open-ended. Likewise, Korean history demonstrates the open-ended and discontinuous process of women's emancipation. The school system, employment opportunities, and



rhetorical discourse all experienced dramatic changes during the Japanese colonial period. It is by examining the interaction of these structures and agencies that I plan to rewrite the history of Korean women in relation to nationalism.

From three main agencies for the reproduction of the unconsciousness of structure, namely the family, the church, and the school system, as Bourdieu (2001: 85) indicates, I hope to extend my scope to various documents including diaries, novels,<sup>25</sup> newspaper articles and editorials, magazines, and official documents written by Japanese governors. Using these materials, I shall reveal for each social group the ideal image of woman, its practices, and especially its women's strategies. During this process, I hope to find how discourses are formulated, what kind of topics are chosen and not chosen, and who cooperates and conflicts with male intellectuals and New Women themselves.

### **(3) Structure and Content of the Dissertation**

This dissertation has three empirical chapters. The first is about the first generation of female writers who appeared like superstars and vanished suddenly in the early modern period. Following three female writers' life histories, in this chapter I attempt to understand their brave behaviors and arguments and show how they were regulated by male intellectuals. From the perspective of male intellectuals, New Women should be controlled and prohibited from spreading dangerous and harmful ideas. Examining the rhetoric of nationalism and the role of women in Korea's future, this chapter demonstrates how the first generation of female writers was regulated and how the women changed the discourse of male intellectuals. In addition, this chapter explains

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<sup>25</sup> Novels make it possible to observe the essence of authors' imaginations for the ideal New Women. In addition, the popularity of that novel indicated the social need of that time period (Guha 1974).

how changing social and economical conditions prevented the first generation from receiving financial support from either families or their own occupations.

The second empirical chapter looks at male writers whose work incorporates the theme of romance with Japanese women. Here the male writers, who in the last chapter seemed capable of ruining other people's lives and controlling female writers, display their weak points. Relative to Japanese men from the empire, Korean men from the colony were placed in an inferior position. As men, however, they ranked above women. When the colonizer/colonized spectrum and the gender spectrum intertwined, who would occupy the second rank? Using novels dealing with mixed couples and their love stories, marriages, and their children, this chapter analyzes male writers' attempts to put Korean male intellectuals in a little higher place and make them feel more secure. Because the racial order in East Asia was explicit but still in the process of developing (unlike the more established Western orders), the Korean male writers had to fight for their superior place relative to Japanese women and their mixed-blood children.

Finally, the last chapter deals with the second generation of female writers. Unlike the first generation, the second generation of female writers received more favorable reviews and was quite successful in the literary field until their deaths. What differentiates the first and second generations of female writers? Examining their personal lives, literary networks, and publications in anthologies, I explain the reason of that the second generation's successes. By following their strategic choices to maintain their popularities, this study attempts to bring the subject—women—back in feminism history.

#### (4) Defense of the Novel as Historical Material

As a sociologist, how can I use novels as a historical material? Novels are fiction, not true stories. Novels are not biographies, diaries, newspapers, statistical documents, textbooks, interviews, and so on. They are simply novels. However, I depend on several novels throughout this dissertation. I would argue that it is possible to study writers by analyzing their novels. As social agents, writers produce their work to express their thoughts, imaginations and ideas through the medium of literature. As Said (1975: 83) has shown, the metaphor of *author* who has an *authority* can be summarized as follows:

.... (1) that the power of an individual to initiate, institute, establish—in short, to begin; (2) that this power and its product are an increase over what had been there previously; (3) that the individual wielding this power controls its issue and what is derived there from; (4) that authority maintains the continuity of its course.

Therefore, although the literature itself is not “true,” it at least gives a clue about authors’ imagination, and their hope for their ideal society. In addition, novels, with their detailed portrayals of characters, family settings, and dialogues, the family settings give us a peek into imagined but in some ways more-realistic-than-reality social conditions.

The historical and political trajectories produced a totally new context for Korean writers. After the collapse of the Chinese literary-bureaucratic model of literary production during the demise of the dynasty, Koreans were building a new way of writing that went by the name of “new” or “modern” literature from the early 1900s. According to Shin Chaeho, the future of the society depends not on the big heroes but on the ordinary people, and the order of society is determined not by religion, politics, or law but by Korean vernacular fiction (Shin Jul. 08 1908). Therefore, to deliver the proper thoughts to people, writers of Korean vernacular fiction tried to communicate guidelines

for the masses instead of pursuing profits. To effectively deliver this message, the use of vernacular language was essential.<sup>26</sup> Unlike the previous model which used the Chinese letters as a medium, this trend slowly developed the Sino-Korean mixed use<sup>27</sup> which much resembled the Sino-Japanese language (except for the new fiction).

As the earlier founders of Korean literature moved from Chinese character literature to the Korean vernacular or the Korean-Chinese mixed use, the newly emerging writers distinguished themselves from the instructive and enlightenment-oriented new fiction which was popular mainly in the 1910s. In addition, for them literary production was not a leisure activity as it was for previous generations.

Secondly, the historical trend of I-fiction and realism supports my reliance on novels. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese I-fictions were written in large quantities; these novels were based on personal events, experiences and relations.<sup>28</sup> Many Korean intellectuals studied in Japan and accepted this new and modern form of literature. Therefore, it is not hard to find many nationalist novels with connections to personal experiences. Many novels explicitly, identify the model for the story. Because of this

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<sup>26</sup> The Eonmunilchi (言文一致) movement involves “writ[ing] the spoken language exactly as it is.” This movement was influenced by the Japanese Genbunitchi (言文一致) movement (Maeda 2004: 239).

<sup>27</sup> This practice can be hardly explained to English speakers. Nevertheless, I will try to do so by giving an example from the 1906 newsletter of a Korean private association. In Chinese, the sentence “不許非會員讀之” means “do not allow non-members to read it” (probably, the subject is omitted). Throughout the Joseon Dynasty, this form was the standard literary practice among prestigious groups, but actual vernacular speech did not correspond to it. In order to make the sentence correspond to speech patterns, we need to modify the order of words: 非會員之讀不許. To make sense of this order, we need Korean letters to assist in delivering the meaning: 非會員이 그것을(之) 讀하는 것을 不許한다. This sentence resembles the Japanese one: 非會員が そのことお(之) 読むのは 不許だ. The Chinese method of sentence-making became increasingly foreign to Korean literature proper as the new standards of mixed use or Korean-only use took root in Korean literary practices.

<sup>28</sup> The I-Novel (私小説, *Watakushi shōsetsu*, or *Shishōsetsu*) is a Japanese literary genre, especially popular in the Taisho Period (1912-1926). I-novels were based on the authors’ own lives.

connection between fiction and historical reality, I used novels as a reference to understand and develop the picture of power relationships, gender discrimination in the field of literature. In addition, many Korean novelists followed the trend of realism, and very close description was also popular. For example, a novel from Park Taewon (2004[1934]) enables us to draw a map of Seoul, Korea as it was in 1934. His novels accurately portrayed aspects of everyday life such as the uses of telecommunication—who usually installed the phone, and how it was used, including the process of dialing, speaking to an operator, and finally connecting to the receiver. (For a detailed reconstruction of Seoul’s scenery based on Park’s novel, see Jo Yidam 2005: 205).

Finally, the nature of the early modern period, the enlightenment period in Korea, also supports my use of novels and literature to understand that time. Like nationalist literature, which delivered nationalist ideology in an attempt to build national identity through literature, proletariat literature was used as a tool to delivery revolutionary ideologies and mobilize the masses to participate in movements. Therefore, these novels can be seen as a method of enlightening the masses. If one’s goal is to understand the writers and their intentions, their writing represents very useful historical material. Furthermore, the publication process itself i.e.,—which work writers decided to include in anthologies, and how the topics and themes of published materials changed during colonial times—is another useful ways to understand writers and the field of literature.

## **7. Implications**

The concept of the ideal woman and the influence of the patriarchy on women’s lives are quite similar throughout the world; even the Victorian model has its universal

aspects. However, similar ideals have not led to identical results in every country. Rather, each country's culture, social and economic conditions, state politics (Orloff 1993) and history have followed diverse trajectories. This case study of writers in colonial Korea offers a framework for understanding the emergence, construction and transformation of the public narrative on gender matters—not only in the emerging literary field, but also in the whole Korean society. The combination of imported and compelled modernism, new western orders and emerging colonial intellectuals became a battleground for each social group's interests and desires. Analyzing this battleground from each group's perspective enriches our understanding of both colonial Korean history and other colonial societies' experiences.

Moreover, I hope that this study of the female writers usually known as New Women will articulate the causal relationship between nationalism and gender. Most gender-nationalism studies address the roles of women and social pressure in national projects (Smith 1998: 201). However, the female writers studied in this research, both nationalist and Marxist, are not merely recipients of male-centered nationalism. They also have the agency to choose their own survival strategies and to reformulate national identity.

Finally, I hope my study of male writers sheds light on the ambivalent condition of the male colonial subject. As nationalist male writers, they felt compelled to control New Women; at the same time, however, they also had to face their own inferior position in the imperial order. Using the cultural capital of their novels, they tried to construct an imaginary social order in which they outranked the Japanese women and sometimes their

mixed-blood children as well. Following these multi-layered colonial social structures, I plan to analyze the lives of colonial writers as colonial beings.

## Chapter II

### Constructing Moral Boundaries across Gender and Nationalism

But the history of the world shows the best majority, in every generation, passively accept the conditions into which they are born, while those who demand larger liberties are ever a small, ostracized minority, whose claims are ridiculed and ignored. (Stanton 1971[1898])

My dear children, do not blame me, rather blame the social structure and law and social customs. Your mother was a harbinger of a period of transition. I was also a victim of this period of revolution. (Na 1935c: 80).

#### 1. Introduction

“So, you ended up like this, huh?”

Nora replies without hesitation, staring at him directly. Perhaps because she convinced herself there is nothing to fear, she suddenly feels nothing scares her any more.

“What concerns you?”

“Nothing concerns me. I am just saying, what a sight you’re showing to me. I mean, it’s a punishment from God. Oh yes, a punishment from God. You remember how you embarrassed me. If you hadn’t been punished, God must be indifferent to justice or anything.”

“Cut it out. You’re wasting my time.”

Nora stands up abruptly. Hyeon [Nora’s ex-husband] is sitting still.

“You’re still resisting, huh?”

“Still? It’s just a beginning.”



“Are you kidding? A beginning of what? You barely earned any money and became a beggar. You degraded your honor. It seems you still have a big mouth.”

“Remember, the fact that I don’t want to say anything further doesn’t mean that I couldn’t say anything.”

“Oh, well said. But what a sight you are! I mean, what happened to your confidence? Look at you. You ended up becoming a beggar and creeping back under my wing again.”

Nora almost sheds tears, degraded by the triumphant attitude of Yi Hyeon. But she manages to stiffen her backbone and talk back articulately.

“You’re right. It’s true that I ended up bound to you again although I tried to escape from the bondage of your so-called home. I suppose you must feel quite victorious. But this is just the beginning of our real fight....”  
(Chae 1987[1933]: 296-7)

Chae Mansik’s novel, *Inhyeong ui gipul nawaseo* (*After Leaving the Doll’s House*) (1987[1933]), was a significant counter-attack of the feminist movement of this period. Following Ibsen’s *Doll’s House* (2005[1899]), Chae used Nora as the main character. While Ibsen’s play ends when Nora leaves her home, Chae’s novel begins there. Was she happy? How did Nora find her way and make a living in colonial Korea? Could she find in society the dignity she lacked in her married home? This novel explicitly describes the social barriers confronting this poor new woman. After leaving the doll’s house, Nora was unable to find a stable job or any economic support. She finally became a worker in a binding company managed by her ex-husband. This Korean Nora managed to escape the trap of the patriarchal family system, but she could not accomplish what she intended to when she decided to leave her house. In fact, she even had to work for her ex-husband. This novel clearly demonstrates that, contrary to the beliefs and hopes of many New Women, the social barriers colonial Korean women faced were rigid and hard to overcome.

Did Korean women experience similar situations to those faced by Nora in *After Leaving the Doll's House*? We can easily find Nora's real-life counterpart in colonial Korea. Among the first generation of New Women in Korea, there are three prominent women: Na Hyeseok (1896-1948), Kim Ilyeop (1896-1971), and Kim Myeongsun (1896-1951). All were born in 1896, attended modernized schools, studied in Japan, and experienced their heydays after the March First Movements in 1919 (Sangkyeong Yi 2003b: 189). All three played active roles in social education, the feminist movements, literature, and art, and they all earned public recognition. But later, in the mid 1930s, their popularity faded and they became social outcasts. In order to understand these dramatic lives, in this chapter I trace the emergence, encouragement and regulation of New Women.

Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Korea's encounters with the West had become unavoidable and perilous. Western diplomats arrived in gunboats demanding open ports and state-to-state relations based on "international law," and Christian missionaries wanted access to the interior and the freedom to proselytize. These demands necessitated the renunciation of Korea's place in the China-centered tributary system, and the radical reorganization of governmental and social institutions and practices. Under Western hegemony, Korean intellectuals adopted western standards, both in their personal lives and in their efforts to attain the independence and "enlightenment" of Joseon Korea (Schmid 2000: 85).<sup>29</sup> These trends continued until the colonial period. The western

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<sup>29</sup> *Doklip Sinmun (The Independent Newspaper)* argued that a short way to become an independent nation state was through social reform. "Joseon [Korea] is not a small country in the world. The population is more than 12 million. In addition, we have generous soil, a pleasant climate, a superior Asian race, and so on. What is the reason that Joseon is the weakest, the poorest, the dirtiest, and an ill-treated country? ... In

modern project, especially equal human rights and the abolishment of inherited social status, was considered the first step of “enlightenment” (Daehan Mail Sinbo Feb 24, 1910). Therefore, the West, including western intellectual trends and even the physical bodies of Western missionaries, educators and merchants, was posited as an ideal and benign role model for Korean nationalists (Hevia 2003).

In this historical development, the ontological invention of women, in other words, the rise of the concept of *Sinyeoseong* (the New Women: 新女性), was a central hallmark of the modern/enlightenment project. The concept of New Women, which started in England and spread to the entire world, referred to educated and modernized women as opposed to traditional women. In Korea’s case, the term *Sinyeoseong* first appeared in the early 1920s. In the publication of the magazine *Sinyeoja* (which is another translation for the New Women; 新女子), Kim Ilyeop (Kim 1920; Baeyong Yi 2003: 21) announced the formation of *Sinyeoja* as a new social group. However, this announcement included no specific definition for *Sinyeoja* or *Sinyeoseong*. Some male writers argued what New Women should learn and how they should behave, but they did not clearly define who the New Women were (Palbongsanin 1924; Sochun 1924; Baeyong Yi 2003: 22). Usually, *Sinyeoja* or *Sinyeoseong* meant women in the westernized educational system. The concept of New Women also included those who adopted westernized customs, hair styles and some lifestyles. In this dissertation, however, I define New Women as those who were educated in a westernized school through at least the high school level.

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order to catch up with the rest of the world, we should follow in the wake of the civilized nations’ customs, laws, rules, thoughts, wills and their manners” (Doklip Sinmun Feb 23 1897).

As a central hallmark of the modern project, the importance of the educated women was repeated by Korean male intellectuals, Japanese government and New Women. However, this urgent need for New Women did not guarantee their active participation in society. Of the first generation of New Women, why did three New Women who began with promising careers end up as social outcasts—one homeless, one psychotic, and the other a nun? Was it simply because of their bad luck, or did it originate from society's repressive censoring—another version of bowdlerization in real life? This chapter investigates who the ideal New Women were, which virtues they were expected to have, which of their behaviors were unacceptable and how external factors such as economic conditions affected them. Through this examination, this chapter reveals the only safe and legitimate job of New Women—wise mother and good wife.

## **2. Theory and Framework**

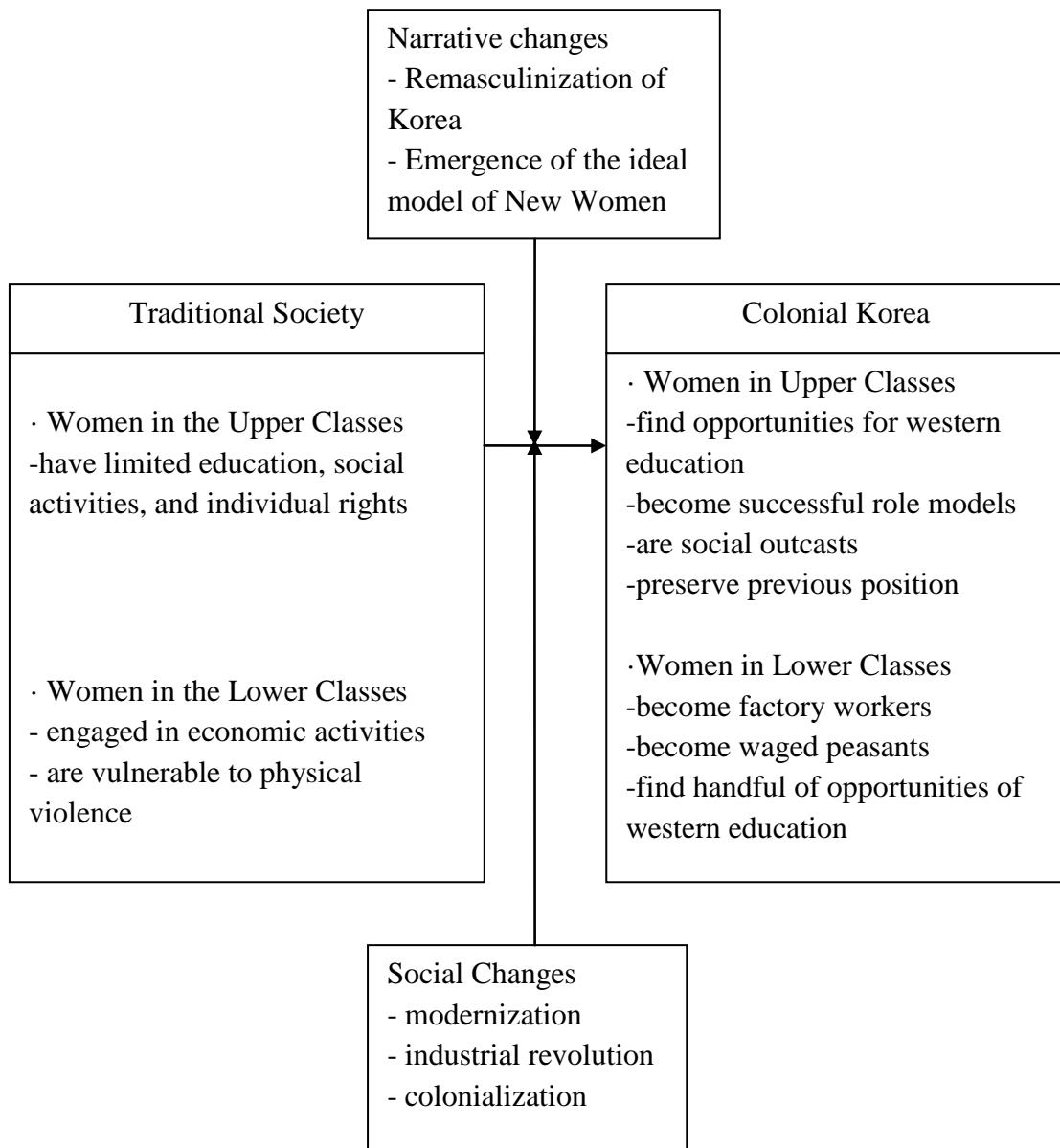
### **(1) Colonial Women: Modern versus Traditional**

In contemporary scholarship, there have been several approaches to understanding the historical emergence of New Women. Modernist approaches highlighted the positive impacts of modernization mission on women's social activities and status. This theory defines "the New Women as liberated from their traditional place in the family to take on public roles in society, thereby coming to seek an independent character" (Youngna Kim 2003: 218). It is true that westernized schools and economic and political development enabled women to enjoy some benefits of modernization. Although I am sympathetic with the argument that modernization was conducive to women's emancipation in

colonial Korea, there are some problems with the scope of that observation, which fails to recognize that women of different classes often had very different experiences.

Western travelers sometimes defined the traditional Korean woman's condition, as follows: "in Korea a woman practically does not exist. Materially, physically, she is a fact; but mentally, morally, socially, she is a cipher" (Lowell 1886: 143). However, the women thus described by western travelers were in a prestigious class—yangban. After Korea's initial encounters with the West, the women who sought opportunities for education and social activities did not come from this prestigious class. Rather, it was the women of lower classes, who had been engaging in economic activities before modernization, who sought educational opportunities. The perspective of modernization theory produced and perpetuated the stereotypical traditional image of women's conditions (Alloula 1986), but their dramatic transformation due to the benefits of modernization did not occur universally in colonial Korea. Rather, as Figure II.1 demonstrates each class experienced different situations. Because of their various economic, social and kinship backgrounds, women's experiences of colonial Korea cannot be lumped into a single homogenous category.

Figure II.1 Women in Traditional Korean Society and Colonial Korea



**(2) Another Patriarchy: From Agrarian to Patriarchal Capitalism**

Another approach to women’s social status in the initial modernization era is structural theory. According to Lie (1996: 34), in a transitional period from agrarian

patriarchy to patriarchal capitalism, the role of women transformed in peripheral nation states, and under the agrarian patriarchy, a gender axis was not a reliable and visible parameter. With the emergence of capitalism and modernity, the gender axis legitimized the unequal treatment of women. This perspective of gender as a tool of oppression might shed light on how the advent of capitalism redefined the gender relationship and the oppression of gender. However, this perspective is highly reductionist; it implicitly and explicitly presupposes that this redefined oppression was a function of the reproduction of a capitalist class relationship. As Orloff (1993) criticized Esping-Anderson's (1990) argument, "the class-related dimensions of regimes determine gender outcome," the economic interests of classes do not provide a clear answer as to why the fluctuation of repression of the New Women occurred. The structural change did not lead to a single way of oppressing and controlling women. Rather, the discourse among the social actors produced diverse means of oppression and control.

The teleological approach of modernization theory can be overcome when we study why New Women emerged, what kinds of social activities were allowed, and which rationale supports New Women's activities. When we consider issues such as how and when the encouragement and the oppression of women occurred, we can understand the formation and reconfiguration of gender relationships.

I follow historical events to explain the sequential occurrence of encouragement and control. I use the process of gender politics in the institutional field as well as in the

discursive field<sup>30</sup> (Bourdieu 1991), and I seek to answer this initial question: why did some New Women who began promising careers end up as social outcasts?

To answer this question, I followed the historical transformation of gender relationships. As shown in Figure II.2, the social conditions and problems in each period forced Korean intellectuals to find a solution. However, the intellectuals faced other problems that derived from both the historical conditions and the solutions that they had previously found. Therefore, the construction of ethical norms and the regulating processes were never-ending. For example, the lack of female education brings about an uncivilized and unhealthy country, but education itself is also dangerous because it produces arrogant, lazy women who have a fondness for luxury (Chakrabarty 1997: 380-1).

In the Korean case, we can observe the historical transformation of regulation of women. Following the hierarchical western world view, some intellectuals in Joseon Korea defined themselves as ranking lower than the West and therefore tried to improve their status in the modern world (Yu 1972[1895]). To achieve national development, they argued social and political reform and mass education were necessary, especially for women. They contended that the emergence of enlightened women could be achieved, through the mass education system provided by the Japanese colonial government and through the persuasion of male intellectuals. However, contrary to the male intellectuals' expectations, the newly modernized female students engaged in free love and excessive

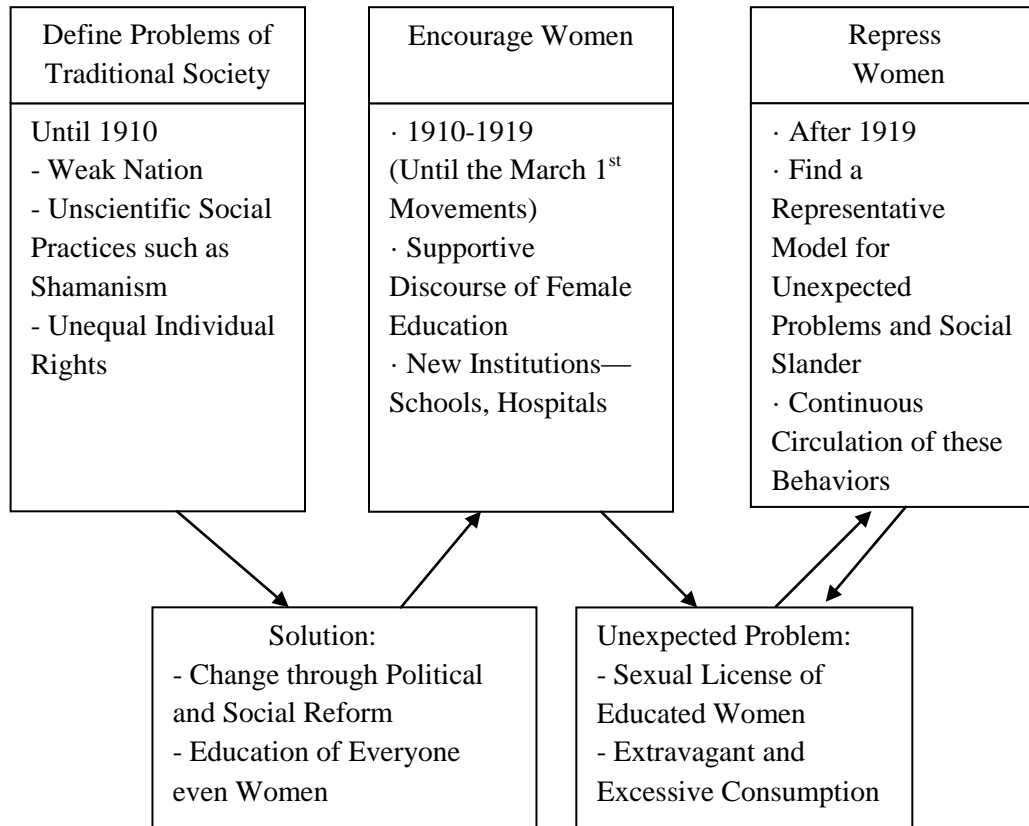
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<sup>30</sup> A field can be seen as the structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by distributions of different kinds of resources or capital. Therefore, a field is always the site of struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it (Bourdieu 1991: 14).



consumption (Yoo 2008). To regulate these behaviors, the male intellectuals and some of the New Women themselves had to find a scapegoat, and they set out on a witch-hunt.

Figure II.2 Historical Transformation and Remasculinization of Colonial Korea by Korean Intellectuals



### 3. Ideal Women as Portrayed in Yi Kwang-su's *Mujeong* (Heartless)

At that time, who were ethically ideal women? One possible place to look for ideal women is in popular novels of the period. Yi Kwang-su's *Mujeong* (1962 [1917]) was the first modern novel to be enthusiastically read by the Korean public.<sup>31</sup> In this novel, the author presents the male intellectuals' imagination of ideal women, particularly under colonization. Yi Kwang-su, one of the leading nationalists and a pioneer of modern literature, was concerned with the relationship between modern literary practices and nation-building (Jager 2003: 20). He regarded literature as the vehicle for the formation of a new national subject (Jager 2003: 27) and saw literature not only as the prerequisite of nation formation but also as an instrument of the subject-making process. The role of the novel was to build the nation state and reform "feudalistic" social customs (Cheon 2003: 505). Yi Kwang-su saw equality and female education as vital to this process.

Yi Kwang-su's novel, *Mujeong*, reflected his view of Korean literature and explicated his imagination of the new national subject. The themes of *Mujeong* are

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<sup>31</sup> Although it is hard to find the exact number of copies sold, an advertisement for *Mujeong* proudly reported that this novel was the only one that had sold more than 10 thousand copies in the history of Korean publishing (Kwon 2003: 264). The short intervals between editions also demonstrate how quickly the book sold.

Table II.1 Editions of *Mujeong* and their Duration (1918-53)

Edition Number	Date of Publication	Publisher	Duration
First Edition	July 20 1918	Sin Mun Gwan	
Second Edition	Jan. 11 1920	Hoedong Seo Gwan/Hong Mun Dang SeoJeom	18 months
Third Edition	Feb. 20 1922		25 months
Forth Edition	May 5 1922		2 months
Fifth Edition	Jan. 24 1924		20 months
Sixth Edition	Dec 25 1925		23 months
Seventh Edition	Aug 30 1934	Bak Mun Seo Gwan	106 months
Eighth Edition	Nov 20 1938		51 months
Ninth Edition	Jan 30 1953	Bak Mun Chulpansa	170 months

(Cheon 2003: 497)

unrequited love, the idealization of companionate marriage, the critique of traditional marriage practices, and the call for female enlightenment and emancipation (Jager 2003: 32). The figure new woman as imagined by this leading nationalist will serve as our reference point as we compare historical figures and social conditions.

In *Mujeong*, the main female character, Yeongchae, was a traditional woman who suffered from the physical and emotional absence of her fiancé. As a *Gisaeng*,<sup>32</sup> Yeongchae remained a chaste girl despite every kind of hardship and suffering, and she had hoped to marry Hyeongsik —the male protagonist. However, after being raped by two men, she decided to commit suicide. When she went to her father’s grave before committing suicide, she met an educated New Woman who led her toward enlightenment and modern knowledge; she eventually decided to sacrifice herself for the nation instead of for her fiancé. She was saved not by private love, but by transferring this love to a new object: the nation. For women to devote themselves to the nation, they must be educated, and their need for education is emphasized throughout novel. At the conclusion, three New Women shouted, “By education and by practice, we must teach them [the uneducated masses] and teach them” (Yi 1962[1917]: 311).

Education was also important when it came to the qualifications of a wife. When Hyeongsik, the male character of *Mujeong*, was pondering which woman would be good for him, he evaluated Yeongchae as a potentially good wife because of her education. During her childhood, she had received elementary education in both the Confucian and western styles, and when she had worked as a *Gisaeng*, she had learned

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<sup>32</sup> *Gisaeng* is the Korean substitute for a Japanese *Geisha*. As a female entertainer, she plays musical instruments, sings, and serves at the feast. After a certain age, she usually becomes either a wealthy man’s concubine, or a pimp.

how to satisfy a man, how to sing, and how to play musical instruments. Therefore, she could communicate with him and would be a good partner. This image of an ideal wife resonated with other writings of Yi Kwang-su, such as “Ten Commandments for Women,”<sup>33</sup> which urged women to “read newspapers, magazines and books” (Yi 1962[1931]). He expressed sustained interest in encouraging women to become enlightened. However, this enlightenment required women only to support their husbands mentally.

In order to convey why women should become educated, traditional women characters in *Mujeong* serve as a reference point. One woman character—an old woman, who managed Hyeongsik’s boarding house—was old-fashioned and therefore unaware of the western concept of sanitation. She was very proud of her soybean paste soup; however, the soup usually contained some maggots. She was described as very warm and thoughtful toward Hyeongsik, but she still needed to be enlightened. The image of maggots was connected with the poor sanitation of the traditional lifestyle. One of the “Ten Commandments for Women,” dictates that “to be healthy, women should be careful about hygiene, exercise, nutrition, and cleanness” (Yi 1962[1931]). In contrast to old and

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<sup>33</sup> Yi Kwang-su’s Ten Commandments for Women are as follows:

1. To be healthy, women should be careful about hygiene, exercise, nutrition, and cleanness
2. Learn and think about Joseon’s history, Joseon’s language, Joseon’s literature, Joseon’s situation, and Joseon’s future.
3. Keep your first love for your husband.
4. Run your household economically and use locally made products to benefit the national economy.
5. [Missing from original article]
6. Overcome a sense of shyness and maintain your dignity.
7. Enlighten the lives of individuals, families, communities and others.
8. Read newspapers, magazines, and books.
9. As an unmarried woman, be careful in selecting your spouse, and as a wife, provide mental support for your husband’s work.
10. The sacred vocation of a young woman is to bring peace and light to her family with benevolence and modesty. Do not have feelings of anger, rebuke, jealousy or conflicts.

traditional women, New Women were urged to be more careful to lead a clean and healthy life. These standards were influenced by Western lifestyles and vigorously enforced by the Japanese government.

Another comparison involves a pimp who is Yeongchae's manager. She is a typical money-seeking person and is considered a negatively westernized woman because she judged people by the amount of money they have instead of their abilities and knowledge. In addition, she urged Yeongchae to have a sexual relationship with other men and to give up her morality to further their economic interests. However, the pimp was not a totally westernized person. Although her decision for money is understood as the influence of western capitalism, her strategy for making money was to become a concubine, which was typical for the *Giesang* of the traditional society.

Both traditional and negatively westernized women, ironically, shed light on the ideal image of the new woman. For example, Yi Kwang-su (1962[1931]) suggested that New Women should live economically and use locally made goods for the benefit of the Korean economy. This suggests a way to engage in a western lifestyle while maintaining national identity. New Women should combine traditional virtues (warmth and thoughtfulness towards men) with western virtues (sanitation and a well-managed family budget). Using novels and magazines, the leading nationalist asserted the necessity of female education. One of the most popular modern novels, *Mujeong*, both reflected this period and promoted female education and social activities.

#### **4. Female Education: The Shortest Way to a Bright Future?**

##### **(1) Encouragement from Korean Male Intellectuals**

The popular novel *Mujeong* shows the importance of female education was well perceived from the beginning of modernization. According to the early modernist intellectual Yu Giljun (1972[1895]: 51), because women were responsible for child rearing and household work, if they were inferior to men in education, the education of children would also be insufficient and inappropriate, and women would not have the knowledge necessary for the proper management of the household. Newspaper editorials expressing similar sentiments are easily found. They argued that as a future mother and wife, a female student should devote herself to her studies (Chang 1909; Choi 1922; Shin 1909).

For most male intellectuals, education for women was important as a necessary component of nation building, rather than an essential element of human rights and equality (Kim 2009: 138-9). Therefore, equal opportunities for education were thought to lead toward a stronger and wealthier country. In the same vein, Yi Kwang-su argued that “individual self-cultivation was the basis upon which national self-strengthening could be achieved” (Jager 2003: 27). In this context, most nationalists emphasized the importance of enlightenment projects such as mass education and modern technologies.

##### **(2) Encouragement from the Japanese Colonial Government**

The Japanese colonial government and Korean nationalists had different goals and interests. The desire to expand the empire and the desire to gain independence from the empire usually led to different views on and approaches to social issues. However, when

it came to female education, both groups held similar positions in spite of their different goals. The Japanese government encouraged it because they thought it would produce pro-Japanese mothers who reared their children as pro-Japanese. In public schools, the goal of education was to produce devoted subjects of the colonized Korea (Chōsensōtokufu 1919: 19). In particular, the goal of female high schools was to provide the knowledge women needed to become virtuous wives and fulfill their destiny as women (Chōsensōtokufu 1919: 55). Japanese officials explained the purpose of female education as follows:

Female education in Joseon is as significant as male education. Although the economic fusion and social synthesis of Japan and Joseon are the fundamental foundations, social synthesis is more important. If the social synthesis becomes successful, it will strengthen social harmony. The shortest road to social harmony is the inspiration of New Women to [support the Japanese government]... As soon as the women are inspired by [Japan], the men will follow. From the bottom of the bottom, we will find the origin of harmony: from the integration of family to the integration of society. (Kenichi 1936: 307-8)

In general, the goal of female education involved both the integration of the family and the integration of society. This general goal specified the desired female virtues that a high school education should impart. According to “The Command of Education in Joseon,” the goal of female education was as follows:

Female high schools should provide education that allows women to obtain female virtues and knowledge for their domestic lives... Female students should be in control of their own moral decisions and be good at domestic management. (Chōsensōtokufu 1919: 55)

These governmental goals of female education closely corresponded with the male intellectuals’ vision. Both emphasized the ideology of “wise mothers and good wives.”

Yi Kwang-su, in an article entitled “The Female Education should Focus on Mothering” (1962[1925]), described the goal of female education as follows:

Women spend half of their lives giving birth and raising children and those children form the base of their personality under the influence of their mothers. To become a good mother and to raise good children are the only responsibilities of women for the benefit of society, nation, and humankind. Without the knowledge of child raising, becoming a mother is dangerous and foolish like becoming a doctor without any medical knowledge. Therefore, women should go to schools to become better mothers, creating and effectively raising a new generation for the nation.

In addition, because of the emphasis on female virtues, colleges aimed to produce refined, wise mothers and good wives. Therefore, most female Joseon students majored in art and literature, instead of technical knowledge or science (Park 2000b: 56). Under these circumstances, female education began to be seen as necessary and justified. Was it, however, truly the beginning of a new period of advancement for women? In order to answer this question, I will first show the kinds of occupations women pursued after graduation.

### **(3) Self-Encouragement and Social Participation of Women**

Just as the male intellectuals and the Japanese colonial government did, the first generation of New Women emphasized the importance of female education. Na Hyeseok, in her novel *Kyeonghui* (2001[1918]), persuaded older generations to send their daughters to school, not in the interest of women’s social liberation but to gain more effective and rational housekeeping skills. In a diary of her travels in Europe, she scolded traditional Korean women for their unenlightened housekeeping methods and expressed envy of western lifestyles (Na 1935a). She also argued for the importance of virtuous wives and



mothers and wrote many articles based on her own happy life, describing her effective housekeeping skills and her own knowledge of children's education (Na 1921; Na 2001[1914]; Na 2001[1923]).

Due to their western education, the initial prospects of our three women were very promising in the early 1920s. Na Hyeseok was very famous as the first female Korean modern artist. She produced several novels, dramas, poems, critiques on art, and paintings. She also won several prizes in the Joseon National Art Exhibition. As the first female publisher in Korea, Kim Ilyeop published the women's magazine *Sinyeoja* (New Women) and became famous as a social activist. Her "Manifesto of *Sinyeoja*" (Baeyong Yi 2003: 21) was one of the initial attempts to define who the New Women were. In this manifesto, Kim Ilyeop argued that the natural rights of men applied to women as well. One of Kim Myeongsun's poems won an award and was praised in the early 1920s.

## **5. Education, but No Jobs**

At first, education for women—as encouraged by male intellectuals, the Japanese colonial government and the New Women themselves—seemed to have a favorable effect on women's careers. The ontological invention of women in early modern Korea and the rise of the concept of *Sinyeoseong* surely encouraged female education and, as a result, increased the number of female high school students. As Table II.2 demonstrates, the growing legitimacy of female education encouraged more students to attend westernized schools.

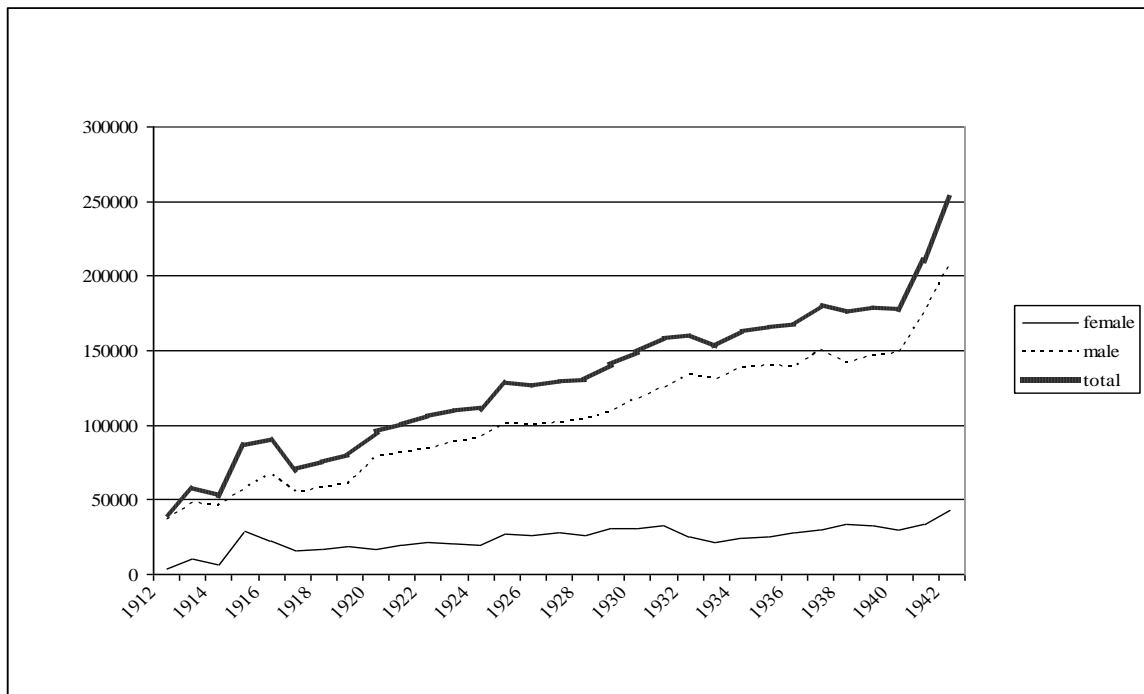
Table II.2 The Number of High Schools and Students

Year	Male (A)						Female (B)						Rate (B/A)%
	Public		Private		Sum		Public		Private		Sum		
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	
1912	2	456			2	456	1	116			1	116	25.4
1913	2	567			2	567	1	147			1	147	25.9
1914	2	663	2	200	4	863	2	175	2	140	4	315	36.5
1915	2	822	2	278	4	1100	2	250	2	128	4	378	34.4
1916	3	1038	4	677	7	1715	2	289	2	121	4	410	23.9
1917	3	1195	6	1109	9	2304	2	290	2	108	4	398	17.3
1918	4	1485	6	1244	10	2729	2	319	4	330	6	649	23.8
1919	5	1247	7	893	12	2140	2	220	4	257	6	477	22.3
1920	5	1346	9	1672	14	3018	2	268	5	441	7	709	23.5
1921	7	1953	10	2975	17	4928	2	393	5	669	7	1062	21.6
1922	11	2966	8	3546	19	6512	2	479	5	621	7	1100	16.9
1923	12	3844	8	4101	20	7945	2	528	5	842	7	1370	17.2
1924	14	4958	8	4993	22	9951	2	686	5	1024	7	1710	17.2
1925	15	5443	8	4665	23	10108	2	705	7	1317	9	2022	20
1926	15	6050	9	4913	24	10963	4	855	9	1775	13	2630	24
1927	15	6250	9	4826	24	11076	6	1174	9	2069	15	3243	29.3
1928	15	6671	9	4786	24	11457	6	1413	9	2347	15	3760	32.8
1929	15	6921	9	4945	24	11866	6	1609	9	2589	15	4198	35.4
1930	15	6666	9	5283	24	11949	6	1625	10	2929	16	4554	38.1
1931	15	6882	11	5818	26	12700	6	1692	10	3057	16	4749	37.4
1932	15	6948	11	6245	26	13193	7	1822	10	2948	17	4770	36.2
1933	15	7357	11	6170	26	13527	7	1943	11	3274	18	5217	38.6
1934	15	7664	11	6245	26	13909	7	2057	11	3473	18	5530	39.8
1935	15	7992	11	6372	26	14364	9	2286	11	3781	20	6067	42.2
1936	16	8368	11	6463	27	14831	10	2542	11	3990	21	6532	44
1937	16	8747	11	6707	27	15454	11	2947	11	4221	22	7168	46.4
1938	20	9735	13	7551	33	17286	11	3561	11	4352	22	7913	45.8
1939	21	10373	13	8111	34	18484	14	4359	10	4291	24	8650	46.8
1940	25	11938	13	8491	38	20429	16	4922	13	5035	29	9957	48.7
1941	25	12069	16	9318	41	21387	18	5657	13	5435	31	11092	51.9
1942	28	12959	19	11151	47	24110	21	6902	12	5269	33	12171	50.5

(Chōsensōtokufu 1915-1942)

The number of female high school students increased from 116 in 1912 to 12,171 in 1942, and the percentage of female students also increased to 50.5. However, the increase in female high school students did not increase women’s participation in the job market. As Figure II.3 shows, in spite of the increased number of female high school students, female job opportunities remained constant, while male job opportunities steadily increased.

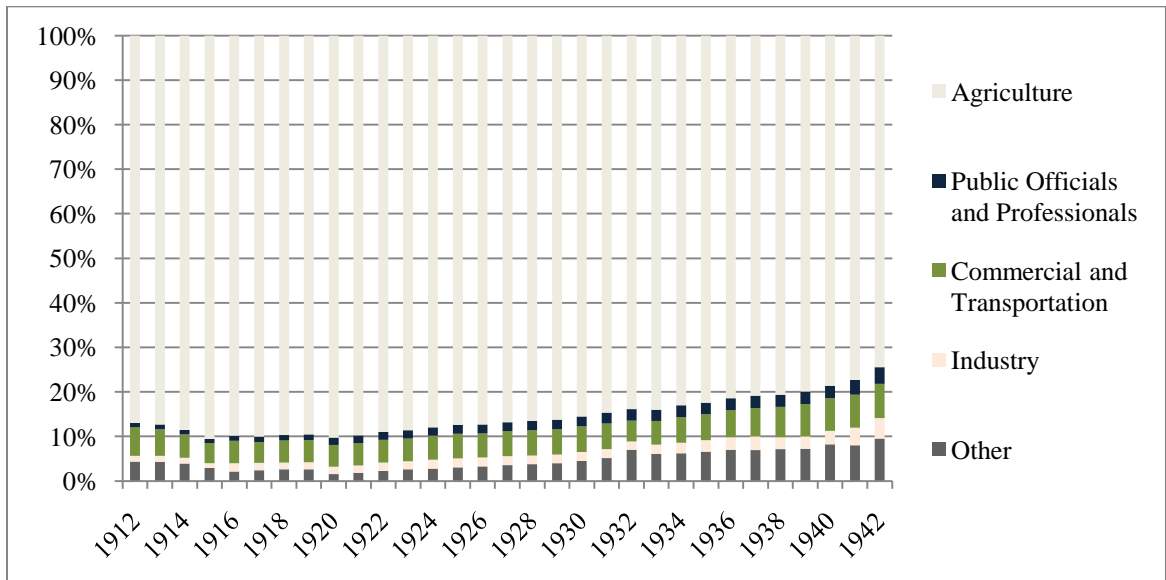
Figure II.3 The Change of Employment in Office Workers and Professionals



(Chōsensōtokufu 1915-1942)

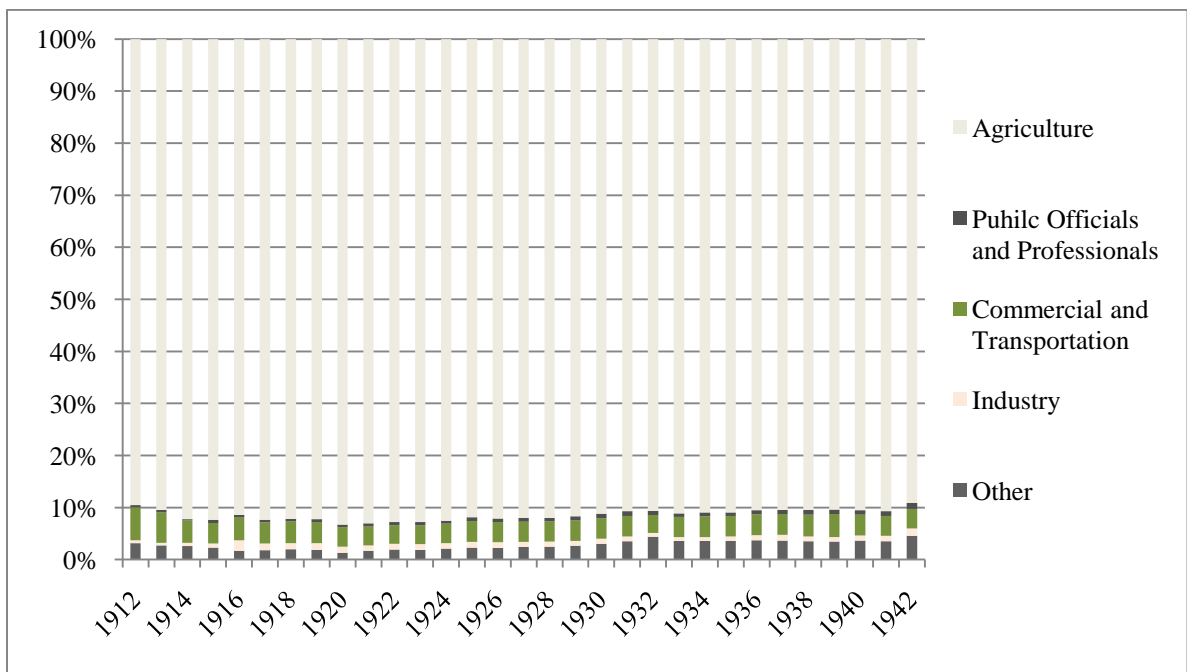
This limited access to the job market was common in other occupations as well. The economy of colonial Korea was based on agriculture, and only small part of the population participated in the professional and industrial sectors. As the colonial period passed, the industrial and professional sectors grew, and more than 20 percent of male workers worked in these sectors (see Figure II.4). However, female occupations did not reflect this economic change. As Figure II.5 shows, from the beginning to the end of the Japanese colonial period, more than ninety percent of female workers worked in agriculture, unlike men, women did not experience an expansion of job choices.

Figure II.4 Male Occupations in the Colonial Period



(Chōsensōtokufu 1915-1942)

Figure II.5 Female Occupations in the Colonial Period



(Chōsensōtokufu 1915-1942)

These trends point to a gap between female students' planned and actual occupations. More than 70 percent of female students dreamed of pursuing an academic career, becoming a newspaper reporter, working as a teacher and so on, but instead they ended up helping in their households and having no outside job (Chōsensōtokufu 1934; Dongailb Feb 25, 1928).

Table II.3 Plans of Female Graduate Students in 1928

Name of School	Number of Graduates	Plans		
		Purse Higher Education	Find a Job	Help in the Household
Ewha Female College	11	1 (U.S.A.1)	10	0
Ewha Female High School	32	18 (Japan 6)	0	14
Gyeongseong Female High School	86	47 (Japan 7)	10	29
Sukmyeong Female High School	71	31 (Japan 11)	0	40
Jinmyeong Female High School	41	27 (Japan 2)	5	9
Dongdeok Female High School	25	6	4	14
Baehwa Female High School	16	10 (Japan 2)	0	6
Jeongsin Female High School	10	7	0	3
Girls' Commercial School	48	5	37	6
Geunhwa Female School	11	10	0	1
Taehwa Female School	17	8	0	9
Girls' Arts School	14	2 (Japan 2)	12	0
Girls' Missionary School	7	0	7	0
Joseon Yeowon	7	2 (Japan 2)	2	3
Jungang Training School for Kindergarten Teachers	35	10	15	10
Ewha Training School for Preschool Teachers	14	0	14	0
Gapja Training School for Preschool Teachers	26	5	16	5
Gyeongseong Training School for Preschool Teachers	27	14	0	13
Sum	498	203 (40.76%)	132 (26.51%)	162 (32.53%)

(Dongailbo Feb 25, 1928)

Table II.4 Actual Paths of Female Graduates in 1934

Name of School	Number of Graduates	After Graduation			
		Pursued Higher Education	Found Jobs	Helped in the Household	Other
Ewha Female College	35	0 (0%)	15 (42.86%)	20 (57.14%)	0 (0%)
Gyeongseong Female High School	91	42 (46.15%)	2 (2.20%)	47 (51.65%)	0 (0%)
Sukmyeong Female High School	84	19 (22.62%)	3 (3.57%)	62 (73.81%)	0 (0%)
Jinmyeong Female High School	80	11 (13.75%)	21 (26.25%)	48 (60.00%)	0 (0%)
Dongdeok Female High School	47	11 (23.40%)	1 (2.13%)	30 (63.83%)	0 (0%)
Baehwa Female High School	50	14 (28.00%)	4 (8.00%)	30 (60.00%)	0 (0%)
Girls' Commercial School	77	1 (1.30%)	25 (32.47%)	23 (29.87%)	28 (36.36%)
Private Female High School	548	149 (27.19%)	55 (10.04%)	351 (64.05%)	2 (0.36%)
Sum	1012	247 (24.41%)	126 (12.45%)	611 (60.38%)	30 (2.96%)

(Chōsensōtokufu 1934)

In addition, whereas the possibility of education for women had been limited to the privileged class—*Yangban*—during the Joseon period, women from lower classes were educated and modernized in the early colonial period. One research paper on female students who studied abroad, especially in Japan, revealed that some students were the daughters of concubines and orphans (Park 2000a).<sup>34</sup> Unlike the daughters of the privileged class, who had to stay at home and whose parents did not want them in contact

<sup>34</sup> Without considering these circumstances, the modernization theory relied on a teleological explanation of the transition from a traditional to a modern society (Sewell. 2005). As Sewell (2005: 84) mentioned, when “the term modern serves as a label for those progresses or agents,” modernization theory is not able to evade the trap of the teleological fallacy. Therefore, different women’s groups—traditionally oppressed women and the educated lower-class women—should be distinguished.



with blue-eyed people, lower class women had to find a way to earn their own livings as in pre-modern society. One of the new options for lower-class women was to be educated in westernized schools.

More than half of the female students were Christian. When we consider, in the 1930s, 1.6% of the Korean population was Christian, the western religious orientation became an important factor in the education of women (Park 1990: 546). Our three New Women—Na Hyeseok, Kim Myoungsun, and Kim Ilyeop—illustrate this trend: all of them were influenced by Christian churches and schools. In addition, both Kim Ilyeop and Kim Myeongsun were considered lower class. Kim Ilyeop was an orphan, and Kim Myeongsun was a daughter of *Gisaeng*.

Because of their lower-class origins, Kim Dongin (1996[1939]: 248) defined a female school in his novel as “the gisaeng school”, because according to him, most of the students were daughters of concubines and *gisaeng*. This degrading tone was pervasive when male intellectuals commented on New Women. Why did male intellectuals repeatedly emphasize the importance of female education but fail to welcome the actually educated women?

## **6. The Preferred Female Occupation: Wise Mother and Good Wife**

### **(1) Economic Condition in Colonial Korea**

After the Dark Period (1910-1919), the Japanese colonial government liberalized its cultural policy (1919-1931), which led to active vernacular publications and the emergence of social organizations. In addition, for Korean intellectuals, who were not able to participate in the political sector, the mass media—newspapers and magazines—

provided an arena for political discourses (Shin 2009).

The establishment of several newspapers and magazines seemed to provide a chance of working for New Women. Female reporters would be very useful when it came to interviewing and visiting famous New Women, wives of male intellectuals, and students and teachers in female schools. However, according to an article published in 1935, fifteen or sixteen years after the establishment of newspaper presses, there were only thirteen female reporters. According to the author, these few female reporters were accessories in the male-centered news industry (Gaebyeok Mar. 1935). In addition, another magazine published an article entitled “Donga, Chosun, Jungwoi, sam sinmunsau nyegija pyeongpangi (The Evaluation of Female Reporters in Three Newspapers—Donga, Chosun, and Jungwoi) and followed each reporter’s face, figure, fashions and friendships. In addition, the author acknowledged that each newspaper hired only a single, token female reporter and seemed content with that (Woidoksang 1929).

Women’s difficulty finding employment as writers was consistent with the small size and competitive nature of the literary field. The illiteracy rate was high throughout the Japanese colonial period, with fewer than 7 percent of the people able to read and write both Korean and Japanese (Cheon 2003: 96). This lack of readers prevented the growth of publishing; therefore, the male intellectuals had to compete with each other as well as women for job security. In this situation, the most vulnerable and easily defeated competitors were New Women. Constraining and even barring them from entering the profession was not new or uncommon in the early modern period. As Eley (2000: 32) aptly explains, as members of the nation, women were not considered as agents with their own rights; rather, they were seen as mothers who could continue the blood lineage and

teach their mother tongue. In Korea, unlike in other colonial contexts, not only the national identity-building process but also the empire-building process regulated New Women and constrained them to stay at home as mothers and wives.

The role of the Japanese colonial government in this restriction of New Women extended to the system of female education. As already mentioned, the Japanese government encouraged female education. The establishment of the educational system provided the state with a vehicle for the modern education and institutional discipline of citizens (Gorski 1999: 161). However, when the Japanese colonial government enacted “The Command of Education in Joseon” in 1911, the length of elementary school was four years for boys, but only three years for girls. Although there were several amendments, the one-year difference did not disappear (Ju 1934: 31-2; Kim 2004: 300). From elementary school to high school, this subtle and institutional gap prohibited female students from easily entering higher-level schools. Therefore, women had to study at another institution in order to enter the next level of the education system.

Moreover, as shown in Table II.2, the total number of female students was less than 30 percent of the total number of male high school students until 1927. Female education was simply not considered as important as male education in colonial Korean society. Some wealthy and traditional families believed that educated women would not be able to find good husbands. Other families could not afford the expense of a daughter’s education. Not only individual family concerns, but also institutional obstacles, such as the length of education years and the society’s lack of enthusiasm for establishing female schools, limited opportunities for female education.

Differences between textbooks for male and female students also reflect these attitudes. For example, in the 1926 reading textbook for girls *Hanmundokbon* (Reading of Chinese Characters), the Japanese government included historical biographies that involved women demonstrating the female virtues as wives and mothers (Cheon 2003: 373). These gender differences could be found not only in public schools, but also in private schools. According to the anguished confession of a graduate of a private high school, her school mainly emphasized the mass production of devoted wives (Hwa 1923; Jingsong Kim 1999: 229-34). Many private schools were managed by Christian missionaries. The educational goal for these missionaries was the transmission of Christianity, and they also emphasized the role of women as wives and mothers.<sup>35</sup> School policies also marginalized girls by restricting their social lives; for example, female students were not allowed to walk on the road alone at night, to prevent the possibility of their chatting with male students, and they could not go to the theater without permission (Heekyeong Yi 2004: 64).

High school textbooks for female students argued that a woman's vocation was to become a wife and a mother. Because her vocation was based on her sexuality, there was no way it could change (Chōsensōtokufu 1925: 9-11; Hong 2001: 242). The Japanese Minister of Education and the President of both Tokyo and Kyoto Universities wrote:

Our female education, then, is based on the assumption that women marry, and that its object is to fit girls to become “good wives and wise mothers.” The question naturally arises what constitutes a good wife and wise mother, and the answer to the question requires a knowledge of the position of the wife and mother in the household and the standing of

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<sup>35</sup> A teacher of Ewha, one of most prestigious female schools, said that the goal of female education was “to produce wives for the ideal family, assistants for school, and nurses for hospitals” (Choi and Jeong 1976: 6-8; Kim 2004: 142).

women in society and her status in the State.... [The] man goes outside to work to earn his living, to fulfill his duties to the State; it is the wife's part to help him, for the common interest of the house, and as her share of duty to the State, by sympathy and encouragement, by relieving him of anxieties at home, managing household affairs, looking after the household economy, and, above all, tending the old people and bringing up the children in a fit and proper manner (Originally written in 1909 and quoted in Smith 1983: 75).

Although Korean nationalists and the Japanese colonial state had different interests, they collaborated to regulate and control New Women and assert that the proper role of women was as wives and mothers. Korean male intellectuals, because they wanted to preserve their place in the male-centered professional domain and to make New Women serve them and the nation as wives and mothers, did not hesitate to repeat the state's rhetoric in the interest of silencing some New Women.

## **(2) Educated but not Lavish Women: Lessons from three New Women**

What problem did the New Women—educated, clean and conversable—present for Korean male intellectuals? When they started to argue Korean women needed to be educated, male intellectuals did not imagine that New Women were asking for their rights as human beings. In addition, contrary to their expectations, educated or westernized women were perceived as lazy, lavish and even radical.

The debates concerning women's short hair demonstrated the concerns of Korean male intellectuals and how the regulation of women emerged and silenced other issues in the course of debates. When the majority of male intellectuals had short hair, female short hair became an issue. At the beginning of the debate, some supporters of short hair for women mentioned that women had the human right to control their own bodies

(Cheomgusaeng 1926: 62). Shortly after, the debate shifted toward the benefits and cost of short hair (Byeolgeongon Jan, 1929: 128-133). This shift captured how the issues of human rights of women were absent in the debates and the regulations to New Women emerged while the benefit and cost of men's short hair were not questioned. These ambivalent and male-centered ideas were explicitly expressed in Kim Ilyeop's reflection on her life. She was unable to understand modern intellectuals who criticized her quite liberal lifestyle, despite their arguments that marriage without love should be demolished (Ilyeop Kim 1934). As Kim observed, there were gaps between male intellectuals' word and their actions, and the first generation of New Women, who had believed that their argument were sincere, came to miserable endings.

New Women, who were usually educated and exposed to western thought, argued for their equal rights in modern society. According to male intellectuals' arguments, there were rare cases of women who were both wise and docile. Picture II.1 shows a male artist's distorted perception of modern female students. Men usually had ambivalent feelings toward female students; they criticized female students because of their westernized behaviors, but they still desired to go on dates with them. The moral censure of female students' thoughtless behaviors, such as extravagant consumption of clothes, shoes, and accessories; westernized hair and clothing styles; and indulgence in mass culture, was repeated, recited and reproduced.

Picture II.1 A Study of a Female Student Who Comes to the Capital for the First Time



Left: “The things she learns even before she studies her textbooks: 1. Wearing a short skirt 2. Cutting her forelock 3. Wearing high heels and learning how to walk in them”. Middle: “Short haircut, long Korean jacket, high heels: It is a bad and bold Chinese woman. The short skirt came from the West.” Right: “Instead of studying, she reads romance novels. What do her parents and school officials think?” (An 2004[1925]: 64)

Although male intellectuals supported enlightenment for women and hoped to marry educated women, they did not feel comfortable with the preferences and hobbies of New Women. A magazine article entitled, “If I got married to a new woman!” surveyed male intellectuals’ expectations after marrying New Women. One respondent cynically replied that the conditions for happy marriage were as follows: material wealth, absolute obedience toward his wife, separation from the husband’s parents, a Western lifestyle, and nonintervention in the wife’s love affairs (Byeolgeongon Jul. 1928: 123). As shown in this survey, New Women were considered the epitome of extravagance and thoughtlessness (Kim 2004: 31-2).

However, the moral blame of female students originated in male expectations regarding the goal of female education. Female education was implicitly seen as a

prerequisite for female emancipation and equal rights. Most commentators on female emancipation in colonial Korea agreed that emancipation itself was still premature. Unlike in western countries, in which men and women had more equal abilities and knowledge, in Korea, women did not have the ability and knowledge necessary for female emancipation. Therefore, they had to be educated first. Another commentator argued that to be emancipated, women should first cultivate their souls. If they did, heaven would help those who helped themselves (Gaebyeok Sep. 1920: 28-45).

To legitimate their belief in the lack of female abilities, male intellectuals criticized the first generation of female authors as “writers without writings.” In a popular magazine, an interviewee scoffed that “it would be easy to become a female writer in Korea. A novel is enough to become a female writer.” Moreover, “without a novel, it is possible; however, if there’s one novel, it would be better” (Yeoseong 1939: 488). These severe evaluations have continued until the present (Hyeon Ja. Kim 2003: 32). For example, although one of Kim Myeongsun’s poems received an award and was praised at first, her poems were later frequently mentioned as examples of bad poems (Kim 1931: 55).

In addition, on December 9, 1932, Jungangilbo (Jungang daily) introduced “The Ten Commandments for Yankees’ Wives.”<sup>36</sup> Through its religious regulation, western

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<sup>36</sup> All ten commandments, published by a Massachusetts preachers, appear below:

1. Stop the endless chattering.
2. Love your husbands.
3. Accept your husband’s presence.
4. Don’t make unnecessary phone-calls and do not waste your time gossiping.
5. Do not praise your husband in front of other men.
6. Bear your husband’s shortcomings, and sometimes express your husband’s virtue, in front of other women.
7. When you have troubles with your husband, express them quickly and forget them.
8. Don’t ask your husband to do trivial errands.



male society asked women to be docile, obedient, amicable and supportive of their husbands and families. Korean intellectuals accepted some aspects of the Western model of women. However, the Korean male intellectuals were eager to get beyond the stereotype of the docile wife, as they wanted their spouses to have intellectual abilities that exceeded those of traditional docile wives. Therefore, a combination of docility and intellectual ability became their ideal. Nationalists agreed that the remodeling of the ideal woman was crucial for the nation's development and emancipation. Sometimes women should be social activists themselves, and other times they should be wise and cunning for reading their husbands' mind.

For male intellectuals, what was the most important virtue of New Women? The answer varied, but purity was certainly among the most important. As I have mentioned, the case of the three New Women, this study examines, illustrates typically miserable ends for New Women's lives. They experienced similar sufferings because of the gap between what Korean men said what the ideal was and what they actually wanted, and stories of their behaviors were circulated and criticized in public discourse.<sup>37</sup> A novel even used these three women as models (Kim 1996[1939]).

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9. Focus on your family's clothes and not on friendship with others. Your responsibilities are to your home and family.

10. Do not forget to give your husband his freedom and respect his solitary time.

(Junangilbo Dec 9, 1932).

<sup>37</sup> According to Anderson (1991[1983]), print capitalism supported the emergence of an imagined community—that is, a nation. This research focuses on the impact of print capitalism. For example, nationally circulated newspapers, magazines, and novels not only promoted an ideal for New Women, but also evaluated and punished women as well. The advent of this new technology made the nationally circulated magazines possible for intellectuals. Because of the media's new power, stories of the relatively small phenomena of New Women circulated throughout the entire Korean public sphere. Although many theories have dealt with gossip (Bergmann 1993; Tebbutt 1995), their focus has been limited to small groups and communities. This research, however, considers the new technology of print capitalism, and

In attempting to understand their tragedies, I am deeply indebted to McClintock's (1995) theory of gendered nationalism. However, her book did not pay much attention to multiple social groups, as it focused only on antagonistic male and female differences. I suggest that the subtle differences and negotiations among each group had impacts on the process of the construction of nationalism. Under Japanese colonialism, although there were various branches of nationalism, all shared the desire for a modern and advanced society.<sup>38</sup> But as Chatterjee (1993: 154) mentioned, "the story of nationalist emancipation is necessarily a story of betrayal." This is particularly true, for women; they received the benefit of modernity but they confronted "a whole set of new controls." The stories of three New Women make it clear who was to be the target of control.

Three of the first generation of new women initially succeeded, but later Korean society, and especially the male intellectuals were unable to accept their radical arguments and behaviors. As a feminist, Kim Ilyeop was radical, at least in her contemporaries' views. For example, she put forth the "new purity theory." According to Kim (2004[1924]), "nowadays we are only able to find our sincere partners from among married men."<sup>39</sup> Under these conditions, she argued, women were unable to require chastity of men. Therefore, given that an equal standard should be applied, chastity should be meaningful and protected only while a couple is in love. Before a man and woman meet and after they separate, there's no need to preserve woman's purity. In

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how it extended the range of gossip, in an attempt to determine the reason for the fame of these three women as well as their wretched ends.

<sup>38</sup> According to Robinson (1988: 11), the goal of nationalists was "to transform Korean society to create the fundamental strength requisite of a modern nation-state, the nation-states represented by the Western model."

<sup>39</sup> Marriage at the early age was popular in Korea, therefore, most male intellectuals were married men.

addition, unlike most other New Women, she presented radical views on several issues. For example, when husbands had to go jail or were exiled from Joseon because of political and social conditions, many other women recommended that wives maintain chastity until their husbands came back home. However, Kim Ilyeop (1930: 41) argued that women should create new lives without their husbands, although she did suggest a three-year waiting period. To male intellectuals and the Japanese government, these radical behaviors and arguments were both unexpected and unwelcome.

Despite her activities in art and literature, Na Hyeseok was better known for her two affairs. When she was young, her fiancé died because of tuberculosis. She eventually decided to marry another man, and the new couple went on their honeymoon to Na's ex-fiancé's tomb. This event was ridiculed in many Korean journals and novels. According to Kim Dongin's novel, *Kim Yeonsil Jeon (The biography of Kim Yeonsil)* (1996[1939]: 286), "when we have rational judgment, the psychology and actions of Song Anna [who is modeled after Na Hyeseok] as well as Yeonsil and Myeongae [the model for Kim Myeongsun and Kim Ilyeop, respectively] cannot be understood. However, when Myeongae reported Song Anna's visit to the tomb of her previous lover to Yeonsil, they both screamed and laughed, and both agreed it could be memorialized as a significant victory for women." In addition, because of a cruel description that appeared in another novel, Yeom Sangseop's (1923a) *Haebbaragi* (Sun Flower), Na Hyeseok nearly went hysterical (Yunsik Kim 1999: 207). She also had a love affair in Paris with a Korean male intellectual after more than 10 years of marriage. After this love affair, her husband decided to expel her from their marriage, and he prohibited her from seeing her children. In order to regain her reputation and, she hoped, her husband's love, she wrote "I Hon Go

Baek Jang (Confessions of a Separation)” for the popular Korean magazine *Samcheonri* (Na 1934). However, she was not allowed to see her children after the divorce, and she died a homeless person in the street.

Her life took this tragic path partly because her notions of purity differed as radically from those of male intellectuals, who argued the importance of traditional ideals of purity. Na consistently maintained her feminist perspective, arguing that the sexual desire of single women could be resolved by male prostitutes, and that having a love affair could make a marriage stronger (Na 1934: 91; Na 1935c: 74; Yun Seongsang 1930: 54). She even argued that purity should be based on neither moral norms nor laws, but rather it should be a hobby (Na 1935b: 113). However, she did not completely live accordingly to her own radical ideas; rather, her life oscillated between conservative and radical notions of women’s rights and virtues.

In spite of her life as a devoted wife and mother, the publication of “I Hon Go Baek Jang (Confessions of a Separation)” isolated her from Korean society and her own family. Her brother, Na Kyungseok, her only reliable source of financial support, prohibited contact with family members including himself. Initially, Na Kyungseok suggested that she should divorce her husband and hoped she would be able to handle her love affair and divorce discreetly. However, Na Hyesoek revealed the whole story in a popular magazine, from the time she first met her husband to the end of the divorce, and she criticized her husband, lover, and in-laws. After that, her brother gave up keeping in touch with her mainly because of social pressure from the other male intellectuals who were his friends. The social isolation and financial suffering she endured prompted her to sue her partner in Paris for temptation and rape (Moon 2003: 260-1). However, she did

not win any money from this suit; rather, she had to face the severe coldness of the Korean society, her friends and her family members.

As a daughter of a *Gisaeng*, Kim Myeongsun bore a stigma that influenced her entire life. She was stigmatized by not only outsiders; she also identified herself as the daughter of dirty blood in her autobiographical novel *Tansil kwa juyeongi* (*Tansil and Juyeong*) (Kim 1924). However, she tried to become a devoted woman. According to her autobiographical novel, in order to overcome her impure birth, she tried to protect her chastity and studied hard to overcome her weaknesses (Kim 1924). In addition, in the preface to her volume of collected writings, she wrote that “this collection was produced from a misunderstood young life’s pain, criticism and damnation” (Kim 1981[1925]). Her personal life was in fact full of hardships. For example, after being raped by a Korean male student, she became notorious for having deranged sexual relationships with many men. Although there were at that time several published articles and novels on women’s rights and free love, she was isolated and neglected by male writers and even by the members of her own literary circle, *Changjo* (Creation). She finally died in Japan, homeless and physically impaired.

Most articles in magazines and newspapers focused on the three New Women’s personal lives and love affairs. For example, in one interview article, a reporter asked someone why Kim Ilyeop and Kim Myeongsun were popular figures. The interviewee replied, “If they are not popular figures, who could be? They had several romantic relationships with men and married in every year. Are there any other requirements for being an oddball? In spite of these personal lives, they announced their thoughts in public places and write poems, novels and articles. Isn’t it funny?” (Byeolgeongon Feb. 1927:

23) When the reporter asked, “Is society at all to blame?” the interviewee continued to blame the women, saying that it was not society’s fault but rather totally a personal problem. Moreover, he added, this view of the women was popularly accepted, not just his own. Another magazine article introduced Kim Myeongsun, as a mother who did not know her baby’s father’s name (Gangbalsanin 1927: 75).

In the novel *Mujeong*, Yeongchae, who believed that the virtue of obedience to parents was the most important Confucian idea, “decided to become a *Gisaeng*,” because “the value of [her] body would enable her to save [her] father from his sufferings” (Yi 1962[1917]: 42). However, her father, who was engaged in modern educational activities, heard the news from Yeongchae and said to her, “You bitch, you disgraced the name of our splendid family. How could you compromise your body at your early age?” (Yi 1962[1917]: 42) Finally, he committed suicide because of the shame caused by his daughter’s inappropriate behaviors, and her two brothers followed suit. Her father was not able to accept her form of filial duty because it violated ideals of chastity. Although her father and brothers had received a western education and were eager to be westernized, they were not able to accept Yeongchae’s social activity as a *Gisaeng*. The male protagonist, Hyeongsik, also thought that a woman who defiled her chastity was not worthy to become his wife. Yeongchae also condemned herself. “As a daughter, I hurt my father, as a sister, I hurt my brothers, and as a wife, I could not remain faithful to my husband. I am a felon” (Yi 1962[1917]: 132). In addition, she complained about her position by saying, “I have just been called the name of *Gisaeng*, why have I never gotten a chance to be called a loving and sacred name such as a wife, a lady, a mother, and an aunt? *Gisaeng*, *Gisaeng*, what a horrible name!” (Yi 1962[1917]: 93).

The high value of chastity was widely accepted by the mass of Korean people, as exemplified in *Mujeong*. The rape of Yeongchae was interpreted differently by each character. Rapists believed that they were not at fault because a *Gisaeng* did not have the human right to keep her chastity for her lover. On the other hand, a friend of Hyeongsik, who considered Yeongchae as a potential wife of Hyeongsik, thought that her attempt to commit suicide was very appropriate and impossible to avoid. This example explains the double standard of purity. An ideal wife should protect her chastity.

Various articles also supported the ideology of purity (Sin 1932). The purity of the wife was important because of the so-called scientific knowledge that prevailed in this period. According to then-current beliefs, if a woman had a sexual relationship with a man, her inner body would permanently retain his enzyme, and her baby would inherit it as well. Therefore, an impure woman could not perpetuate a pure blood lineage (LSsaeng 1929). Another “scientific” explanation for the importance of female purity was based on the belief that men’s sexual desire was stronger than women’s. According to this explanation, women can more easily control their sexual desire (Sinyeoseong 1931). Under these circumstances, most women intellectuals hesitated to argue the equal rights in sexual relationships. Rather, they asked for men to be faithful after marriage (Sin 1932).

The praise and constant regulation of purity was not only a traditional Korean but also a westernized notion. In colonial Korea, the tradition of paternal lineage and the high value of chastity in Confucianism were supported by ascetic European religion and quasi-science. In this context, Kim Ilyeop’s theory of new purity (1920) and Na Haeseok’s “Confessions of a Separation” (1934a) were shocking. Neither Kim Ilyeop’s

new purity theory, which argued that as long as she loved a man, her purity was secure nor Na Haeseok's argument, which considered purity as a hobby, were acceptable in Korean society. In addition, the legal system also treated male and female impurity unequally. Women were imprisoned for committing adultery, but a man could avoid legal punishment as long as he did not commit bigamy (Won 2004[1939]).

Yeom Sangsup, one of the most famous novelists, also valorized purity in his novels. When explaining the importance of purity, he argued that a woman who had had a sexual relationship with a man should be limited in her choice of husbands: "Who would want to marry that used woman [i.e., no longer virginal]? She could be at best someone's concubine" (Choe 2000: 286; Yeom 1923b).<sup>40</sup> Therefore, according to Yeom, a new woman should dedicate herself to her first lover and she should not pursue money instead of love. However, standards for male purity were much looser. In Yeom's novel, a male character could be pure and sincere in multiple relationships with his wife, a lover, and a *Gisaeng* (or future concubine) (Yeom 1995[1931]: 138-141). As exemplified in Na Hyeseok's case, this double standard regarding gender and purity led to Na's horrible experiences. Although Na Hyeseok's husband had a love affair, this was not considered a legitimate reason for divorce. In addition, after their divorce, a reporter sympathized only with the husband; in that article, a fair description of the poor wife cannot be found. Rather, Na Hyeseok was the only one who had a love affair and later expressed furious emotions (Dong 1932: 67).

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<sup>40</sup> In Yi, Kwang-su's *Mujeong*, the male protagonist decided to rule out the possibility of marriage with Yeongchae who had been raped. He tried to find her to save her life, because she had decided to commit suicide, but he would not marry her. During his journey to find Yeongchae, Hyeongsik met another young *Gisaeng* and had a good time with her.



### (3) Wise Mother and Good Wife

For the majority of first-generation New Women, striving to be ideal mothers and wives was the best way to live a comfortable life. Ironically, even these three New Women tried to emulate the model of the wise mother and good wife. From the beginning, the pressure of the ideology of *hyeon mo yang cheo* (賢母養妻: wise mothers and good wives) was a double-edged sword. If girls wanted an education, the ideology could be an excuse for entering school, as in Na Hyeseok's (2001[1918]) novel, *Kyeonghui*. After graduating from school, however, women's job opportunities were limited to becoming teachers, nurses, and bus conductresses, or working in the service sector.

No one was free from this social pressure, even the three New Women discussed here. For example, in an interview, Na Hyeseok said that she wanted to become more active in art only after she raised her children, and that she did not want to discard her role as mother and wife. Rather, she repeatedly used the phrase, "After I have done my duties as a mother." Moreover, she wrote "Sentiments on Being a Mother" to explain her emotional changes regarding motherhood and her resolution to devote herself to being a mother and a wife (Na 2001[1923]). In spite of Kim Ilyeop's radical arguments, in her life she tried to combine the roles a devoted wife and activist for female education. In her pen-and-ink drawing, Na Hyeseok (2001[1920]: 80) captured Kim Ilyeop's daily life as both a good wife and a diligent activist for women's emancipation. Ironically, she interjected the ideology of wise mothers and good wives, which was a shared view among these New Women as well as others. They agreed that women should be effective

both in the household and in the social movements for the emancipation of women.

Picture II.2 The Domestic Life of Madam Kim Ilyeop



1 (above left) “Reading until midnight”; 2 (above right) “While hearing the sound of simmering, writing a poem”; 3 (below left) “Knitting with hands and thinking about the way to success for New Women”; 4 (below right) “Having studied exhaustively until dawn, writing a new article.” (Na 2001[1920]: 80)

Despite her attempts to be a good wife, Kim Ilyeop's life choices were constantly derided, as illustrated in the paragraph below, which describes her relationship with her new boyfriend, Im Nowol.

This guy Im Nowol is an interesting one, who lived with Kim Myeongsun, and got rid of her, pretending she was taken by another guy. Right now, he is starting a new life with Kim Ilyeop. She has accomplished splendid work in Korean New Women groups, according to herself. Because she hated the coldness of her husband's leg prosthesis, she accepted Im's temptation and moved to Im's place. Since I had already met Kim Ilyeop as Madam of a different house three or four years ago, I looked down on her as either a wife or concubine at Im Nowol's home. (Kim 1948; Yi 2001: 219-220).

In spite of her attempt to suit men's taste, in the end she was unable to find a place in Korean society because of continuous critiques; so she went to a temple in a rural region and became a nun. After this religious rebirth, she was continuously criticized for having several marriages (Samcheonri Jan. 1935: 117-9).

In addition to being chaste, New Women were also expected to be docile and submissive. One of Yi Kwang-su's commandments for women stated: "The sacred vocation of a young woman is to bring peace and light to her family with benevolence and modesty. Do not have feelings of anger, rebuke, jealousy or conflicts" (Yi 1962[1931]). The virtue of modesty and women's role in polygamy were represented in many Confucian books. Although Yi Kwang-su stood against the practice of polygamy and traditional practices such as early marriage, he continued to value the ideal of the docile wife. In *Mujeong*, Hyeongsik's wife thought, "envy and jealousy are immense sins. As a Christian and well-educated woman, I should not commit these sins" (Yi 1962[1917]: 295). This warning against jealousy and envy actually represent the Yi Kwang-su's support for male-

centered social order. His interest in reformulating polygamy was presented in his later novel, *Sarang (Love)* (Yi 1962[1939]).<sup>41</sup> In this novel, women could be devoted female citizens because they were devoted wives.

One women's magazine reported a case of a devoted wife. In this article, the wife, in spite of economic difficulties, was very happy with her husband and served him until she was worn to the bone, unlike other New Women. She was good at managing the house, and many people praised her because of her sincere service to her husband. Whenever she published a small article, she would ask his permission first (Pyeonjipsil 2004[1938]: 558-564). This example explicitly showed the proper manners of an ideal wife.

The combination of traditional characters—chastity and docility—as well as modern virtue—education—for women that defined women within the inside of family relationships. As mothers and wives, women received the role of national building. As mentioned earlier, Yeongchae was supposed to transfer her loyalty from her lover to the nation. In this process, she continuously vacillated between her lover and the nation. According to her friend, “a man who doesn't know your mind, is worthless to think. Therefore think of your past as only a dream” (Yi 1962[1917]: 230). After hearing this, Yeongchae had a miserable time deciding whether she should commit suicide. Traditionally, “deciding to commit suicide is unavoidable. Chastity is the core of women and losing chastity naturally leads to the killing of her own body” (Yi 1962[1917]: 137). However, she finally decided to devote to herself to the nation instead of killing herself,

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<sup>41</sup> In this novel, the male character had a wife and a spiritually devoted nurse and assistant. This assistant gave up her personal life to help him.

and she left for Japan to study western knowledge. In contrast, the male protagonist did not face any choice between the nation and women. Rather, he spent a great many hours comparing two women— one was an educated woman who was the daughter of a rich man, and the other was Yeongchae, an uneducated *Gisaeng*. To contribute to the building of the nation, the female protagonist should sacrifice herself whereas the male protagonist did not need to choose either of them. These different situations demonstrate Yi Kwang-su's gendered perspective for nation building.

In his "Ten Commandments for Women," Yi Kwang-su urged women to "keep your first love for your husband" (Yi 1962[1931]). This argument was presented explicitly in his novel *Mujeong*. Yeongchae thought, "Although I do not know whether Hyeongsik is alive or dead and whether he formed a family and has children, even if he has a family and children, I should give myself to him and should not marry another man" (Yi 1962[1917]: 25). Because these commandments were published after *Mujeong*, they suggested that Yi Kwang-su never revised his traditional attitudes toward love. Although in his novel he stated that Yeongchae should devote herself to her nation, this devotion became possible only after her fiancé had already married another woman.

Therefore, although the majority of male intellectuals believed in the necessity of education for the enlightenment of women, as exemplified in Yi Kwang-su's *Mujeong*, the goal of that education was limited to producing devoted wives and wise mothers for both the colonial government and male intellectuals.

## 7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have delved into the diverse actors' construction of the role and virtues of New Women. Although they obtained sovereignty with modernity, New Women were unable to find a place to display their education or skills, and their social mobility was restricted. These educated women suffered as a result of the unequal and male-centered social hierarchy. In order to explain this phenomenon, I followed the historical process of the emergence, intensification, and institutional supports of the construction of the ideal woman. These women were to demonstrate purity by controlling their sexual behaviors, and they were to live up to the ideology of "wise mothers and good wives."

The Japanese government's slogan and the nationalists' arguments embodied similar points. Economic, ethical and institutional systems, such as the educational system and society's shared value system embraced the ideology of women as wise mothers and good wives. Unlike the other colonized countries under the West, the Asian culture provided different situations and strategies intended to control women in multiple ways. These systemic regulations and controls caused women, in particular as the first generation of New Women, to oscillate between trying to embody and advocating for women's right as modern human beings.

Finally, I offer the possibility of rethinking the category of women. By emphasizing either the blessings of modernity or the modern repression of women, we cannot capture the complex and multilayered regulation and encouragement of women. Most educated women lived in dual normative and ethical standards. Women received

continuous encouragement for equal rights and responsibilities regarding education, job opportunities, and romance, while at the same time experiencing the pressure of gender role expectations, in particular the ideology of “wise mothers and good wives.” The three women discussed in this chapter also experienced the swing of the pendulum. However, their failure to live up to ideals of purity, the prerequisite of “wise mothers and good wives,” led to their social and physical deaths.

As Foucault (1977) points out, being a subject means being controlled. The identity of the new woman emerged, was constructed, and was practiced during the Japanese colonial period under the influence of both encouragement and repression. Following these historical events, this chapter suggests that there was a period in which social progress halted. The traditionally oppressed women’s situation neither moved toward the emancipation of modern women nor moved directly toward another form of oppression. Rather, there was an anomalous transitional period. For example, as shown in Figure II.3, the ratio of working men to working women was at its lowest in 1915; This ratio suggest that the early period actually offered women more equal opportunities, since the proportion of men in the workforce later became larger. This change can be understood as the time period for establishing regulations. Although theorists argue that modern practices both regulated and encouraged women, before this regulation was established, women actually had more opportunities to participate actively in colonial Korean society. In this context, the three women in this chapter were able to become famous in their early lives, but after women’s behaviors began to be more strictly regulated, they were cast out of Korean society.

## Chapter III

### Setting Colonial Boundaries across Gender: Role of Interethnic Marriages

#### 1. Introduction

... You see, I'm going to take a young lady from the home country for my wife. My boss said he'd take care of everything—he'll pick out a nice, well-behaved one and fix me up with her. Women from the home country sure are swell.

Me, I wouldn't take a Joseon woman if you *gave* me one.

The old-fashioned ones, even though they're well behaved, are ignorant, and people from the home country won't keep company with them. And the modern ones are full of themselves just because they've had some schooling, so they won't do. So, old-fashioned, modern doesn't matter—when it comes to Joseon women, forget it.

A wife from the home country—that's only for starters. I'll change my name to home-country style, same with house, clothes, food, I'll give my children Japanese names and send them to a Japanese school here. (Chae 2005(1938): 102-3)

Chae Manshik's novel *Chisuk (My Innocent Uncle)* (2005[1938]) is a down-to-earth nephew's first-person account of his well-educated but incapable uncle. Throughout the narrative, the author insinuates that the realistic nephew is more naïve than his uncle because the nephew cannot see the colonial contradictions that make the well-educated incapable. As the epigraph shows, the author reveals the Korean nephew's "realistic" dreams: to be rich like the Japanese; to marry a Japanese girl; and ultimately to be Japanese. He does not want to marry a Korean girl, whether old-fashioned or modern. His



uncle, however, does not know the ways of the world despite his college degree and his participation in the communist movement. The nephew worries about his uncle, and wants to lecture him on life and society, but the lazy uncle says that his nephew has become a hopeless wretch. Why does this innocent uncle think his nephew has problems? Is it because of his nephew's lack of nationalistic consciousness, or because he sees his nephew as kissing up to the Japanese, or both? If the writer's intention to make readers share the uncle's pity for and to his nephew, where should the reader feel uncomfortable?

However, the nephew's evaluation of Korean women seems unlikely and problematic, considering his innocent uncle's experiences with women. His uncle married a traditional woman but asked for a divorce after meeting one of the "educated women" while studying abroad. However, the modern girl left him while he was in jail for five years, whereas, the rejected traditional woman—(his ex-wife) supported him after eighteen years of neglect. Although neither the traditional woman nor the modern girl is a leading character in this novel, it is interesting to observe the uncle's and nephew's similar conceptions and experiences of Korean women even though their views on other subjects are very different.<sup>42</sup>

My question is this: how even though the author satirized the nephew and criticized him from the uncle's perspective, do the nephew and uncle share the same idea of Korean women either in nephew's dialogue or in uncle's experiences? I plan to answer this question by examining the lives of Japanese settlers as portrayed in literature on

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<sup>42</sup> Shim (2006a: 301-2) argues that, even though protagonists in Chae Mansik's novels, had had totally different life experiences, they were generally portrayed as sadistic men and masochistic women. Although this may be an overly simplistic approach to understand Chae's many novels, it is true that his novels feature male characters as the subject of history and society.

interethnic marriages and their children during the Japanese colonial period in Korea. The Japanese colonial state, as a late imperial power, encouraged Japanese settlers to move into colonial Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria. Even though Japanese settlement communities in colonial Korea were located in protected “tight and exclusive urban communities” (Peattie 1984: 98-99) to prevent conflict with Koreans, mixed marriages (naisengekkon: 内鮮結婚) between Japanese and Koreans were also encouraged.<sup>43</sup> As a result of this colonial policy, in 1937, there were 664 couples with a Japanese husband and a Korean wife, and 472 couples with a Korean husband and a Japanese wife. In 1941, as the trend continued, there were 5,747 mixed marriages (Cho 2007: 441).<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The underlying logic of mixed marriage is based on the presumed superiority of Japanese race. Japanese eugenicists argued that in order to protect the superiority of the Japanese, some appropriate level of mixed marriages would be required. The mixed marriage should take place within same race, however, as opposed to mixing ‘Whites’ and ‘Blacks’. Therefore, it was appropriate for the Japanese to marry either Koreans or Chinese (Seokyoung Choi 2000).

<sup>44</sup> This phenomenon can be observed in Japan, too. In Japan, 5,458 mixed marriage cases took place from 1938 to 1942.

Table III.1 Interethnic Marriages between Koreans and Japanese in Korea from 1912 to 1934 (Practical Marriage Included, Unit: Couple)

Year	Formation of Japanese Family			Formation of Korean Family			Sum
	Japanese Husband and Korean Wife	Korean Husband Taking His Wife's Family Name	Sum	Korean Husband and Japanese Wife	Japanese Husband Taking His Wife's Family Name	Sum	
1912	56		56	57	3	60	116
1913	42		42	70	2	72	114
1914	29		29	48	2	50	79
1915	35	3	38	38		38	76
1916	59	3	62	85	2	87	149
1917	54	3	57	62	2	64	121
1918							115
1919							68
1920							85
1921	56	1	57	63	4	67	124
1922	80	15	95	131	1	132	227
1923	102	11	113	131	1	132	245
1924	125	23	148	203	9	212	360
1925	187	19	206	197	1	198	404
1926	222	18	240	219	0	219	459
1927	245	14	259	238	2	240	499
1928	266	21	287	238	2	240	527
1929	310	27	337	277	1	278	615
1930	385	46	431	350	5	355	786
1931	438	41	479	367	6	373	852
1932	533	48	581	364	9	373	954
1933	589	48	637	377	15	392	1029
1934	602	43	645	365	7	372	1017

(ChōsenSōtokufu, 1938, Kuksa Pyonchan Wiwonhoe 2005, 243)

Table III.2 Interethnic Marriages between Koreans and Japanese in Japan from 1938 to 1942

Year	Marriage between Koreans	Marriage Between Koreans and Japanese							
		Japanese Husband, Korean Wife	Korean Husband and Japanese Wife					Sum	Sum
			Entering Husband's Family Registration	Entering Wife's Family Registration			Sum		
				Taking Wife's Family Name	Adoption <sup>1</sup>	Sum			
1938	1,328	9	556	168	78	246	802	811	
1939	1,463	27	615	179	66	245	860	887	
1940	1,358	16	819	168	81	249	1,068	1,084	
1941	1,674	30	946	220	62	282	1,228	1,258	
1942	1,695	134	1,028	202	54	256	1,284	1,418	
Sum	7,518	216	3,964	937	341	1,278	5,242	5,458	

(KuksaPyonchanWiwonhoe 2005)

The very existence of such a large number of interethnic couples highlights the need to consider the diverse and unusual experiences of these settlers in mixed marriages and their children to gain a more nuanced understanding of colonial Korea. Mixed marriages between Japanese wives and Korean husbands are especially interesting as they sharply challenged the political relationship in the public sphere, where the Japanese male colonizers predominated, even though gender relations at home might not have been affected, since the Japanese women were generally as dominated by their husbands as their Korean counterparts. Hence, in Korea gender relations and the patriarchal family structure were significantly interwoven into the public and private experiences of the Japanese settlers and the Korean colonized, who experienced them in both similar and different ways.

In this study, I argue that the colonial reality emerged through the constant reformulation and reconstruction of attempted colonial control. In the case of the Japanese colonialism in Korea, it was through the negotiations between the colonizers

(i.e., the colonial government and the Japanese settlers) and the colonized (i.e., the Koreans) that the realities of the colonial period emerged to haunt both groups in different ways. I attempt to capture the nature of these negotiations by examining the portrayal of interethnic relationships in Korean and Japanese literature that deals with the social issue of mixed marriages and their offspring. Such an analysis also reveals the interethnic order in the Japanese empire and the effect of hybridity on individuals' lives.

## **2. Theoretical Discussion and Method**

### **(1) Concept of Settler Colonialism**

Studies on colonialism have gradually expanded their focus from Europe and the metropolitan center to the colonies, and from the state and public institutions of the colony to the “intimate reaches of people’s lives” (Stoler and Cooper 1997: vii-viii). In addition, some scholars have started to criticize the perspective that considers the European agent as “a structure imposed on local practice (Stoler 2002: 23).”<sup>45</sup> In other words, students of colonialism have recently begun to recognize the diversity among the colonizers and their communities, no longer treating them as one monolithic structure. Following those trends, studies of “settler colonialism” have also begun to receive more theoretical and empirical attention. If one pursues this line of inquiry, one should first distinguish settler colonialism from either the military or economic expansion of imperial power; in the former, the intention of the settlers is to build their territory to gain political

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<sup>45</sup> The critique of the rigid boundary of the colonial category displayed its effectiveness on the concept of “poor white” or “mixed blood.” Ann Laura Stoler (2002: 8-9) argues, “because certain category labels endured, their membership too remained the same. Colonial categories were binding but unbound by those within them, were excessively rigid and exceeded their limits, had nuanced criteria for inclusion that were reworked by people who made them and by those they could not contain.”

privilege and high living standards. Hence settler colonialism serves somewhat different purposes from mainland governments' imperial control over their colonies (Elkins and Pedersen 2005). As a consequence, the realities of the colony usually combine the imperial desire of the mainland state with the participation of the settlers in the construction of both the colony and the colonial state. The continuous struggles of both the colonial government and the settlers with the numerous indigenous populations need to be taken into account in effectively approaching the realities of these colonial lives. Even within such settlers' communities, class, gender, and ethnic components also become subject to settlers' various attempts of reformulation. As Anne McClintock (1992) proposes, only the hybrid history and the hybrid axis of power might thus be able to capture the ensuing complex relationship between the colonizer and the colonized; the anxiety of the English policeman, who had to shoot an elephant against his will because of the invisible power of the colonized, is one explicit example (Bhabha 1994: 87; Orwell 1968[1936]).

In addition, students of colonialism have emphasized the engendered aspect of colonial relationships in private settings. For example, the marriage between native women and European men produced new policies and circumvented the governance of the colony (Chatterjee 1996; Gutierrez 1991; Smith 1987). Some studies focused on the roles of white women both in metropolitan areas and colonies (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992; George 1993-1994). More specifically, the role of spreading the erotic image of colony to empire and establishing the modernized norms in private sphere as a role model for the colony (Chaudhuri 1992), cultural missionaries such as the advocates for the education of Indian women (Ramusack 1992), and even the production of images of

Western women and Egyptian women (Hatem 1992) were all based on the assumption of superior or at least equal impacts on colonial culture. However, some studies argue that under these settings, “[b]eing white and English was ... a status shared equally by English men and women and was therefore erased as a possible site of gender struggle” (George 1993-1994: 119). This conception originated from the demographic composition of western women in colonies, most of whom were either the wives of officials and businessmen or single missionaries or missionaries wives (Ramusack 1992). The role of white women was not to emancipate Indian women but to rather educate and civilize them in “Western” ways.

A similar trend is found in internal American colonialism. Mixed marriages between white men and Mexican women resulted from the combination of men’s interests in the Mexican tradition of dowry and Mexican women’s preference for the more egalitarian and less controlling image of white men. The response to this mixed marriage from elite white women, similar to metropolitan and settler women, demonstrated that elite women did not always side with the colonized women, because of their complicit interests in the colony (Gordon 2006). Under internal colonialism, for example, the elite women were reluctant to give up the cheap domestic labor of the colonized women.

In this chapter, examining Korean mixed marriages, I start by looking at the miserable position of female colonizers which until now has been largely neglected. From this perspective, this study aims to explain the complicated power relations and reversed settings for racial and gender order in the colonial Korean setting. As Stoler (2006: xii) mentioned, “sexuality was a dense transfer point of power” to which students

of colonialism have not given enough attention. These "displaced or misplaced" subjects of the colonial order deserved our attention as we try to understand the lives of those who were on the edge of society (Stoler 2006).

## **(2) The Colonizer and the Colonized in Colonial Korea**

Even though the Japanese settlers in Korea are often overlooked relative to their Western counterparts, and although their logic of dominance was slightly different from that of white/black, modern/traditional and west/non-west standards, they nevertheless played a critical role in the emergence of the modern colonial state (Uchida 2005: 153). Until now, many scholars have approached the framework and concepts of Japanese imperialism based on the existing theoretical analysis of the Western colonizer and the non-Western colonized. For example, when Frantz Fanon (1994[1967]) eloquently explained the agonizing psychic identification of the colonized in his book, *Black Skin, White Mask*, Ching (1998) noted how most scholars did not question the inherent clear-cut binary divides of the West and non-West, 'white' and non-'white,' self and other. Yet Fanon's dichotomies cannot be clearly extended to the contradictory Japanese "yellow mask" desire to assimilate versus the desire to maintain Japanese cultural uniqueness. The Japanese did not operate with binaries in their colonial policies, but instead tried to create a new colonial identity and reality that was based on neither total identification nor total opposition, but rather an in-between space (Sakamoto 1996). Therefore, when the Japanese reconstructed and re-envisioned 'Asia' as a continent, they did so in terms of 'civilized' Japan and 'un-civilized' Asian nations; Asian nations were in turn all conceptualized as brothers, with Japan serving as the big brother. Hence, rather than



totally separating themselves from the colonized as the Westerners would have done, the Japanese instead negotiated a particular relationship with them. These colonial claims of Japanese racial superiority and negotiations for reestablishing the racial order in Asia were also reflected in the various interactions between the Japanese settlers and the colonized Koreans in colonial Korea.

### **(3) Sociological Interpretation of Literary Sources: An Alternative Approach**

For this research, through several contemporaneous novels I examine the intimate interethnic relationships among the Japanese colonizers and the colonized Koreans that develop especially through mixed marriages and their interethnic offspring. In these novels, the marriages between Korean husbands and Japanese wives in particular demonstrate the reverse power relationship, as the dominant male represents the colonized and the submissive female represents the colonizers; gender and class relationships end up yielding unexpected consequences. Even though novels are considered products of the imagination and thus are far from mirror-like reflections of reality, these literary sources nevertheless lend themselves to sociological analysis because they provide a couple of distinct advantages. First, novels vividly reveal the repertoire of meanings available to the largely elite contemporaneous literary class in coming to terms with the social circumstances surrounding them. Also, these novels contain autobiographical or biographical characteristics that have been demonstrated to be pervasive in the contemporary literary practice. For example, the reading of *Jane Eyre* as imperialistic project—soul making—would be a good example of cultural representation of imperialism and “worlding” of currently the Third Worlds (Spivak

1985). Just as Spivak demonstrates the process of worlding in nineteenth-century British literature, I demonstrate the process of gendering in the hierarchical disposition of imperialism in Korean literature. Second, these novels enable us to capture the habitus of the contemporaneous people's intimate lives, revealing details of their courtships and marriages, so that information about the past is not restricted to the barren numbers of governmental statistical data (Sherman 2001). In addition, most historical writing sets aside the sentiments and sensitivities of subjects (Stoler 2002: 12). Revealing these sentiments by analyzing literature helps us not only to understand the complex dominance and control of colonialism, but also the process of constructing colonial control and the resistance/collaboration of the colonized, whether the colonizer intended it or not.

### **3. Historical Background: The Increase of Japanese Settlers**

#### **(1) Government Encouragement and Voluntary Moves**

From 1880 on, the Japanese started to build overseas communities worldwide, not only in Korea, China and Taiwan, but in Hawaii, the U.S. mainland, Brazil and Peru as well (Duus 1995: 289-90; Takasaki 2002). Especially after the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, which finalized Japan's right to dominate Korea, the Japanese government proposed to "settle as large a number of our countrymen inside Korea as possible, deepening the foundation of our power and at the same time bringing closer economic relations between Korea and Japan" (Duus 1995: 295). Given that Korea was part of the continent whereas Taiwan was an island, and Korea had stronger national identity, history and customs than Taiwan, the Japanese government thought that a sizable

presence of Japanese settlers was critical to holding Korea under its control (Takasaki 2002: 63). The government wanted these settlers to be colonists, not mere immigrants.<sup>46</sup> As a result, the Japanese built settler communities within the restricted region in Korea near treaty ports, and most of the Japanese settlers initially engaged in commerce, government, and the service sectors. Although the Japanese government established ‘The Oriental Development Company’ to encourage agricultural emigration into Korea, the majority of the Japanese settlers were voluntary migrants without any governmental support.

In many Western countries, geographical distance generally prevented poor people at metropolitan centers from moving to the colonies, but this was not so in the Japanese case where various strata of people moved into Korea throughout the colonial period because it was geographically accessible. The trip from Japan to Korea took one day by ship, so for many poor Japanese who sought economic benefits and wanted to overcome their miserable conditions in Japan, immigration into Korea and later into Manchuria was a very practical option. For example, in 1896, one of the most popular occupations among the Japanese settlers in Korea was that of barmaid. Given that the

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<sup>46</sup> Peter Duus (1995) classifies outgoing migrants into two groups: colonists and immigrants. According to Duus, the colonist “goes abroad to develop land and cultivate production with the intention that his heirs will live there permanently,” whereas the emigrant “is a poor person who moves away from home, whether inside the country or outside, and contracts his labor to a powerful capitalist” (Duus 1995: 295). Because the emigrant moves from here to there pursuing economic interests, these movements have little political meaning. Yet colonists could be linked to national interests and national power. However, if the settlers are divided into colonists and immigrants, the division is arbitrary since the category they end up in could be determined not in accordance with their original intention, but as a result of their performance in the colony. If the state considered settlers as colonists only when their activities were useful to national power and ideology, then this is an *ex post facto* determination. In my opinion, Duus’s assessment that “the migrant heading east across the Pacific was a humble toiler, a transient, a person of low prestige; the migrant heading across the Straits of Korea, and the Yellow Sea was a pioneer, a settler, a bearer of Japan’s destiny” (Duus 1995: 299) should be subject to further empirical examination.

total number of Japanese women in Korea at the time was 730, and nearly twenty percent, that is 140, were barmaids, one realizes how many economically disadvantaged Japanese sought out this practical option (Takasaki 2002).

## **(2) The Sweet Invitation: The Land of Opportunities and Slow but Strong Korean Workers**

The main reason the Japanese wanted to migrate was the widespread image of Korea as the land of opportunity and the belief that the Korean people were gullible and diligent. Especially before the Sino-Japanese War (1895), widely circulated rumors filled with success stories, as well as boasting travelogues and introductory guide books issued by the Japanese state and merchants, were influential in reinforcing this favorable impression of Korea. For instance, one stated that:

Success comes to those who seize the opportunity. We must not ignore the great opportunity available today. Those who are not troubled by ill health, who have the spirit of adventure and the energy and ambition to work for themselves, and who have high goals and hope for success, should not coop themselves up in Japan complaining about their livelihood or their employment difficulties. Without hesitation they should come to Korea as soon as they can to take advantage of this golden opportunity. [Korea] is a place where there are green hills everywhere; it is a place rich in resources; it is a place where there is freedom; there is our homeland. (Kotaro 1904, quoted in Duus 1995: 322).

Another example appears in the Japanese guidebook by the merchant Arakawa (1906), who describes how similar the appearance, language, and customs of the Korean people are to those of the Japanese. Yet Arakawa then argues that this similarity is superficial and the Japanese should be careful not to make the mistake of considering and treating

the Koreans the same as the Japanese, since the former do not in any way measure up to the Japanese and there is some ‘looseness and dullness’ in them.<sup>47</sup> Arakawa portrays the Koreans as stupid and lazy people who lack intelligence; ironically, these are exactly the characteristics that would provide the chance for the Japanese settlers to make their fortune in Korea.

The guide book by another Japanese merchant entitled *Chosen Zakki* (Yeosugeosa(如囚居士) 1894) provides some specific examples of the laziness of the Koreans; it points out, for instance, that half a day’s work for a Japanese carpenter would take a Korean four days to complete. Likewise, a Japanese merchant, named Okita (1905) describes Koreans as follows: “happy-go-lucky, smelly, dirty, pitiful, weak, disorderly, asocial, poverty stricken, barbarous, immature, lazy, dissipated, suspicious, and withdrawn; their vices encompassed swindling, larceny, gambling, bribery, adultery, viciousness, and intrigue; and their impoverished living conditions are little or no better than those of primitive aborigines” (Duus 1995: 402). These and other descriptions reveal how the Japanese tended to imagine the Koreans almost not as human beings, but rather as creatures close to beasts. Yet these comments do not necessarily indicate that no work could be gotten out of Koreans; on the contrary, nearly all the writers agreed that “the Koreans were strong, patient, and enduring; in sum, perfect beasts of burden” (Okita 1905 quoted in Duus 1995: 405). In summary, for the Japanese settlers, Korea would be a

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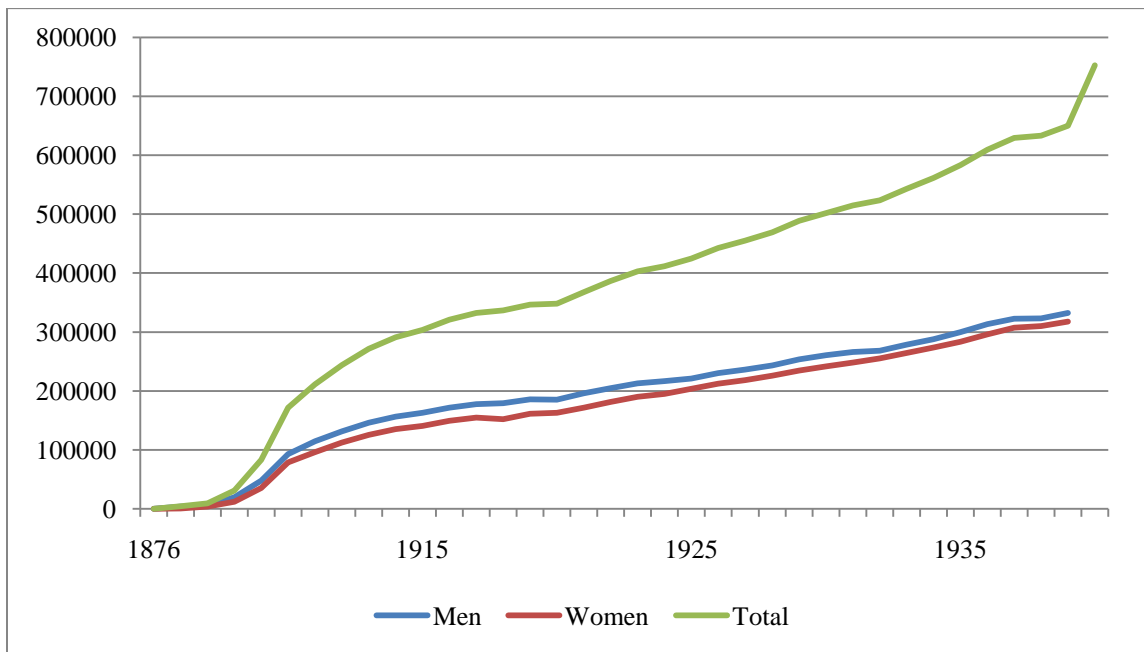
<sup>47</sup> Arakawa described Koreans as follow:

“If you closely look [at the Koreans], they appear to be a bit vacant; their mouths open and their eyes dull, somehow lacking... In the lines of their mouths and faces, you can discern a certain looseness; and when it comes to sanitation or sickness, they are loose in the extreme. Indeed, to put it in the worst terms, one could even say that they are closer to beasts than to human beings” (Arakawa 1906 quoted in Duus 1995: 398).

place of uncivilized people, but with prospects for improvements, especially in the lives of the Japanese colonizers.

Following those invitations, many Japanese did indeed move to Korea. In addition, numerous private Japanese companies facilitated voluntary and contract emigration from Japan (Lynn 2005: 30). Figure III.1 reveals how the number of Japanese immigrants to Korea increased over the years.

Figure III.1 The Number of Japanese Settlers



(Kajimura 1992: 225)

#### 4. Not So Sweet Reality: Interethnic Marriage of Korean Husbands and Japanese Wives

Just as the focus on mixed marriages helps reveal the processes of settler colonialism, the increase in the number of Japanese settlers over time indicates more

instances of mixed marriages. Interethnic marriage was more possible in the Japanese empire than in other Western empires that forbade interracial marriages in Western colonies (Wildenthal 1997: 267). Bans on interethnic marriage did not prevent them; both Western and Japanese colonies had a number of mixed marriages. In western cases, the colonial government banned interethnic marriage itself and white women who happened to marry the colonized, had to give up her citizenry. In the Japanese case, however, there were no legal regulations.

Table III.3 Marriage Settings in Western and Japanese Colony

Western Colony		Japanese Colony	
Male Colonizer and Female Colonized	Banned but Tacit Approval	Male Colonizer and Female Colonized	No Legal Regulation
Male Colonized and Female Colonizer	Banned Women Lost Their Citizenship	Male Colonized and Female Colonizer	No Legal Regulation

The Japanese empire employed a different strategy to control Korean people, as suggested by the slogan “Japanese and Korean as one body (*nai-sen ittai*: 内鮮一体).” Hence, the Japanese colonial government did not ban mixed marriages but rather encouraged them by setting examples themselves at the highest levels of the upper classes. One rather famous example was the marriage between a Korean prince “Lee Eun 李垠, officially Yeongchinwang: 英親王” and a Japanese princess “Nashimotonomiya Masako: 梨本宮方子” in 1920, and another between a Korean princess “Deokhyeongju: 德惠翁主” and a Japanese count “Syōtakeyuki: 宗武志” in 1931. These marriages supposedly facilitated successful assimilation and Japanese control over Korea. Building

on the example provided by these marriages, the Japanese colonial government encouraged mixed marriages and advertised them as the one way to improve the Korean race.<sup>48</sup>

As the number of Japanese settlers increased, so did the rate of mixed marriage.<sup>49</sup> During the five years between 1938 and 1943, there were 5,458 mixed marriages in Korea alone. In addition, unregistered *de facto* mixed marriages were also very pervasive (Takasaki 2002). A social organization made up of former Japanese residents of Korea had 1,000 members, for instance, and sixty percent of them were Japanese widows of Korean husbands (Takasaki 2002). These numbers demonstrate, at least, that the Japanese female colonizers had less of a “sense of collective sexual betrayal” by Japanese men than their German counterparts (Wildenthal 1997: 278).<sup>50</sup> This also reveals a unique gender dimension that did not exist in cases of Western colonialism where the mixed marriage is often defined as occurring between the male colonizer and the female colonized; in the Japanese colony, mixed marriage was **not** limited to the colonizer Japanese husband and the colonized Korean wife but could also occur in the other

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<sup>48</sup> In the colonial period, there were two contrasting ideas of blood and marriage. One was to protect the purity of Japanese blood; women should be virgins until their marriage. The other was to civilize the Korean race through marriage with Japanese women.

<sup>49</sup> In 1926, there were 50-60 mixed marriages, but in 1934, there were 250. In 1939, there were 2,405 in Korea alone (Takasaki 2002: 177).

<sup>50</sup> Collective feelings of betrayal emerged when German men entered into marriages with white women after living illegally with colonized women. In the German colony, German male settlers had some advantages; German men did not need German women for menial or cultural tasks due to the possibility of mixed marriage. German colonist women, however, faced the ruin of their ideal of organic unit—marriage. In addition, because colonized women had no legal rights, German men could ignore the civilized standards of the treatment of women. German women worried about the impact of those practices on German society and German women (Wildenthal 1997).



direction. Because of this multi-directionality,<sup>51</sup> which means that both Japanese husband/Korean wife and Korean husband/Japanese wife couples are possible, colonial Korea provides a distinct advantage in observing how gender and class dynamics affect the colonial relationship.

Supported by the Japanese colonial government's encouragement, some examples of mixed marriages can be found in Korean and Japanese literature, especially in novels. Previous studies on mixed marriage in novels focus on novels written after the late 1930s (see Chang 2007; Cho 2007; Yangseon Kim 2002; Shim 2006b; Sangkyeong Yi 2003a). It is likely that many Korean scholars considered the novel of mixed marriage as an expression of the Japanese state ideology—'Japanese and Korean as one body.' Relative freedom of press and publication prevailed during the cultural policy period (1919-1931). However, the start of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) followed by the invasion of Manchuria (1931), state control and pressure against Korean writers grew quickly and intensively. Writers were asked to participate in national ceremonies to propagandize the legitimacy of war. In addition, writers had to compose newspaper columns urging young Koreans to enlist in the Japanese army and were compelled to give lectures to the masses. Novels also functioned as a state tool to promote state ideology. Therefore, many studies of novels portraying mixed marriage focus on this time period and aim to reveal Korean writers' collaboration with or resistance to Japan. However, in this chapter, I do not limit my study to the novels of the late 1930s.

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<sup>51</sup> Interethnic marriage between Japanese and Korean could be categorized two ways—marriage and entering family registration as a son. To make a Japanese family, one possible way was marriage between a Japanese husband and a Korean wife; the other was the enrollment of a Korean man under a Japanese woman's family registration. For a Korean family, vice versa works (Seokyoung Choi 2000: 21).

Although the Japanese colonial government was favorable toward interethnic marriages throughout the colonial period, after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945) to propagate the idea of great Asian brotherhood, encouragement of interethnic marriage intensified. However, in this chapter, I do not attempt to study the imagination and fantasy of male writers' toward Japanese women based on geo-political conditions. First, we lack sufficient historical materials to compare the differences among the three time periods. In the early colonial period—before the 1920s, we can find only few novels that feature Japanese women. Secondly and more importantly, I am skeptical about a certain tendency of totalization underlying the historical periodization. In many fields of Korean studies, the periodization based on geo-political changes, is often misleadingly assumed to be suitable for all social inquiry. This assumption had guided many Korean scholars to demonstrate differences among time periods. Why should we, however, assume that changes in gender relationship are solely contingent on geo-political events such as wars? The male writers' desire to be superior to Japanese women could be similar, in spite of their otherwise different political stances which were either antagonistic to Japanese colonial government or collaborative toward it. Whether they were for or against Japanese imperial order, to obtain their legitimacy, Korean male writers might be possessed by political unconsciousness of patriarchy throughout the colonial period. Korean male intellectuals might desire a certain gender order to be fixed for them. Viewed in this way, the historical periodization pervasive in Korean studies is akin to totalizing tendencies in historical inquiry I set out to challenge in this study.

The importance of mixed marriages presented the possibility of revealing the whole spectrum of power relationships between the colonizers and the colonized that could exist in settler colonialism. Based on their social origin, gender, and current economic conditions, both the colonizers and the colonized were placed in various locations within a very elaborate hierarchical structure. In addition, by studying interethnic marriages, this study reveals the new racial and gender order that Korean male writers envisioned within the Japanese empire.

### **(1) *Kosafukukaze*: The Dream of the Colonizer**

A novel by Japanese author Nakara Tousui (1892-3) somewhat faithfully replicates the official Japanese ideology and also reveals the problem of interethnic marriages from the perspective of the colonized. Published in a newspaper, it is a serial novel entitled *Kosafukukaze* (*Wind with Foreigner's Sand*) that conveys the Japanese people's ambition regarding Korea; it is in serial form because during that period, editors of newspapers and journalists used serial novels rather like articles to convey their ideas to their readers. Nakara worked as a journalist in Busan, Korea's largest open port which was closest to Japan. He had introduced the Japanese to the traditional Korean novel in the preceding decade (Kamigaoto 1996). *Kosafukukaze* is historically meaningful in that it is the first fiction to introduce Korean traditions, customs and lives to the Japanese (Shida 1989).

This Japanese novel chronicles the travels of a Japanese samurai in Korea. While walking in the middle of the mountains at night, the samurai hears the scream of a woman. Following that sound, he finds an attractive and well-dressed woman surrounded

by bandits. The Japanese samurai bravely fights the bandits and saves both the life and the virginity of the Korean woman in distress. She in turn explains the misfortunes of her family and her desperate situation: the corruption of the Korean officials and government forced her father to give up their property to an official; the father was then asked to give his daughter as well. In order to avoid becoming a concubine of the corrupt official, the Korean woman escaped and ran to the mountains where she was set upon by the bandits until the Japanese samurai came and rescued her. The samurai and the woman instantly fall in love, marry, and have a baby boy. That boy is sent to Japan, where he is adopted and raised by a Japanese family; when he becomes an adult, he moves to Korea only to discover that his birth mother was eventually killed by the corrupt official after her husband the Japanese samurai left her. The young son meets a Korean girl, the daughter of an influential merchant, and marries her. Again, the corrupt official approaches the son's wife with the aim of turning her into a concubine, but the son, unlike his father before him, kills the corrupt official. After experiencing all these events, the son participates in the nationalist movement as a leader for the independence of Korea from China.

This novel expresses the Japanese colonist males' fantasy about colonized women in general and about the 'mother's land'—Korea—in particular. Even though the first hero, the Japanese samurai, saves the Korean woman and has a child, he does not stay and invest in Korea but eventually moves back to Japan. Yet this is not the case with his son who not only returns to Korea, but marries a Korean woman, invests in the country as his own, and takes part in a nationalist movement. Even though the author often makes derogatory comments about Korean customs and traditions, these do not

extend to the Korean women discussed in the novel, as the heroine is portrayed as a very intelligent, calm and virtuous woman. When compared to the very derogatory description of the Korean people in Japanese travelogues and guide books, this depiction in the novel could be a presetting condition for the ensuing brave and honorable child of a mixed marriage. The author seems to locate Korea somewhere between an imaginary paradise filled with virtuous and pretty women and a place that must be subjugated, where the Japanese have to maintain “proper leadership” to guarantee a bright future for Korea. The novel also demonstrates how the colonists have good intentions toward Korea expressed through love and attempt to transform it in a positive direction so that the child of the Japanese-Korean love becomes a national hero working for Korean emancipation.<sup>52</sup> This point becomes clearer when this story is compared to novels by Korean males in which such mixed marriages are somewhat dysfunctional, often producing children who in turn are also weak, lack ambition and/or experience an identity crisis.

## **(2) The Imagination of the Colonized**

### **i. Economic Status?**

A novel, *Binseonrang ui ilmiin* (*A Beautiful Japanese Woman of Poor Man*) by Korean author Lee Injik (Lee 1996(1912)) reveals the relationship from the viewpoint of the colonized. In this case, however, it demonstrates the miserable conditions of the colonizer who in the novel takes the shape of a Japanese wife. The Japanese wife who is technically the colonizer is deceived into marrying a Korean man because he bluffed

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<sup>52</sup> We should note that the novel was written in 1892 when they did not know that Korea would become colonized by Japan. In addition, until the victory of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, the Japanese people considered Korea to be under the influence of China.

about his ability to make money and become rich in Korea, which he described as the land of opportunities. But after moving to Korea, she finds that her husband has no skills in earning money and their economic situation worsens. The novel contains her complaints to her husband written in the form of a dialogue; she states:

Dear honey I am not blaming you but [instead] blaming my fortune. My life is so preposterous and so unlucky. While you were in Japan, you boasted that you were the only intelligent and able man in Korea and would [therefore become] a rich and influential man. You said Korean people did not know anything and [were] foolish. Then what have you done after we came to Korea? I am not the only Japanese wife of a Korean man, but I [certainly] am the only one suffering from poverty. There are many Japanese wives who ride in carriages and who wear golden hair-bands thanks to their Korean husbands. I need neither carriage nor jewelry; I will be glad if I can see the face of money once in a month. Honey stop clearing your throat, why don't you get a job for 20-30 *won*<sup>53</sup> for a month? Whenever I go outside, Japanese children make fun of me as *yobo* (the Japanese slang referring to Koreans)'s *okami* (wife in Japanese). It wouldn't bother me if I wore nice clothes. But with those beggarly appearances, my face becomes red... (Lee 1996(1912): 33)

What is interesting about the complaints of the Japanese wife is that she “wouldn't be bothered” by the discrimination she faced if she “wore nice clothes.” Hence it is clear that she thought her economic condition would excuse her marrying a Korean man provided that the man would be rich because then, even though the Koreans are colonized, their wealth makes up for their colonial status. Yet, if the husband is both colonized and poor, then the Japanese wife does not have any of the rewards of marriage to compensate for her loss of status for marrying a colonized male. Hence her comment “I am not the only Japanese wife of a Korean man, but the only one suffering from poverty” indicates that, at least author believed, the main reason behind the mixed marriage the Japanese wives

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<sup>53</sup> *Won* is the unit of Korean currency.

conducted with Korean husbands was the wealth of the husband's class which compensated for his lack of status.

The realities of Japanese wives of mixed marriage, as demonstrated in Lee Injik's novel, were miserable. The interviews on Japanese wives reveal the lives in Korea were not close to the image of harmonious and modernized family which the Japanese colonial government argued could be obtained through mixed marriage. Rather, the tradition which marriage is considered as a kinship's union not an individual's event, anti-Japanese sentiment, and the inability to speak Korean made the lives of Japanese wives miserable, even suffering violence from their husbands as well as in-laws (Seokyoung Choi 2000: 988-993). In addition, because these marriages were hardly a blessed union in the eyes of both side of the family, Japanese wives usually had no place to escape.

**ii. *Geisha, oh Poor Geisha***

Another novel of mixed marriage demonstrates a miserable situation of Japanese woman in spite of her husband's wealth. The marriage of a Japanese woman with a rich and powerful Korean man also appears in the novel entitled *Namchungseo* written by Korean author Yeom Sangseop (1996[1927]). This novel reveals that relationship of gender and class can overpower the hierarchy of the colonizer and the colonized. The novel chronicles the family of a colonized Korean father, a Japanese colonizer mother and their mixed blood son and a daughter; the father is one of the wealthiest people in

Korea, the mother a Japanese *Geisha* and, as such, one of the several concubines<sup>54</sup> of the father. The son Chungseo considers himself neither Korean nor Japanese and because of that ambiguous identity, he is not sure about his position as the family heir even though he is the eldest son. After the death of the legal wife, Chungseo's Japanese mother begs her Korean husband that she should be registered as his legal wife. Yet the husband hesitates to do so right away, and delays the process. In addition, the mother's plan to find a Japanese daughter-in-law for her son fails because of her husband's rejection of the idea. The Korean father thinks that as his son is already the child of a Japanese woman, if he also becomes the spouse of a Japanese woman, the father conjectures, he cannot be 'saved:' from the Korean father's perspective, the stigma from the standpoint of Korean culture of being an illegitimate child and also of mixed blood can only be purified if and when his son marries a Korean girl from an esteemed family. Meanwhile, the Japanese mother tries to act like the head of family, but becomes the subject of scorns of her Korean servants. As the Japanese mother notes:

.....after moving to this house, I felt like I was flying here to be a [permanent] target of the Korean people; my nerves were irritated every day. Although I speak Korean as if it were my mother tongue, whenever servants get a chance to chat, they jeer at us....(Yeom 1996[1927]: 247-8).

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<sup>54</sup> The status of concubine was unstable and was considered as merchandise that were exchangeable. One example can be found in the proposal of taxation for luxuries goods. The Japanese government proposed this new tax to a response to anti-Japanese immigration law in U.S. The Japanese government general in Korea decided to follow the high tax for luxuries and expanded the luxuries list to include concubines (Donga ilbo Jul 5, 1924). The next day of this proposal, the same newspaper supported that policy arguing maximum taxation would be followed (Donga ilbo July 6, 1924). This proposal and agreement demonstrated that Japanese government and Korean intellectuals perceive concubines as merchandise. They only approached the concubine as an unnecessary item not a human being.



The Japanese mother's stress originates not only from the sarcastic attitude of the Korean servants, but also from her Korean husband's indifference and her son's lack of ambition for the fortune of family as well. She continues:

... because her son, Chungseo, is the eldest son of this family, there is no reason to reject her request in spite of her previous being as a Japanese *Geisha*. However, although she has lived in Korea for twenty years, and in the style of the traditional Korean style domestic managements especially in the one of richest families, she is not able to handle it... (Yeom 1996[1927]: 245)

This novel reveals how the nationality of the Japanese wife becomes a weak point as her legitimacy is questioned and eventually she cannot even handle housemaids. In addition, her personal history of being a former *Geisha* leads her to lose her ambition and ends with her moving to her hometown with her daughter and finishing her life there peacefully.

### **iii. The Japanese Girl's Confession of Love vs. Hopelessness of White Women's Condescending to Korean Men**

This negative outcome, however, does not thwart Korean males' fantasy about Japanese women. The Korean author Yi Kwang-su (1996[1924])'s novel entitled *Hyeolsoe (Letter written with blood)* was written in the style of the reflection of a personal experience. The main character of this novel was a Korean student who studies in Japan and decides to devote himself to the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule. Yet a Japanese girl initially asks her brother whether he knows of a promising candidate who could be her future husband, and ends up hearing about this Korean man; using the scant information she has on him, she starts to love him, sends him mail, and even visits him.

Then, the Japanese girl representing the colonizers confesses her love to this Korean man symbolizing the colonized. For the sake of the emancipation of Korea, however, the main character cannot accept a Japanese woman's love in spite of her brother's strong request; when he gets a notice stating she is in critical medical condition, the Korean man finally meets the Japanese woman and makes a vow to her that she will be his wife all his life. She dies and even after fifteen years, he cannot forget her.

This is often not the way one expects novels written by Korean authors about the colonizers to turn out; it is interesting to note that in this novel the author has no psychological barriers, neither objection nor fear, toward Japanese women. Instead, when the main character rejects the Japanese woman's brother's request to marry his sister, the brother asks if the Korean man has done so because she is Japanese. The main character replies in the negative by stating that "love knows no borders" (Yi 1996[1924]: 64). Hence, in a sense, one could argue that Korean males have more latitude for developing fantasies about the daughters of the empire because they come from similar racial and cultural backgrounds.

The comparison between the main character of this novel and a Korean student in the United States may display the different attitude of Korean males toward white women. In his personal journal, Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), who studied in the U.S. during the 1890s and later became an influential politician, reflected on marrying a white woman: he thought that there was no reason that he would get along with a blue-eyed woman more than she would with her white American men. After returning to Korea from the United States, Yun finally married a Chinese girl which indicated that he really thought that he would get along better with women of his own race even though her

nationality was different from his. Yun's comments on marriage with a white woman could be found in his diary, when a phrenologist visited his dormitory and examined several boys' heads. He notes:

...The funniest thing (phrenologist) said was that I would or should (I don't know which) marry a woman of slender form, auburn hair, blue eyes and of fair complexion! If this is a prophecy, he told a lie, there being more likelihood for my marrying a woman of that description than for my becoming a Vanderbilt. If this be an[sic] advice, he was off; for *there is no reason why auburn hair and blue eyes and fair complexion should fit me better than my native colors....* ( 28<sup>th</sup> November 1891, emphasis added ) (Yun 1974[1890-1892]: 241)

Yun wrote another comment on white women when he met his teacher, Dr Chandler, and had some dialogues. It goes;

Dr. Candler no doubt in a joke asked me if I were going to marry before leaving America. "No Sir" said I. "Why not?" "Because nobody would have me." "I do not know that. You haven't tried it" the Dr. said.

The five words in my answer contain a truth more bitter than wormwood. The question is not whether I like or dislike to marry, but that no American girl of social standing, of education and of beauty would condescend to marry me. If one did, have I the cheek to ask her to leave happy America to live in the dirty habitations of Korea? No! Ten thousand times No! What hurts me is not the improbability but the impossibility of the event. (5<sup>th</sup> November 1892) (Yun 1974[1890-1892]: 405)

Although we consider the difference between fictions and personal journals, this contrasting attitude to Japanese and Chinese women and white women makes it possible to infer the racial hierarchy inside of Korean male authors.

#### iv. **Korean Man: Below Japanese Man, Above Korean Women**

These novels provide a chance to observe two things: first, that it is possible for the Japanese wives of Korean husbands to experience miserable and unsatisfactory lives because of their economic conditions and their nationality. Especially the *Geisha* case demonstrates the limitations of nationality and ignorance about family and national traditions of Korea could place upon women; this case directly challenges the stereotypical assumption of settler communities that regardless of gender, colonizers always controlled the indigenous people and shaped the “civilized ways.” Furthermore, the novel entitled *Hyeolseo* by Korean author Yi (1996[1924]) exemplifies the attitude of the Korean males toward Japanese women in that when Yun’s diary is compared to his life, one realizes how the combination of race and gender produces different hierarchal arrangements: if the colonizers happened to be Western and white, Korean males did not dream to marry the white women, yet since the Japanese women were supposedly of the same race, Korean males felt free to fall in love with and even marry them.

This gender and race hierarchical order is explicitly displayed in another novel by Yi Kwang-su (1995[1940]) titled “*Jinjeong maeumi mannaseoyamalro*.” Interestingly, this pro-Japanese novel tells a story of marriage between a Japanese man and Korean woman, who are both well-educated and proper. When the male protagonist decides to participate in the Sino-Japanese war the Korean woman decides to follow him as a military nurse. When they are finally reunited in a military hospital, the Japanese man is injured and has become blind. Because he is no longer able to fight as a soldier, he declares his intention to continue the war in his own way by traveling the battlefields and persuading the Chinese to follow the lead of the Japanese, who is the future and big

brother for all of Asia. She marries him and promises to be his eyes until death. In this novel, the Korean woman is able to become a wife only after the disability of the Japanese man. Unlike the relative freedom of courtship and love that Korean men had in novels such as *Hyeolseo (Letter Written with Blood)*, Korean women were generally placed in the position of uncivilized savages by Korean male writers who maintained their superiority under colonial context. Especially, when we consider the time period the novel was set, the Sino-Japanese war was when the Japanese government mobilized Korean people as soldiers and factory workers, and the need of building an army asked for a healthy body and soul in the battlefield as well as at home. Therefore, the goal of mixed marriage was to produce a healthy family, albeit half Japanese. The intention of this writer could be interpreted as establishing a clear racial and gender order—using the marriage between a Japanese husband and Korean wife under the certain condition—disability. When we consider the militaristic nature of Japanese nationalism during this period, “the able-bodied young man who can be warrior” seizes a more legitimate place than women and the disabled (Moon 1998: 44). Under the prevalence of eugenics, the Korean male authors were hard to argue they were physically and mentally better than Japanese men, therefore they should find their strong points—their gender, in the social structure of Japanese empire.

## **5. Mixed Marriage: Their Beloved Children**

In the deep shade, at the further end of the room, a figure ran backwards and forwards. What it was, whether beast or human being, one could not, at first sight, tell. It groveled, seemingly, on all fours; it snatched and growled like some strange wild animal; but it was covered with clothing,

and a quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane, hid its head and face (Bronte 2003[1847]: 342).

In Charlotte Bronte's imagination, children of mixed marriages appeared as something between a human being and a beast. In the Japanese colonial period, children of mixed marriage might not have been depicted as beasts but were still portrayed as experiencing an identity crisis in defining themselves or were defined as someone who lacked national identity. This identity crisis also reveals who they want to be, either Korean or Japanese, and their consciousness/national identity changes throughout the Japanese colonial period. In addition, compared to *Kosafukukaze* (Nakara 1892-3), these novels demonstrate how mixed children's attitude toward Korea and Japan has changed along with the times and social contexts. Here I selected three novels penned between 1922 and 1939. The Japanese colonial period was from 1910 to 1945, and especially from mid 1930s onward, the Japanese colonial government had diligently propagated the idea of the brotherhood between Koreans and Japanese under slogans such as "the Japanese and the Korean as one body (*naisenittai*: 内鮮一体)" and "harmony between Japan and Korea (*naisen yuwa*: 内鮮融和)" and had tried to build "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Daitōa Kyōeiken*: 大東亞共榮圈)." Following the logic of *naisenittai*, they encouraged mixed marriages, but social discrimination toward mixed children and their unstable identities did not disappear.

The first novel entitled *Manseijeon* (*Before March First Uprising*) (Yeom 2005[1922]) is set in Korea in 1918. The main character is a Korean student who studies in Japan, but then returns to Korea upon receiving a telegram that his wife is in critical condition. On his way home, he stops at a Japanese bar in Korea where he finds out that

one of the three Japanese barmaids serving him is a mixed-blood child; she has left her Korean mother to earn money to go to Japan to meet her Japanese father. The main character laments that she, the mixed-blood child, has been so heartless to her Korean mother:

She speaks Japanese not Korean, wears Japanese clothes not Korean; as a daughter, she wants to meet her Japanese father than [stay with her] Korean mother. It would not be a natural emotion or obligation of a daughter, rather she just follows economic interests and fashions. Because her priority is in pursuing interests, she will leave to find her father without knowing the traces of her father for seven or eight years. When I think about her looking for her father, I pity her mother much more than [I pity] her... (Yeom 2005[1922]: 85)

The Korean man suggests to the mixed-blood child that, instead of going to Japan and finding her father, she might marry a Korean man and stay close to her Korean mother. But the mixed-blood child replies: "I don't know... But I don't like Koreans. Even if a Korean man could give me gold as well as money, I wouldn't like them (Yeom 2005[1922]: 87)." Unlike Japanese wives who dreamed about marrying a rich man, not caring whether he is Korean or not, this mixed-blood child does not accept the idea of having a Korean husband. This is so because she is already stigmatized as the daughter of a Korean mother so she is not, in terms of power relations, as powerful as the Japanese wives who had two Japanese parents; hence in her case becoming the wife of a Korean man would turn into a permanent stigma that she wants to avoid.

As I said before, the second novel entitled *Namchungseo* (Yeom 1996[1927]) has a main character that is a mixed blood child. As the son of a Japanese concubine, immediately after his birth, he was sent to live with the legal wife of his father who raised him as her son. He had previously attended a Korean school but his father abruptly

changes his family name Nam (南) to her birthmother's maiden name (Yano 矢野)<sup>55</sup> and sends him to a Japanese middle school; his first name is also changed from a Korean name, Chungseo (忠緒), to a Japanese name, Dadao (忠緒).<sup>56</sup> When he grows up, however, he participates in the activities of a nationalist group and even provides financial support for them; when one member of this nationalist group complains to him because of his many family names, he replies as follows:

I am, so to speak, not Yano (矢野), not Minami (南), not Nam (南)... but among them, the most appropriate name for expressing my person would be "Minami". Neither is Yano, nor Nam. My singular destiny is placed between them (Yeom 1996[1927]: 269).

Hence he defines himself as Minami which is the Japanese pronunciation of his Korean family name. In other words, he is not able to be 'pure blood' in either the Japanese or Korean context. In the novel, he is a brilliant student in a prestigious school, an active member of a Korean nationalist movement group, and the first son of the wealthiest family in Korea, yet he can neither have a future plan nor the confidence to succeed his family. In addition, in spite of his financial support and eager participation in nationalist activities in Korea, he always remains a suspect because of his Japanese blood.

The novel entitled *Bich sokuiro (Into the Light)* by Korean author Kim Saryang (1996[1939]) deals with two persons who conceal their identities: one is a Korean teacher in Japan, named "Nam (南)", but the Japanese people confuse his family name and think

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<sup>55</sup> In Korea, wives do not change their family names after marriage. Therefore, father and children use their father's family names and mothers keep their maiden names.

<sup>56</sup> There are few names that share the same Chinese characters but are pronounced differently. One of these is 忠緒 (Chungseo in Korean, Dadao in Japanese), which is the perfect Korean-Japanese name as well. The main character thought his father intentionally chose that name for him.



he is Japanese and therefore instead call him “Minami(南)”.<sup>57</sup> He lives as such without attempting to correct them not because he is not proud of being Korean, but because he thinks it would be more convenient and comfortable to teach and communicate with Japanese children. But in his mind, the Korean teacher is relieved because other Japanese people do not recognize his nationality and hopes to live without revealing his secret. The other character is a student born out of a relationship between a Korean barmaid and a villainous Japanese father who cannot admit his mother is Korean and therefore denies her. He refuses to speak Korean, although he can speak well, observes his teacher carefully like a detective who tries to find a clue of his Korean nationality, and continuously makes fun of his teacher’s mispronunciations. But when his father beats his mother almost to death, it becomes difficult to like his father as well on his nationality alone. Finally, when the student calls his teacher “sir Nam,” they both find meaning in their national identities (Kim 2005[1939]: 250). This calling means the mixed blood student starts to speak Korean and recognizes his teacher’s nationality without mocking. The Korean teacher also accepts his nationality due to the calling of his half Japanese and half Korean student. Therefore, the student and the teacher find meaning in their national identities. Hence this novel reveals the nuances of identity in both contexts.

These three novels reveal the changes in the social status of the characters as well as their self-identification. When compared to the reference novel entitled *Kosafukukaze* (Nakara 1892-3) that portrayed a strong and brave mixed child character, other novels

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<sup>57</sup> Usually Korean family names have one Chinese character and the Japanese have two Chinese characters. But some Japanese family names have only one Chinese character and few of those one character family names are used in both Korea and Japan. One of those family names is “*Nam*(南)” and “*Minami*(南).” Because of this convenient characteristic, many main characters of these novels have the family name “*Nam*” or “*Minami*(南)”.

instead display the instability of the relationship between nationality and identity. For instance, Chungseo, the main character, thinks “my mother is happy... my father is happy... my (Korean) comrades are happy... they have strong affection to hometown and family. There is peace in family. There are emotions for their nation. I don’t have them.” (Yeom 1996[1927]: 269). It is interesting that the gender of the parent that makes a marriage mixed does not matter; regardless of whether either the mother or the father is Korean, both make it just as unstable. The identity struggle of mixed blood children is not just a story found in novels; a newspaper article (Jungwoeilbo Nov.20, 1927) reported the suicide attempt of a mixed child who had a Japanese father and Korean mother. The article explained that the mixed child was under agony because he is neither Korean nor Japanese. Another article delivered the burglary of a mixed marriage child who moved from Japan to Korea to meet Korean mother (Donga ilbo Mar. 21 1928). But he became a thief because of extreme poverty without accomplishing his wishes. Interestingly, these articles with unhappy endings of mixed marriage children, defined that the reason of those behaviors originated from their unstable identities. It could be a clue that in spite of government’s advocates—or the building of strong and healthy family—social statuses of the mixed children were not established and insecure.

## **6. Conclusion**

This study has explored several novels, written by both Japanese and Korean authors, in order to examine the experiences of the Japanese settlers and the race/gender conception of the Korean “male” colonized in general and the perceptions of their mixed children in particular. Contrary to the assumption that powerful colonizers always

imposed their hegemonic will on the natives, this study has revealed that the everyday life experiences of Japanese colonizers were diverse and sometimes their nationality even worked to their disadvantage. Furthermore, analyses of contemporaneous novels and especially mixed-blood children have indicated that attitudes of race of the colonized Koreans and the colonizer Japanese toward one another were very different than toward Westerners. It is because there were no physical characteristics that distinguished them from “pure” Koreans or Japanese; yet their identity problems were social and demonstrated in terms of their naming practices. In many cases, their social status was not the middle of pre-arranged hierarchical relationship of the Japanese and the Korean. As Gordon (2006: 443) mentioned, “there has been no perfect domination or control. Likewise most forms of resistance involve some degree of conformity to rulers.”

Like most other colonial experiences, the understanding of Japanese colonialism in Korea heavily depended on the writings of the dominant class and colonial Japanese government reports. However, these highly selective data do not contain the experiences of the settlers, who especially had among them the oppressed from both Korean and Japanese societies, for example, Japanese wives who were oppressed by their Korean husbands. In addition, through observing the excluded Japanese settlers, the Korean collaborators could envision and locate their future racial order somewhere between the Japanese elites and the neglected Japanese. That the novels also indicate that in some instances the colonial relationship could be altered by the impact of gender relations demonstrates that power relationships in a society are complex and the colonial one is only one among many.

Finally, we should go back to the question that I raise in the first part of this paper. Was Korean male writers able to find their positions inside of Japanese Empire? While they were dreaming about free courtship with Japanese women and imagining the miserable condition of Japanese Geisha in mixed marriage novels, they tried to strengthen their position using their gender—male. Because of this intention, the male author, Yi Kwang-su only allows the marriage between Japanese men and Korean women under restricted circumstances—war and disability. In the future, how male authors described the children of mixed marriage should be answered more critically based on this process of social ruling class making. The Japanese empire's encouragement of mixed marriage, to dilute Korean blood and elevate to Japanese level, implied the superiority of mixed marriage children than 'pure' Koreans. How male authors deal with that social ordering in their literature should be examined more closely in the future.

## Chapter IV

### Reproducing Boundaries in Gender and Coloniality: Survival Strategies in Literary Field

#### 1. Introduction

On a small market street of Seoul, Korea in 1932, a woman is selling bean sprouts, cabbages, and dried seaweed to support herself, her unborn baby and her mother. The scene does not seem strange until we know her educational background and personal history. She is Choi Yeongsuk, the first female economist in Korea. After graduating from Ewha women's school, she studied in China. With the dream of meeting feminist activist Ellen Key (1849-1926)<sup>58</sup>, she moved to Sweden to major in economics at Stockholm University. Unfortunately, when Choi arrived, she learned that Key had passed away three months earlier. The news of Choi's study in Sweden was even delivered to the Korean people through the newspaper—Dongailbo (July 23, 1926). While working at a Stockholm museum using her fluency in several languages — English, German, Swedish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean—she also pursued her studies.

After graduation, she received several offers in Sweden but decided to return to Korea and devote herself to the women's labor movement (Dongailbo Nov 29, 1931).

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<sup>58</sup> Although she was not as famous in her own country and in Europe, Ellen Key was very famous and influential to Asian women—especially, China, Japan, and Korea.

She considered several possible occupations such as newspaper reporting and teaching. However, although she had majored in economics, was fluent in several languages, and had a good sense of world politics, she could not find a place to work. No newspaper accepted her application and schools turned her down as well saying she did not have a license. Finally she had to sell bean sprouts, dried seaweed, cabbages in a small shop (Samcheonri May 1932: 15-6). After a complicated pregnancy and an unavoidable abortion, she died at the age of 27. After her death, Korean society, which urgently needed able women, but denied Choi Yeongsuk a chance to work, was suddenly eager to know the story of Choi and her Indian lover (Jeon 2006). Choi's experience is one example of how colonial Korean society in general, and the Marxist and socialist camps in particular, treated an educated women activist. They were not interested in a sincere lecture or a manifesto of the women's movement; rather, they wanted a sensational love story about an affair with an Indian (or black/colored) man.

The miserable experience of this female left-wing activist was not unusual in the Japanese colonial period in Korea. Like many educated women, the so-called New Women attracted the strong interest of the whole society, and society's interest centered on their personal lives. Under these circumstances, many female pioneers in literature, art, and the feminist movement like Choi came to miserable ends. In spite of these social conditions, some fortunate women became famous and are remembered as successful. More interestingly, their personal lives did not conform to current notions of the ideal woman. How, then, could these left-wing female writers be successful? In this chapter, I will examine their strategies to maintain their popularity and social status, such as choosing and changing their political stances, the selection of their novels' topics, and

even their marriages and divorces. I conduct exploratory research by asking the following questions: How did male writers and critics recognize female writers, especially left-wing writers? What kinds of literary works were selected and placed in the canon? How did female writers maintain their popularity? Investigating female writers in the literary world of the early modern period can shed light on earlier efforts to construct modern gender relations in Korea. The literary class is of special importance because they were the vanguards of the modernization mission. For example, literary intellectuals assumed a defining role in (re-)establishing the distinction between public and private spheres and suggesting the appropriate place for women in these spheres.

During this period, there were only had a handful of female writers. When I collected data on participation in literary clubs and professional magazines in colonial Korea, I found only 18 women among 288 writers (6.25%). In addition, in four encyclopedias (Kang 1985; Kim 1973; Kwon 2004; Sukmyung YeojaDaehakkyo Hankukeo Munhwa Yeonkuso 2006) and a three-volume anthology of magazines published during the colonial period (Choi 2004), some members appeared four or five times, whereas others are mentioned only once. Although I did not count or assign relative weights to these mentions, I did observe that most female writers did not exceed the recognition of five mentions. The small number of female writers, along with the scant recognition they received, was the reality of female writers in colonial Korea. In addition, female writers were generally considered inferior to men.

The presence of even few successful female writers, under these unfavorable social conditions, is surprising. To understand this strange situation, this paper follows their writings and personal histories. In addition, an analysis of the canon-making process

helps us to understand the prescribed role of female writers and their places in the literary field. In so doing, this study can, theoretically and empirically, contribute to an understanding of the construction of gender relationships in the modern era. Since this study deals with the substance of the literary field, I expect it to contribute to the theoretical development of the sociology of literature.

## **2. Theoretical Considerations**

Before jumping into the lives of female writers, we need to address some theoretical considerations. In the first section, I discuss the theoretical evolution of the sociology of literature. After I briefly look at the Reflection Theory and market-oriented perspectives, I try to add the Braudelian perspective of literature and the quantitative approach to literature to extend our understanding of literary fields and their mechanisms. The place of female writers is an especially important topic in the literary theory. This section ultimately explains why I propose canon selection and production as the pivotal point of my investigation.

The next section deals with the more substantial theoretical issues of the transition of the gender relationship from the traditional to the modern. In this section, I briefly discuss the modernist view and the Marxian view, which endeavor to explicate the relationship between modernity and gender. Then I propose a more process-oriented approach because the transition does not seem to be linear but rather contains contestation, the investigation of which can expand our understanding of the construction of the gender relationship in the modern era.



## **(1) Sociology of Literature**

The sociology of literature has examined various aspects of the relationships between society and literary production, including interpretive reproductions. As the focus of cultural studies has shifted from the mentality of high-culture artists to the circulation and consumption of mass cultural products (Griswold 1992), the research interests of the sociology of literature have evolved from the inquiry into the relationship between literature and authors' mentality; (for example, Goldmann 1967) and social environments to studies on the characteristics of the readership of literature. These shifts in research reflect underlying changes in theoretical perspectives.

There are two broad theoretical perspectives that represent each historical period. The first perspective, which characterizes earlier efforts in the sociology of literature, is the Reflection Theory perspective. This perspective holds that authors' social class, gender, nationality and so on determine the form and/or content of literary production. Despite various modes of determination (namely reflection, correspondence, homology, interaction, analogy, affinity, expression, testimony, modeling and the like), this perspective expects to find literature at the end of a causal chain (Paranjape 1990: 75). For example, Raymond Williams tries to liberate Marxian cultural theory from simple determinism by extending the very definition of determination. He argues that determination is a process of "setting limits and exerting pressure" and that it should be distinguished from the process of being "prefigured, predicted and controlled by a pre-existing external force" (Williams 1973: 6). However extended or elaborate the definition

might be, the framework of the Reflection Theory perspective can not avoid the basic dualism of the model.

As a critical response to the earlier attempts of the Reflection Theory, some scholars started to shift their focus from literature or authors in their own right to readers and publishers. This broad theoretical perspective can be called the Market Selection Theory. The basic tenet of this perspective is that tastes expressed in markets determine what is excellent, possibly in combinations with various institutional arrangements. Griswold (1987; 1992) showed that the response and expectations of the audience and the desires of the market determine the author's writing style and content. Corse and Westervelt (2002), by examining the historical reception of canonical novels, demonstrated how social context changed the evaluation of literary texts. In the global perspective, Casanova (2004) followed the global literary power relationships and symbolic capital in the culture. In particular, the literature of small nations led to the uneven distribution of cultural capital, which affected the evaluation of literary texts.

In a similar vein, some researchers examine literature as a causal agent of social change. For example, western cultural productions, especially novels, helped to create the image of the third world selectively and affirmatively (Said 1983). The literature "interprets or creates a particular version of reality with its enormous power, it therefore serves to generate, legitimate, and proliferate this version of reality" (Paranjape 1990: 76-77). However, this trend paid too much attention to factors outside of literary production so that the production side was somewhat neglected.

Another trend in literature studies is the use of an abstract model. Instead of following specific canons and novels, some scholars started to approach literature in

quantitative ways. (For a Nigerian example, see Griswold 1992; for a Japanese example see Zwicker 2006.) Using these quantitative data, Moretti (2005) tried to apply Braudel's concept of *longue duree* into literary history. The number of novels published, the duration of each genre, the mapping of collective identities (locality and national anthem), social forces to transform the small village, and natural selection and extinction in style emerged a new set of questions in literary history (Moretti 2005). This approach offered a 'new temporal, spatial, and morphological distinction' for studying literary history, in contrast to the usual attention to canons, archives, national literature and so on (Moretti 2005: 91). However, Moretti's approach has difficulty evading the criticism of Sewell's eventful temporality concept (Sewell 2005).<sup>59</sup> Franco Moretti argues that many arguments on gender shifts were too narrowly focused to see the larger "literary cycle" (2005: 27). He argues that gender shifts are part of larger historical fluctuations. Although his point has some validity, he understates the importance of the historical shift Tuchman indicated. The existence of long-term fluctuations does not make short-term changes any less significant to those who experienced them. To borrow a famous aphorism from John M. Keynes, in the long run, we are all dead (Galbraith 1987: 4). As soon as we accept a social change as a part of natural fluctuation, we are likely to neglect the ongoing critical struggles among social groups that shape the change.

Finally, it is useful to remember that literary production activities are accompanied by many different forms of writers' social activities. For example, the changing gender proportions of writers themselves provide a chance to look at the politics of culture (For an England Case, see Tuchman 1989). Williams' "The

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<sup>59</sup>According to Sewell (2005), these teleological approaches risk ignoring the diverse processes of each event and context that affect the transformation of structure.

Bloomsbury Fraction” (1980) is an exemplary study of the literary circle. In that article, Williams argues that the cultural group, usually neglected and marginalized in social and historical analysis, needs to be studied using not only measurable data but also psycho analysis.

In my case, Korean literary groups were actively formed and tried to exert political and social influences over the colonial Korean society. Although Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of the literary field includes both the visible interactions of individuals inside the literary field and class habitus (1993a: 29), the concept of a field of struggles provides a useful framework for understanding Korean literature groups’ formation and each individual’s attempts to improve his or her position within the literary field. According to Bourdieu, there are continuous struggles to maintain dominant positions and establish hierarchical ranks. In these processes, ‘art for art’s sake’; the ‘bourgeois’ taste in art which was closely connected to the ethical, aesthetic and political tastes of the dominant group; and the so-called ‘popular’ culture all affected one’s placement in the cultural field. In addition, the characteristics of the audience (intellectual, bourgeois, or mass) and the autonomy of market placed each group inside of literary field. To maintain their characteristics, they compete with generations and classes.

In this chapter, I am especially concerned with understanding gender struggles. Previously, sociologists of gender and work argued, “men gradually invade, redefine, and come to dominate what had primarily been a women’s occupation” (Tuchman 1989: 4).<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> In England, most of the novelists until 1840 were women. But in the early twentieth century, the gender ratio dramatically changed, and most novelists in high culture were men. To investigate these strange phenomena, Tuchman (1980; 1989) examined publishers’ strategies, acceptance rate by gender, and male

But in the Korean case, writing was not a female occupation at all. Therefore, to men, the rise of female writers itself would be perceived as an invasion of a male occupation. In addition, the invention of national identity and the process of nation building accelerated the expulsion of women from the literary field.

In this chapter, I plan to reveal these continuous processes of field making by analyzing participation in literary groups, canon production and female writers' literary works. Ahmad (1992) aptly argued that third-world literature was under pressure to establish women's status according to the demands of the nationalist movement. This chapter begins with the theoretical premise that women's status was established through both literary forms—such as novels, articles, and plays—and in real life, and that these two realms are closely related. Using the personal lives of female writers to reveal their internal struggles and their changing places also offers an opportunity to overcome an internal reading of literature that neglects social context; however, it also helps to avoid external analysis such as an over-simplistic Marxist determination.

## **(2) Gender in the Colony: Early Modern Korean Gender Relationships**

After Korea opened three ports to Japan and consequently the world in 1876, there were many struggles with and endeavors to accept westernized systems of education, communication, and the military. Along with these transformations, women's issues such as female education and the ability of widows to remarry received a great deal of attention. Concerning the development of the modern gender relationship, we can classify

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writers' style as embodied in realistic novels. However, Tuchman's stages, *the period of invasion* (1840-1879), *the period of redefinition* (1880-1899), and *the period of institutionalization* (1901-1917) seem ambiguous. Rather than basing on the actual historical context, the author seems to create these stages to support his own arguments.

the various arguments into two broad theoretical perspectives. No longer a main stream approach, the first is the Modernization Thesis, which holds that modernization enables women to pursue incremental emancipation from traditional constraints. Despite continuous criticism of their developmental perspectives, some studies of Korean women still assume that the modernization process played a significant role in women's emancipation from 'traditional' obstacles. These studies attribute the remaining burdens of women to persistent residue of tradition despite economic and political development (Choi 1994; Palley 1990). This group of theorists usually employed binary distinctions between the traditional and modern in describing women's status, education, economic activities and experience of motherhood (Cho 1994; Yu 1987).

The second theoretical approach can be called the Reconstitution of Patriarchy Thesis, which holds that the early modern period is characterized by the transition from the agrarian patriarchy to the industrial patriarchy. Various strands of feminist theories fall into this category. For example, some scholars argue that during the industrial revolution, the consciousness of the middle class took a form that favored men and constructed the role of gender, family systems, values, and property relations (Davidoff and Hall 1987). Some scholars move forward, arguing that the regulation and reproduction of patriarchal practices should be examined considering their regional, class and caste variations (Sangari and Vaid 1989). Specifically, as Lie (1996: 34) argues, Korea was no exception, in that it experienced a transition in gender dynamics as the country moved from agrarian patriarchy to patriarchal capitalism. According to Lie, in agrarian societies, especially in the peripheral nations, the gender axis was not a primary and visible parameter of oppression. With the emergence of capitalism and modernity,

however, the gender axis became more visible, and the unequal treatment of women had to be legitimized in one way or another. In this new form of patriarchal capitalism, gender roles were defined as the society developed. This perspective of gender as a tool of oppression might shed light on how the advent of capitalism redefined gender relationships and gender-based oppression.

In my opinion, the two perspectives show both sides of modernity: both modernity as the Western ideal of emancipation, and modernity as a justification for the status quo. The problem is that each theoretical perspective emphasizes partial aspects of the final results of the new gender regime construction from the perspective of hindsight. This way of theorizing from the final result often misses the crucial processes of social struggle that occurred during the inception period. To broaden our understanding, we need to delve into the actual processes of the discursive contests that constructed the new gender regime.

Studies on New Women have been conducted in large numbers. The growing interests in New Women is consistent with researchers' increasing attention to everyday lives in history and their studies of new topics and materials such as newspaper advertisements (Jung 2006), the development of technology (Cheonhong Park 2003), fashion, and architecture. The historical character of New Women (Baeyong Yi 2003), the relationship between New Women and society (Yongok Park 2003b), the love lives of New Women (Kwon 2003), the comparison of Korean and Japanese New Women (Moon 2003), modernity and New Women (Kim 2004), socialism and New Women (Kim 2005), the literature of New Women (Choe 2000), and the travelogues of New Women (Seo and Woo 2007) have all been studied, along with specific historical figures such as Kim

Hwallan (Jeong 1996; Kim 1998), Na Hyeseok (Na 2001; Yi 2000), and Kim Maria (Yongok Park 2003a). One of these studies, Kwon Insook's (1998) article, is very significant in that she tries to criticize and reestablish the relationship of western feminist studies and third-world cases. Since Mohanty (1991) published "Under Western Eyes" as a new set of guidelines for third-world feminists, many feminist studies focused on revealing western cultural domination, hegemony, knowledge and power in the colony (Chaudhuri 1992; Hatem 1992; McClintock 1995; Ramusack 1992). Kwon cautiously argues that the western influence over the colony discloses the possibility of a more complicated relationship between colonized women and western imperialism. According to Kwon, this clear distinction between the oppressor and the oppressed and the colonizer and the colonized easily led to the normative necessity of resistance behaviors, with the unintended result of strengthening already masculine national discourse. In contrast, she argues that studies of the active role of third-world women and their contribution to colonial modernity should be free of western-dominated perspectives. This argument adequately captures the Korea case, the competing hegemonies of western and Japanese, and their simultaneous presence provided Korean intellectuals with a more extended range of possibilities of ideal modernity. However, I think, ironically, that her attempts to memorialize the first generation of New Women led her to another normative conclusion: that the New Women's movement was not a failure, and that success and failure cannot be determined by whether the women led miserable lives. First of all, I disagree with her monolithic categorization of the New Women's movement. There were several women's organizations, and their arguments and goals were not identical or even similar to those of the first generation of New Women. Secondly, like Cho (1986), she asserts that



Korean colonial society experienced a sudden transition from a progressive era to a conservative era, particularly in attitudes toward women. But why all of sudden, did the restoration of tradition become the main goal of Korean national emancipation and development? It is hard to believe that such an abrupt transition happened at that time. Rather, I believe that Korean male intellectuals were conservative from the beginning. They wanted to build a modernized nation, and for this goal, they required modernized motherhood, which presupposed the education of women. It is true that one of the most influential novelists and nationalist, Yi Kwangsu (1995[1932-3]), favored a traditional woman over a new woman in his novel *Heulk (Soil)*, but that choice should be understood as one of the diverse strategies of each class to obtain the enlightenment of the nation; it was designed for the rural region's peasants. Because when we look at his ten commandments, however, we see that Yi still emphasizes the education and enlightenment of women (Yi 1962[1931]). What he despises is the resulting challenge to the male dominant social order. I think the Korean male intellectuals, including Yi Kwangsu, did not actually change from progressive to conservative. Rather, when confronted with the unexpected liberal behaviors of New Women, they tried to regulate them using traditional Confucian ideas.

### **3. Historical Conditions**

#### **(1) The Composition of Literary Field: The Rise of Literary Clubs**

The March First Movement of 1919 and the change of international sentiments as expressed in Woodrow Wilson's national self-determination argument led the Japanese

government to alter its colonial policy from military control to so-called Cultural Rule. Under the new cultural policies, some writers started to dream of the rise of modern literature. Many writers themselves, however, had conflicted notions of modern and western literature and to what degree that would be to adopt this new style with the Korean vernacular language. One of the most prominent writers in that period, Kim Dongin, confessed, “it would be easiest just to follow western styles, but because of the difference in people’s feelings and traditions, how much we can learn from the western style and how much we should use ours were my concerns” (Chung 2001). Following these different styles and definitions of literature, writers formed 30 literary clubs and started 34 professional literary journals from 1919 to 1939 (see Appendix 1 and 2). These clubs and journals had a total of 288 members according to my examination of four encyclopedias on Korean literature (Choi 2004; Encyber; Kang 1985; Kim 1973; Kwon 2004).

The rise of literary clubs and literary journals occurred for three reasons. First, the market for literary work was very limited. As the westernized educational system was introduced, some students were exposed to western and Japanese literature and started to write westernized short stories, poems and plays that they wanted to publish. However, publication opportunities were limited because of the absolute lack of publishing companies, periodicals, and books. These emerging writers had to find a way to circulate their works and establish their writing as a new style of literature at the same time. Therefore, some writers started to organize literary clubs and publish coterie magazines. The first coterie magazine, “*Changjo (creation)*” started in 1919. The behind-the-scenes story of the foundation of *Changjo* revealed their desperate conditions. Some members of

*Changjo* sent poems to other student magazines, which rejected them. Existing magazines did not consider literary works as important as political and economic propaganda and articles (Kim April 1st 1934; quoted in Park 2007: 21)<sup>61</sup>.

Secondly, they hoped to distinguish themselves as proponents of “art for art’s sake” unlike previous writers who focused on art as enlightenment for the masses. At the same time, they specialized themselves as writers—novelists, critics, and poets—compared to other educated persons who could write something except literature. In addition, they hoped to receive some recognition from others (Park 2006: 133-134). To establish their new style of writing, they had to distinguish themselves from the writers of the early enlightenment literature, who became the target of their criticism.<sup>62</sup> Every literary club and literary journal tried to maintain a unique identity. At that time, a member of a literary club said “only people like us understand us, we look forward to meeting these people” (Lee 2001: 69). To maintain their exclusiveness, literary clubs enforced several regulations. For example, in order to become a member of *Changjo*, a writer needed to get a recommendation and approval from the members,<sup>63</sup> and a writer

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<sup>61</sup> According to the reflections of Kim Dongin, who was one of the founding members of *Changjo*, he unsuccessfully submitted a few articles to a magazine for Korean students in Tokyo, *Hakjikwnag*. This was discouraging, and it made the idea of creating their own journals sound more appealing (Kim Dongin 1934 quoted in Park 2007).

<sup>62</sup> However, enlightenment writers such as Yi Kwang-su and Choi Namseon were too prominent to ignore, and including their work guaranteed a publication with some degree of market success. Therefore, new writers faced a dilemma: they did not want to include the enlightenment writers in their literary groups, but to succeed in the market, they had to include them and even advertise their participation (Young-Min Kim 2002: 178-9).

<sup>63</sup> We can observe an example of the recommendation and approval process from a novel, Jeon Youngtak’s (1996[1955]) *Kim Tansilgwa geuui adeul* (*Kim Tansil and her son*). After witnessing the death of Kim Myeongsun (Tansil is another name of Myeongsun) in Japan, Jeon pulished this novel. The main character of this novel meets Kim Myeonssun, who lived in a place like a henhouse and was mentally impaired. In this novel, Jeon portrays how and why Kim Myoungsun became the only female member of the first Korean literary club, *Changjo*.

“Why don’t we add a female writer, instead of having a male-members-only club?”

could not contribute his or her works to *Baekjo* (literally, *White Tides*) unless he or she was already a member of it (Lee 2001: 70). Sometimes, the name of a literary club like *Guinhue* (literally, *Association of Nine Persons*) explicitly announced its exclusivity. In order to maintain their name (Association of Nine Persons), they did not recruit additional members before some of the members dropped out of the club until the dissolution. The reason for their exclusivity was their perception that the quality of men could be understood only by those who had the same quality (Oh 2000). These qualified men could not exceed a few thousand people at most, including readers (Suil Choi 2000: 90). This exclusiveness can be understood as a survival strategy for establishing modern literature and demonstrating their ability to produce it.

Finally, the most important and urgent goal was to establish themselves as specialists of modern literature; they needed to persuade people that what they were doing was the production of modern rather than traditional literature. There were only a handful of publishers and periodicals; readers were also scarce. The illiteracy rate was high: in the early 1920s, the illiteracy rate was more than 90 percent (Cheon 2001: 91). Despite some improvement, it was still more than 75 percent in 1930 (Park 2006: 122). Only 6.7% of the Korean people and 1.9% of Korean women could read both Korean and

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This was a suggestion from our member H.

“A female writer? Is there any chance that there is an eligible woman?”

T was against that idea.

“Yes, there is. There’s no one who’s perfect. But would it be okay if she is diligent, has some potential and hope?”

At that time, the female writer was like a bright star in the dawn sky. There was another Kim who wrote some pieces and published a magazine, but she had no ability to write. Kim Yeongsun was the only possible member of this club. They quickly included her, in spite of her immaturity, before another recently established literary club had a chance to contact her (Jeon 1996[1955]: 102).

This part of the novel well demonstrates the process of selecting and accepting a new member of the literary group.

Japanese in 1930 (Cheon 2003: 96). As Table IV.1 demonstrates, the relatively poor condition of the Korean publication market is evident in the number of newspapers for Japanese versus Korean readers. Although the Japanese population was smaller than the Korean population, there were five times as many Japanese newspapers (51 versus 10) (Yi and Kim 1931). This situation is also true of periodicals. The Japanese settlers represented only 2.54% of the whole population of colonial Korea, but Japanese periodicals represented 79.43% of the total number of periodicals (Yi and Kim 1931).

Table IV.1 The Number of Newspapers in 1931

Region	Japanese Population	Number of Japanese Newspapers	Korean Population	Number of Korean Newspapers
Kyeongseong	97,758	27	251,228	8
Incheon	11,238	1	49,960	0
Gaeseong	1,390	1	49,007	0
Gunsan	8,781	2	16,541	0
Mokpo	8,003	1	23,488	0
Daegu	29,633	2	70,280	1
Busan	44,273	4	85,585	0
Masan	5,559	1	20,149	0
Pyeongyang	18,157	1	11,650	1
Jinnampo	5,894	1	30,415	0
Sinuiju	7,907	1	29,003	0
Hamheung	7,096	2	32,523	0
Wonsan	9,334	1	32,503	0
Cheongjin	8,355	1	24,003	0
Gwangju	6,092	1	26,675	0
Jeonju	5,095	2	33,897	0
Daegeon		1		0
Najin	10,302	1	8,915	0
Sum	284,867	51	795,822	10

(Yi and Kim 1931)

Table IV.2 The Number of Periodicals in 1931

Region	Japanese Periodicals	Korean Periodicals	Other
Kyunggido	249	70	32
Chungnamdo	25	2	0
Chungbukdo	7	0	0
Jeonbukdo	26	1	1
Jeonnamdo	31	0	3
Kyeongbukdo	20	1	0
Kyeongnamdo	88	1	10
Whanghaedo	16	6	10
Pyeongnamdo	36	6	0
Pyeongbukdo	15	2	0
Hamnamdo	22	0	0
Hambukod	29	1	0
Sum	564	90	56

(Yi and Kim 1931)

These emerging writers needed to establish their new literary style and to lead this handful of readers to accept it.<sup>64</sup> The invention of authors and this autonomous literary field, which is independent of other fields such as economy and politics, was essential for the emerging writers (Bourdieu 1993b: 162). Although they thought exclusivity was crucial to quality control, they could not stay in their small circles. Exclusivity could not ensure the mobilization of enough resources to further their cause, and their initial attempts to mobilize resources by selling coterie magazines failed (Kim Young-Min: 2002: 179-180). Therefore, despite their reluctance to publish their works in more popular outlets, especially serialized newspaper novels,<sup>65</sup> they did end up contributing to these publications. The more prominent a writer was, the more opportunities he or she had to publish.

## (2) The Social Participation of Women

In this emerging literary field, how did female writers position themselves? As we observed in Table II.3 and 4, the desire of female graduates and actual path demonstrates a huge gap. Almost 70 percent of female graduates answered they planned to pursue more education or get a job; more than 60 percent of female graduates were unable to find a job. Instead they stayed at home and helped in the household until their marriage (Chōsensōtokufu 1934). This limited number of female graduates faced limited job options. For example, popular female jobs were teachers, nurses, midwives, office

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<sup>64</sup> An autobiography of one of the new generation of writers describes how a youth magazine led him to become a professional writer (*Sinin danpyeon geoljakjip (The anthology of short stories of new writers)* 1938).

<sup>65</sup> These writers thought that contributing to popular magazines and newspapers could degrade modern literature by accommodating readers' preferences (Suil Choi 2000: 90).

workers, bus girls, sales women, and factory workers. A very few female graduates chose to become writers.

One reason for not being a writer may have been the economic insecurity writers faced. According to an article from a popular magazine, during the colonial period, elementary school teachers earned 35 – 60 won per month, white-collar office workers 30 – 50 won per month, nurses 33 – 70 won per month, and, factory workers 6 – 35 won per month (Samcheonri Dec. 1931). The incomes of female writers were significantly lower. According to a female writers' roundtable, the fee for one contribution to a newspaper or magazine ranged from 1 to 3 won, and female writer's annual income ranged from 135 to 250 won which means 11.25 – 20.8 won per month (Samcheonri Feb. 1936).

Due to generally poor economic conditions, male writers also had low income. In his contribution to *Dongailbo*, Kim Kwangseop (Oct 2 and 3 1933) criticized the image of hungry artist prevalent at the time.

If we survey the artists who occupy prominent positions in the history of world literature, we can easily see that very few created their masterpieces in extreme poverty, and most of them did it under economically stable conditions.

He went on to warn other writers that, if they did not attempt to improve the economic conditions of writers, the poverty of writers would lead to a crisis in Korean literature. In 1936, *Dongailbo* (Jun 30) enviously illustrated how well paid writers were in the Soviet Union. Similarly, Jeong Biseok confessed that he could not earn enough to buy even the manuscript paper in self-introduction of his own work (Jeong 1938: 45). This economic instability owed largely to the very small readership. Even among the literate, readers of literary works were not numerous. In December 1926, of the 55 Korean women who



visited the Seoul Municipal Library, only 28 percent read literary works (Dongailbo Jan 8, 1927).

However, the continuous increase of students, both boys and girls, and the growth (albeit slow) of the publication market did provide some job options for female graduates. In addition, according to a newspaper survey, seventy-two percent of female high school students responded that they had read novels within the last week the survey was conducted (Dongailbo Jan 26, 1931). When we look at the reading habits of male students, who favored philosophy over novels, female students' enthusiasm for novels becomes obvious.

Table IV.3 The Reading Habits of Female High School Students in 1931

Literature Genre	Origin	Number of Readers	Sum
Novels	Korean Authors	3	28 (72%)
	Japanese Authors	12	
	Foreign Authors	13	
Philosophy	Japanese Authors	4	7 (18%)
	Foreign Authors	3	
Magazines, etc.	Korean Magazines	4	4 (10%)
Sum			39 (100%)

(Dongailbo Jan 26, 1931)

Table IV.4 The Reading Habits of Male High School Students in 1931

Literature Genre	Origin	Number of Readers	Sum
Novels	Korean Authors	2	32 (31%)
	Japanese Authors	11	
	Foreign Authors	19	
Philosophy	Japanese Authors	23	36 (35%)
	Foreign Authors	13	
Magazines and Newspaper	Korean Language	16	28 (23%)
	Japanese Language	11	
	Chinese Language	1	
Other	Korean Authors	2	17 (14%)
	Japanese Authors	8	
	Foreign Authors	5	
Sum			113 (100%)

(Dongailbo Feb 2, 1931)

In addition, further data demonstrating the enthusiastic reading of literature by female students comes from Baehwa Female High School's library record. The statistics show what kinds of books were borrowed from the school library over the course of one year (Yungyeong Kim 1934). Clearly, the interest in literature was strong.

Table IV.5 Books Borrowed from Baehwa Female High School Library

Literature Genre	Number of Borrowed Books	Percentage	Percentage without Study Aid
Study Aids	196	48.28	
Literature (Mostly Novels)	114	28.08	54.29
History	31	7.64	14.76
Self-help/Inspiration	29	7.14	13.81
Hobby	16	3.94	7.62
Logic	8	1.97	3.81
Philosophy	5	1.23	2.38
Religion	4	0.99	1.90
Social Issues	3	0.74	1.43
Sum	406 (210 without Study Aid)		

Given the growing publication market and the increased enthusiasm for literature (especially novels), why were there still only a handful of female writers? Among these writers, successful cases were scarcer. In this chapter, followed by successful writers' personal stories, publications, and responses from male critics, I delve into the successful female writers' behavioral patterns in the colonial literature field. As an emerging literature field, colonial Korean literature had to build a new set of literary style, market and readers and at the same time, they had to maintain their positions as 'pure' writers (for a theoretical discussion, see Bourdieu 1996: 343). These three female writers in this chapter demonstrate their endeavor to survive in the colonial literature field, utilizing every available resource within their reach, or even building new networks for these resources.

Following their individual lives, it is hard to ignore the fact that religious institutions contributed to the independence of the first generation New Women and

protected them by providing economic resources. Jang Jeongsim, as a writer of religious novels, despite the lack of public recognition and praise of her work from popular newspapers and magazines, she was able to publish her books through a publisher of religious books. Kim Hwanllan also had similar life experiences. Due to the support of her Christian school, Ewha, she finished her Ph.D. at Columbia, got a job as a teacher at Ewha, and maintained an economically stable life.<sup>66</sup> During World War II, the Japanese government tried to control foreigners and accused them as spies. Taking advantage of this situation, Kim Hwallan obtained the position of vice president of Ewha School. Park Indeok had similar experiences. After her famous divorce, she found jobs in missionary-funded schools and was able to support her children and mother. The connections of these women with religious groups may have shielded them from male intellectuals' control and criticism, as well as from economic instability.<sup>67</sup> Those who did not have these religious buffers, such as Kim Myeongsun and Na Hyeseok, had no choice but to end their lives on the streets. Although they both became Christian at an early age, merely being Christian is very different from having strong connections to missionary groups. To have such connections, women had to graduate from a missionary school and adopt the missionary lifestyle as well. American missionary women, who had decided to devote their lives to converting uncivilized people in East Asia, were generally single or the wives of the clergymen. Actually, Park Indeok's autobiography describes her teachers' negative attitude toward marriage. Park (1954: 75) confessed in her

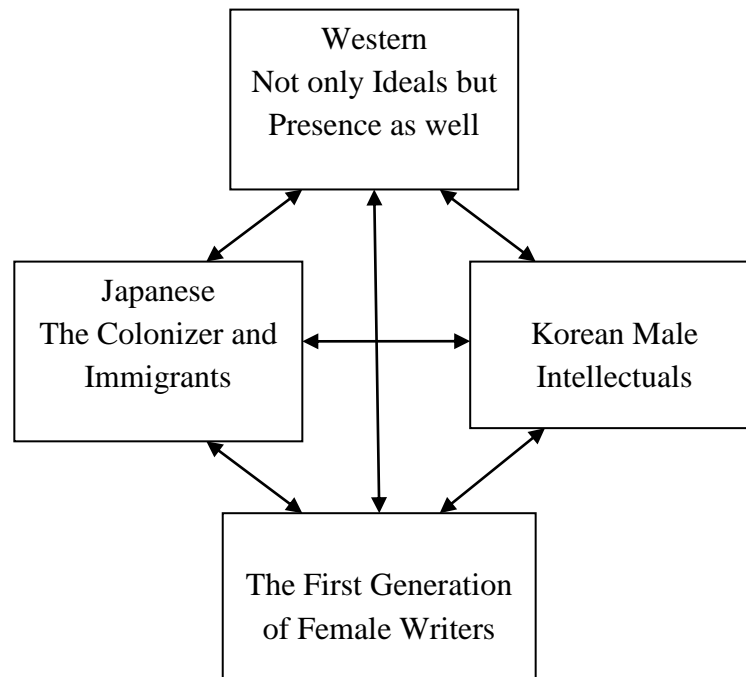
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<sup>66</sup> Under the influence of American women missionaries, who were expected to remain single (Kang 2004: 74), Kim Hwallan also remained unmarried until her death.

<sup>67</sup> According to Park Hwaseong's autobiography, other students helped western wives and missionaries to get some money to help pay their tuition. Because of her unsociable personality, she never contacted western wives except in bible study classes (Park 2004[1964]: 59).

autobiography, “Up to this time I had not thought much about marriage, because my missionary teachers were the models of my life. Most of them had remained single, consecrated and devoted to their mission in life. I had always said that I would not marry just for the sake of being married for I loathed the Confucian scheme of using girls primarily as instruments for continuing the family.” In addition, when she decided to marry, her teachers asked her to wait a couple of years for her emotions to pass (Pahk(Park) 1954: 76). Kim Hwallan, who was able to choose her friends and enemies according to social conditions and power relations, maintained her reputation until her death. Although criticized for her collaboration during the final stage of the Japanese colonial period, she is still remembered as a great educator and a harbinger of female emancipation. In contrast, other women, who did not have connections to missionary groups, became the target of ridicule for their experimental behaviors and westernized thoughts on love and marriage. Na Hyeseok (1934), after publishing ‘*I hon go baek jang* (Confessions of a Separation)’ to earn daily food and necessities, opened a small art institute for girls. However, the parents of potential students did not want to send their daughters to that institute because they were concerned about the influence of Na’s radical perspectives on marriage and courtship. The case of Kim Ilyeob indicates the importance of religious groups and their support. She ended her social activities and became a nun, but ironically, the protection of the Buddhist Temple enables her to live until the 1970s.

Figure IV.1 Quadrilateral Relationships in Colonial Korea



As I explained in the previous chapter, the first generation experienced harsh fates because of the gap between their expectations of the modern world and women's rights and the male nationalists' conservative and male-centered approaches. The male intellectuals did not allow the first generation of female writers to express and practice their liberal views. In this chapter, my concern shifts from the first generation of New Women to the left-wing writers of the second generation. Unlike the first generation writers, they not only became popular but also maintained their high status. Does this mean that the attitudes of male intellectuals had changed? Or did the second generation of female writers simply choose well-calculated strategies for surviving in their male-dominated society?

#### 4. Left-Wing Female Writers' Strategies for Survival

##### (1) Red Love versus A Doll's House

Although *Red Love* (Kollontai 1927) and *A Doll's House* (Ibsen 2005[1899]) both deal with the emancipation of women in general, they were selectively read according to the political stances of Korean readers, especially female readers. A group of liberalists, including the first generation of female writers, embraced Ibsen's *A Doll's House*; the communists, on the other hand, gravitated to *Red Love*. Kollontai's *Red Love* and other novels are mentioned as offering role models for Korean communist women (On Kim 1930; Samcheonri Nov 1931). *Red Love* is a love story that takes place after Russia succeeded in its revolution and was trying to build a strong nation. Vasya, who is an energetic activist and a sincere communist party member, meets a man, who immigrated from America and falls in love with him. As they become involved, she confesses her previous love:

“Volodya, you mustn't kiss me. I won't stand for any deception.”

Amazed, he failed to understand.

“Deception? Do you think I want to deceive you? Can't you see that I've loved you ever since I've known you?”

“That's not it! That's not it, Volodya! Of course, I believe you. But, you see, I... I... No, don't kiss me. You're keeping your heart for a 'pure girl.' And I'm not a virgin any more, Volodya. I've had lovers.”

As she spoke she thought, trembling: Now, my happiness is shattered.

Vladimir interrupted her. “What do I care for your lovers? You belong to me. No one can be purer than you. Vasya; your soul is **pure**.”  
(Kollontai 1927: 56; emphasis added)

Although they are not registered, they become a practically married couple. But they receive work assignment in different regions of Russia and have to live apart for quite a

long time. When she tires of her community house activities and moves to his place, she finds that he is not her comrade anymore and he has a mistress. When she asks him about his mistress, he replies:

“..... You must understand me, Vasya. That’s the terrible part of it, that Nina was a virgin when I took her. She was **pure...**”(Kollontai 1927: 218; emphasis added)

Finally, she decides to leave him, support free union, and raise her child by herself with the help of her community. Because Vasya chooses her path without any support from her husband and discards him as well, she is also able to discard his preference for virgins and reveal his real thoughts on women’s bodies and their behaviors.

Her courage and support of free union intrigued many left-wing New Women—but not left-wing men. One critic argues that Vasya is a more emancipated woman than Nora in *A Doll’s House*, because of her engagement in social activities and her stable income (Jeong 1929). In addition, some male critics argue that many New Women adopted free union arguments and discarded Vasya’s independence and active participation in economic activities (Naenghyeoldongin 1930: 72). As discussed in chapter II, New Women’s courage and openness toward sex was socially regulated and constrained through several methods such as circulating harsh evaluations through newspapers and focusing on their love affairs instead of their works. Male writers, both nationalist and socialist, tended not to allow the free love of women.

Another of Kollontai’s stories, *Three Generations* (1977[1923]), promoted strong reactions among Korean intellectuals. The story of *Three Generations* is stunning even from a contemporary perspective. The grandmother, a member of the first generation,



thinks love is above the law and practices her belief. After marriage, she finds a true lover. Without any hesitation, she announces her love for the other man to her husband and her lover's wife. However, her second marriage ends when she finds out that her second husband has a relationship with a farm girl. Again, there is no argument. If there was no love, there was no obligation. The second generation has a more complicated approach. Unlike her mother, who devoted herself to one man at a time, the representative of the second generation falls in love with a man other than her husband and decides to maintain both relationships—two men at a time. In spite of her radical approach toward marriage, she still thinks sexual relationships happen only in the context of love. In contrast, the representative of the third generation, the granddaughter, argues for sexual relationships without love.

“I can't understand what you're so upset about, mother. It would be different if I was prostituting myself or my own free will. We stay together I do quite voluntarily, of my own free will. We stay together as long as we get on with each other, and when we no longer do, we just part company and nobody gets hurt. Of course, I'm going to lose two or three weeks' work because of this abortion, which is a pity, but that's my own fault and next time I'll take the proper precautions” (Kollontai 1977[1923]: 203).

“Look, mother, you say that my behavior is shabby, that you shouldn't sleep with people you don't love, and that my cynicism is driving you to despair. But just tell me honestly, **if you had a boy, a twenty-year-old son, who had been at the Front and had generally led an independent life, would you be so horrified to hear that he had been sleeping with women he liked?** I don't mean with prostitutes he'd bought, or with little girls he'd seduced, because I agree that *is* shabby but with women he liked and who liked him too. Would that really horrify you so much? Admit it, it wouldn't, would it? So why are you in such a state of despair about what you describe as my immorality? I assure you, I'm exactly the same sort of person, and I'm perfectly well aware of my obligations and my

responsibilities to the Party.” (Kollontai 1977[1923]: 204; emphasis added)

The granddaughter considers love a luxury for busy proletariats. Consistent with her ideas of love and sex, she has a sexual relationship with her stepfather.

The male socialists faced a dilemma: Kollontai was a successful, active revolutionary and a great figure in Russia.<sup>68</sup> Korean male intellectuals, especially intellectuals in communist circles, knew they could not criticize Kollontai too much, but they felt they had to prevent free love and sexual lavishness in Korean New Women. How could they respond to this dilemma? “As a woman, can I sleep with men I like?” To answer this question, the male intellectuals used Chunhyang, a character from a traditional novel. That was a bestseller during the colonial period (Cheon 2003). Chunhyang is a harbinger of companionate love and overcomes the differences of social status between herself and her lover, but she was remembered more for trying to preserve her purity for her lover. Using this icon, a male writer warned against the behaviors of New Women:

..the husband to whom they gave one of the precious things in life — purity—, and the comrade who shared their fates (if I borrowed their expressions), will soon be released from prison. But the letter from his wife states that ‘I am unable to raise your child, please take this child from me. By the way, I have started to live with someone else. I don’t think you will have any possessive jealousy. You and I have the same ideology...’

You, New Women, are so strong in theory and live up to your words, it is so impressive. But in spite of their strong theory, their sexual desire is

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<sup>68</sup> She was the first female diplomat in Russia. She was the most prominent woman in the Soviet administration and was best known for founding the Zhenotdel or "Women's Department" in 1919. This organization worked to improve the conditions of women's lives in the Soviet Union, fighting illiteracy and educating women about the new marriage, education, and working laws put in place by the Revolution. She was well recognized later for socialist feminism.

perverse and they change their partners every day. How can they lead the masses, who will follow them? (Palgakjeong-Yidoryeong 1929: 112-3)

As we observed in the case of Choi Yeongsuk, the bean-sprout seller with a college degree, this left-wing group's gender consciousness did not differ greatly from that of other nationalistic and conservative groups. The left-wing writers were based on the group entitled Korea Artista Proleta Federatio (KAPF). The inspiration of Marxist ideology, KAPF advocated for the communist revolution of the world. Under the banner of revolution, literature should help to persuade peasants, factory workers and the masses to become enlightened communist soldiers. Their ideological position distinguished them from other modern writers who defined themselves as nationalists (Kim 2006). However, the gender-based evaluation and conservative expectations of women were not unique to KAPF. Korean socialists and KAPF maintained a double standard toward women. In addition, Song Gewol's example suggests that a similar logic regarding women prevailed through both the first and second generations of female writers. Song Gewol was a journalist who did not write many novels, but was considered a promising female writer and participated in the writing of the collaborative serialized novel *Jeolmeunemeoni* (*Young Mother*). She actively participated in the class movements and based on her class consciousness, she wrote on the behalf of proletariats. For example, she argued that having sex with a proletariat fiancé is "the establishment of marriage without any social and economic constraints and is one way to fulfill one's obligations as a proletariat". In the case of a bourgeois fiancé, however, sex before marriage should not happen because of the bourgeois morality of sexuality, which only harms women in the end (Song 1931: 58-9). In spite of her endeavors to be a member of KAPF, the male proletariats did not

treat her as a comrade. When she went to her hometown for medical treatment, a KAPF member wrote an article based on a rumor that Song went away to give a birth. It was a double betrayal for Song, once because the author was a member of KAPF, and the other because the magazine that published the article was a proletariat one. Song tried to confront them, alleging that her critic was not a true proletariat, and that the publishing company was bourgeois journalism in proletariat clothes (Song 1932). However, her physical condition worsened throughout this conflict. At the age of 22, her tuberculosis recurred and she died in her hometown (Park 2002).

## **(2) Young Mother: A Serialized, Collaborative Novel**

Under these circumstances, how did some left-wing female writers manage to succeed? What were their strategies and stands on society and women's choices? To answer these questions, I analyzed their personal lives and their public activities. The public activities include their comments in newspapers, magazines, and essays; their novels' plots and main characters; and their personal choice of canon selections as well. As left-wing female writers, they were relatively free from critics such as those the previous generation experienced. Due to the different goals of the nationalist groups and the KAPF, they did not criticize each other explicitly. These trends allowed left-wing female writers to live without facing the severe criticism of nationalist male writers. Unlike their first-generation counterparts, these female writers, who were under the influence of KAPF tradition, received favorable evaluations (Kim 1935). Male critics

described these left-wing female writers as “realistic” and “pro-literature”<sup>69</sup> (Shim 2006c). The second generation of female writers not only enjoyed a more congenial environment but also tried to distinguish themselves from the first generation. In a magazine, literature critic Kim Palbong compared current female writers with those of the first generation:

Ten years ago, Kim Myeongsun, Kim Ilyeop, Jeon Yudeok, Heo Youngsuk, Na Hyeseok, etc. all represented the “female literature field.” Although this might be too harsh to them, their writing at that time cannot be compared with that of current female writers. Likewise, today’s female writers occupy a much higher place than female writers did ten years ago (Kim 1935: 80).

Following this male critics’ perspective, female writers also tried to distance themselves from the first generation. For example, Choi Jeonghui describes the first generation of female writers as a byproduct of journalism:

Previously, Joseon did not have fully grown female writers; therefore, it is true that we didn’t have women’s literature. What we had were only so-called female writers from numerous short-lived magazines without any ability to write (Choi 1933a: 45).

Criticizing the first generation and distancing themselves from their predecessors was one of the female left-wing writers’ effective survival strategies. To gain a more thorough understanding of left-wing female writers, we should find out who they were. This is actually difficult to determine because some of them converted to nationalism and some of them did not publish their works continuously.<sup>70</sup> However, we can start with a

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<sup>69</sup> “Pro-literature” is an abbreviation for proletariat literature.

<sup>70</sup> Two less-mentioned left-wing female writers in this chapter are Baek Sinae and Ji Haryeon. Baek Sinae (1906-1936) was associated with KAPF and her writing activities took place from 1930 until 1939 when she died. She was a member of some female socialist groups and most of her novels are based on her

sequenced novel entitled *Jeolmeuneomeoni* (*Young Mother*), which was collectively written by five left-wing female writers. Each author wrote one short chapter in the following order: Park Hwaseong, Song Gyewol, Choi Jeonghui, Kang Gyeongae and Kim Jahye. The novel appeared in *Singajeong* (New Home) magazine from January to March 1933. Although the authors did not meet or consult with each other, chapter by chapter, they produced a complete novel.

This novel is about a young single mother with two children. Her Marxist husband left six years ago to work for social revolution, and three years later, she receives news of his death. She makes a living through her catering business. There are two men in her life. One is rich and “bourgeois,” and the other is Marxist who works for her as a butler. One day, the rich man proposes to her, promising a bright future. After she breaks the news to her butler, the butler is arrested for a bomb attack on the rich man’s house by the leftist movement. In addition, the government asked her to close her catering business because she had hired a leftist. While sending food to her Marxist butler in prison, she starts an evening class for poor children and does not marry the rich man.

Although each chapter was written by a different author, similar phrases appear throughout the novel. In the first chapter, when her husband leaves her, he says “I don’t want to ask unreasonable things, just **be a strong mother**” (Park 1933a: 167 emphasis added). When he was arrested on the charge of the bomb attack, her Marxist butler also urges to her, “Please **be a strong woman**” (Choi 1933b: 201 emphasis added). In the fourth chapter, in the middle of a crisis, she remembers her husband’s last word: “**Be a strong mother, a strong mother**” (Kang 1933: 192 emphasis added). Finally, in the last

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personal experiences of trips to Siberia. Ji Haryeon (1912-?) participated in a literary journal, but her activities did not take place in this paper’s time period.

chapter, she realizes the importance of her husband's last words "**Be a strong mother!**" (Jahye Kim 1933: 181 emphasis added). Inspired by his last word, she decided to be a teacher in an evening class.

Working inside of a capitalist system seems as hard as swimming upstream! The educational system in this society only teaches blind obedience and absolute respect of the bourgeois society even to babies. It is impossible to teach these intellects full of these stupid ideologies, and the other half are ignorant masses without any hint of education. It is hopeless. Therefore the most important and urgent issues are the education of children and the elimination of illiteracy! (Jahye Kim 1933: 180)

Park Hwaseong (1933b) published a review of this serialized novel. The author of the first chapter, she criticized the other writers who did not understand or recognize her intention for the main character. For example, according to Park (1933b: 144), as a thoughtful and ambitious Marxist, the main character should not have thrown a bomb only for love. She also criticized the husband's dream in the last chapter, saying that it was inconsistent with true Marxism and merely expressed the author's personal hopes. However, although she criticized several expressions, settings, and characters' actions, she did not criticize the pervading theme: "Be a strong mother." According to her later notes, the novel did not end as she intended. Still, she wrote, "although we had never met before and did not even discuss it at all, I am quite impressed that the novel has a relatively natural and strong plot. The last writer, Kim Jahye, although she was an essayist, concluded the novel very plausibly" (Park 2004[1969]: 211).

This serialized novel and Park Hwaseong's review of it suggests that these left-wing female writers agreed on the ideal of a strong mother and the proper role of Marxist wife. Why, then, did Park Hwaseong and Choi Jeonghui decide to divorce their first

husbands who were Marxists?<sup>71</sup> Why did Choi Jeonghui never mention her first marriage to a Marxist in her reflections on her life (Seo 1999: 169)? We know of her first marriage only from stories from her husband's point of view. If they divorced because their pure love ended, as in Kollontai's love story, why did they remarry bourgeois men? In addition, are the matching timing of their divorces and remarriages and the collapse of Marxist groups fortuitous? Finally, how did they survive these love affairs in a period of gossip and rumor?

**(3) From Marxists to Bourgeois:  
The Divorces and Remarriages of Park Hwaseong and Choi Jeonghui**

The personal lives of Park Hwaseong and Choi Jeonghui seem to follow similar paths. They married Marxists, but they got divorced and remarried bourgeois husbands. These timely second marriages, occurring as they did in parallel with the collapse of KAPF and the imprisonment of communists, arouse suspicion regarding their motives. Why are their life choices different from those of the characters in their novels—for example, the protagonist of *Jeolmeuneomeoni* (*Young Mother*), who devoted herself to teaching poor children after the death of her husband?

Park Hwaseong is one of the most successful female writers of the second generation. According to Baek Choel (1949: 177), her novel is outstanding among early KAPF literature. When we consider that Baek Choel has a special section in his book for female writers, his recognition of her work in the KAPF category demonstrates her

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<sup>71</sup> Choi Jeonghui did not leave many stories of her first marriage. Most information comes from her husband (Seo 1999: 169). However, her new marriage to Kim Donghwan took place 1934 after her release from prison, and her first husband died in 1938 (Yeoseongsinmunsa 2000). If there was no formal legal divorce, they were practically separated.



tremendous achievements in the literature of KAPF, which includes both male and female writers. In addition, many critics and even current studies on literature in colonial period consider her as under influence of KAPF. Although she was not an official member of KAPF,<sup>72</sup> her novels aimed to portray the miserable status of peasants, paupers, and workers and to persuade them to participate in labor movements and peasant uprisings. This participatory trend, however, was not welcomed by KAPF insiders. Park Hwaseong married one of the socialists in 1928, and divorced him in 1937. She cited her husband's selfish attitude as the reason for her divorce, and she remarried a bourgeois in 1938. Because of this remarriage, Park Hwaseong lost all of her connections with other writers' groups (Byeon 2001).<sup>73</sup> In her autobiography, she recalls her second marriage to a bourgeois was very popular and sensational especially since, at that time, Prince Edward had abdicated his throne to marry Madam Simpson (Park 2004[1964]: 204).

The KAPF dissolved in 1934. The group's dissolution originated from the imprisonments of many socialists; Park Hwaseong's husband was also imprisoned at that time. In her autobiography, Park recollected that her husband was imprisoned because of the confession of KAPF member's fiancée. She concluded from this incident that women should not be included in the great plan (Park 2004[1964]: 173).

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<sup>72</sup> One possible explanation for her exclusion from KAPF is the place she lived. Kyeongseong (currently Seoul), the capital of Korea at the colonial period, had experienced intensive modernization and was the place where most books, magazines and newspapers were published, and where most of the literary organizations, except for a few Tokyo-based ones, organized, gathered, diverged and collapsed. Since Park Hwaseong did not live in Seoul, she had very little opportunity to meet other writers, communicate with them and build friendships. A critic described her as follows: "she is not a Seoul person whom we meet everyday, rather she is a country girl who did not know how to read other people's moods or to flatter others" (Lim Kim 1934: 37).

<sup>73</sup> In a socialist journal *Bipan*, we can find an article titled "Yeoryu jakga hwaseongui dosaekhangjanggi (The story of obscenity of the female writer Hwaseong)" (Song 2003: 101).

Choi Jeonghui is another writer who belonged to KAPF but then converted to nationalists. She also had two marriages—one with a socialist and one with a nationalist who later became a collaborator. She was the only female writer to be imprisoned by the Japanese government when they arrested members of the communist party. After her release from prison, she divorced and remarried a bourgeois.

The final writer is Kang Gyeongae, who had several publications and participated in a literary group. Her participation was limited, however, because her literature group was an isolated one located in Manchuria,<sup>74</sup> to which Korean peasants who lost their lands moved. In Manchuria, the Chinese government, the Japanese government, and Korean nationalist movements expressed themselves without governmental control, but there was constant disorder and conflict in addition to natural disasters. Therefore, the lives of Korean and Chinese peasants in Manchuria were miserable. Kang Gyeongae, however, depicted the miserable lives of Korean peasants as lively while maintaining her left-wing stands.<sup>75</sup>

Her distance from Seoul, however, stemmed from a love affair she had with a writer before moving to Manchuria. Her lover was a married man. After their breakup she went to her hometown, but her family members and neighbors could not accept the love affair of an unmarried girl and a married man. She went to Manchuria to escape from the coldness of her family and friends, and her experiences there gave her an understanding of people in Manchuria. After returning to her hometown and publishing some novels and

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<sup>74</sup> “Bukhyang” was a regionally based literature club that had only 4 known members who did not participate in other literary clubs. In spite of their ideological similarities with other KAPF-oriented literature clubs, the possibilities of meeting were limited.

<sup>75</sup> Even she received some comments on her ideology-laden writings. According to Yi Cheong (1935: 23-4), Kang’s work was usually influenced by Marxist ideology.

criticism in the newspaper, she met another man and married him. However, he had a wife, who did not receive a westernized education. He left his wife behind in his hometown, but she appeared at their wedding ceremony. Therefore Kang Gyeongae and her husband could not live in her hometown, so they moved to Manchuria.

This regional isolation could be a good way to avoid the fallout from the metropolitan events of that time—particularly the collapse of KAPF. According to Maeda (2004: xii-xiii), the “singular and universal modernity” has been displayed in the division between the city and the countryside. The metropolitan area could be a place for the emergence and integration of literature, cultural materialism and urban planning and mapping. In other words, her regional remoteness from the metro allowed her to maintain her ideological stance until her death, due to the weak control of the Japanese colonial government in Manchuria.

The marriages, divorces, affairs, and remarriages of these women writers are not quite consistent with the image of *Jeolmeuneomeoni* (*Young Mother*) in their writing. Their lives also depart from the image of marriage portrayed in female anthologies. To understand or capture the image of marriage, I depend on some of the novels from anthologies. Of course, it is likely that these selections of material in anthologies were influenced by the perspective of the male editors. Some novels from anthologies also describe the ideal marriage somewhat differently from their remarriage. The work of female writer, Yi Seonhui, often explores themes of interests in marriage. In her novel *Yeonji* (*Facial Powder*) (Seonhui Yi 1939), the main character hates her stepson. When she agreed to marry her husband, who was a widower with one son, she thought she was ready to love and educate her stepson. However, as time went on, she finds that she

cannot stand being near her stepson for one more moment. One day, she has an urge to strangle him to death; she confesses these emotions to her ex-boyfriend, who still waits for her in spite of her marriage. She decides to leave her marriage with her daughter and her lover. When they arrive at an old hotel in a small town, her baby girl is sick because of a cold. Her lover tries to help her, but she feels uncomfortable accepting his help. She finally realizes that a step family is not a true family. Ironically, she gives the same constraints (stepdaughter) to her lover when she leaves them. Another novel, *Gyesanseo (The Receipt)* (Yi 1937), begins by portraying an ideal family. The husband and wife used to be an ideal couple; they loved each other and there was nothing to ruin their relationships. When she was pregnant, they happily dreamed of a nice family. However, when she loses her baby and one leg because of gestosis, she loses her confidence in herself as well. One night, when her husband wears a new tie and goes out hurriedly, she soliloquizes “my husband wears a new tie and chases a girl with two healthy legs” (Yi 1937: 106). She follows her husband but with one leg, she cannot catch him. Without a quarrel, she is just defeated. She leaves her home and goes to Manchuria.

These two Yi Seonhui novels, which appear in anthologies, deal with the family and lives of middle-class women. They received some westernized education and have some consciousness of women’s rights. Like Nora in Ibsen’s play, they have the courage to leave their marriages. Their problematic marriages, however, demonstrate the writer’s ideal image of family. The presence of stepchildren is an obstacle in ‘*Yeonji (Facial Powder)*,’ and in ‘*Gyesanseo (The Receipt)*’ an unhealthy body ruins a happy family. In *Yeonji (Facial Powder)*, the main character soliloquizes:

“If I marry Myeongje [her previous lover with no previous marriage or children], I don’t need to be a stepmother—if I marry him, I am not suffering from the horrible sin—the disability to be unable to love stepchildren. I would live happily loving my husband, my children with all my heart. Being a stepmother is an incurable disease.” (Seonhui Yi 1939: 147)

The image of an ideal couple with a bachelor and a maiden is also presented in Baek’s novel. The main female character turns down the proposal of a widower, because she believes she should marry a bachelor. However, “the happiest couple, this a virgin and a bachelor, soon dropped to the worst life, her husband is an alcoholic” (Baek 1939: 312). With broken pride and a pregnant body, she decides to work at the widower’s farm. She gives birth that day but her husband throws the baby girl to the wall while shouting “What’s the use of a girl? What a bitch, I don’t have food for her” (Baek 1939: 318). Ten days after her baby’s death, she works at the village religious ceremony and tastes some food. But the people in the village, who believe that sacred food should not be eaten until after the ceremony, beat her to death.

The ideal marriage and the virtues of the mother and wife are themes that run throughout and are continuously repeated in the three anthologies (e.g., Jang 1937; Jang 1939). Then why did Choi Jeonghui and Park Hwaseong decide to divorce and remarry someone who either had a wife and children or used to have them? I believe that their behaviors (including divorce, remarriage and changes in writing styles) should be interpreted as strategies to survive given their limited job and publication opportunities.

#### **(4) Canon Making, Canon Selection**

In order to understand other strategies deployed by female writers and their public stances and expressions, I choose to examine the canon. The canon itself has some significant meaning; for example, the chance to publish their works in an anthology demonstrates the success of these women in the early Korean literary field. In addition, the selection of their works indicates what kinds of works were welcomed in the colonial period. In an introduction to an anthology, the editor praised women writers' work and prayed that they would be memorialized for their achievements.

This book is a collection of recognized female literary magnates. These female literati chose their best work and with them this book is published. Therefore, these stories in this book are the essence of female literature and are all beautiful pieces. Through all ages, these beautiful flowers will never be blown away. Not only will those in the Korean literary world but also ordinary readers will praise this book as a monumental achievement in literature, I predict. (Hungu Yi 1939: 201).

More interestingly, an anthology entitled *Yeoryu danpyeon geoljakjip (Anthology of Female Writers' Short Stories)* is based on self-selection. Self-selection provides a good chance to interpret which work was considered the most polished one in the view of the writer. The year of publication—1939—is significant because it is after the collapse of KAPF and the remarriages of the women writers discussed here. It is interesting to see whether they chose more conservative pieces or whether their choices were totally different from their collaborative work—*Jeolmeuneomeoni (Young Mother)*. In addition, most general anthologies were not based on self-selection. Rather, the editor selected the best works of each author. Comparing female anthologies and general anthologies helps us to interpret the left-wing female writers' survival strategies after the collapse of KAPF.

The selections of Kang Gyeongae work, including those appearing in both women's anthologies and general anthologies, are characterized by stronger left-wing stances than the work of other women writers. Considering the year of publication and the social context, including the dissolution of KAPF, extensive imprisonment of Marxists, suppression of movement organizations, and even the start of the second Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945), Kang's ability to maintain her strong stance was aided by her relative remoteness in Manchuria where the Japanese government did not have enough power to control cultural production (Lee 2009).

Three of Kang's novels appear in anthologies. The first novel, *Jihachon* (*Underground Village*), is one of her most famous. In a poor village, the main character Chilseong is a lame person. According to his mother, when he was four, he had a minor fit and became lame. He falls in love with Keunnyeon, a blind girl who lives in his neighborhood. He wishes to marry her, but his physical handicap and his miserable economic conditions prevent him from proposing to her.

..he looked down at his arms. The arms that hung limp inside the tattered sleeves seemed to consist of no bones and no flesh, but only skin that looked greenish-yellow. (Kang 1983[1939 ]: 8)

All of his family members suffered from extreme conditions as well. His baby sister is constantly hungry and finally begins to eat her own body.

The baby also tilted its head to look at her oldest brother and spread out her hand. The baby's head was covered with sores and the sores oozed all the time. The baby's thin, light brown hair was pasted to the sores and flies always flew around her head. The baby kept pulling at her hair with her tiny fingers and ate the scabs that she tore from her head. (Kang 1983[1939]: 9-10)

Even his mother suffered from unspeakable health conditions:

She recalled the time she had thrashed barley the very next day she gave birth to Yongae. The sky looked yellow and swirled, and the ears of barley veered dizzily between big balls and tiny dots. Whenever she lifted or brought down the thresher something kept coming out from her nether parts. Later on she felt something heavy hanging between her legs, but she could not look at it or take care of it or anything, being afraid others might notice. When at last she looked at it in a lavatory, a lump of flesh as big as her fist was hanging down from her inside, and blood was all over her thighs. She was frightened but too ashamed to ask anybody about it, she left it as it was. The flesh still hung between her thighs and oozed. Because of this she was hotter in summer and she stank. In the winter it was worse; she ached all over and felt chilly as with an ague. If she walked far the lump burned as if on fire and it also got so inflamed and swelled up so that she couldn't walk. Swellings boiled up all over it, and as they festered and burst it pained her beyond description. But it was a pain she could not even talk about to anybody. (Kang 1983[1939]: 17-8)

Finally, Chilseong could not marry his love because a rich man from another village takes her as a surrogate mother and a concubine. The baby girl eventually dies because of her family's ignorance of hygiene and basic medical ideas.

“Oh, why doesn't this little girl go to sleep? Don't tear at your head like that. That little girl hasn't slept a wink for days. Kaettong's mother told me rat's skin was good for sores so I killed a mouse and plastered its skin on her head, but she keeps tearing at it like that. I guess it itches because it's healing. Don't you think?”

The cloth wrapped round the baby's head was about half torn off and maggots big as rice grains were crawling out of it.

“Oh, God! What has happened? What has happened?” His mother went over to the baby and snatched away the cloth. The rat skin came away at that, and from it dropped hordes of maggots bathed in blood.

“Baby! My Baby! Wake up! Oh, Wake up!” (Kang 1983[1939]: 36-7)



Originally, this novel contained a passage in which an intellectual teaches Chilseong that all suffering results from the capitalist society. However, this part was censored and omitted from this anthology.

Another novel, *Eodum (Darkness)* (Kang 1938[1937]) deals with the execution of eighteen communists. After this event, no one dares to mention their miserable stories, but Kang, using the voice of the character who is the sister of one of the dead communists, delivers the warnings on people's ignorance, indifference, and loss of their faith in communism.

The last novel from the general anthology is *Mayak (Opium)* (Kang 1938). An opium addicted husband brings his wife to a Chinese merchant. His wife, after being raped by this Chinese man, asks where her husband is.

“Did he go home yesterday?”

She asked suddenly. Master Jin, with delight, said

“He went, he went with money.”

She burst into tears because of the word—money. (Kang 1938: 154)

She hallucinates her baby's cry and decides to escape. But she is not able to return home and dies on the way. Although written by different writers, Choi Jeonghui (1939)'s '*Goksang (Lamentation)*' and Kang Gyeongae's *Mayak (Opium)* are quite similar. The main characters of these novels are opium addicts who sell family members for money. They were intended to portray the social conditions of ordinary people who wanted to earn money but had no job opportunities. Because they were unable to dream of a bright future, they began to destroy themselves with opium. By portraying these extreme situations, these communism-influenced writers tried to point out the problems of society. Implicitly (and more obviously in Choi's case) these novels criticized capitalist society.

In these three novels, we see Kang's love and concern for poor Korean peasants, as well as her ideological stance. Unlike other female writers, she explicitly expresses her ideology and tries to play the role of an intellectual in a capitalist society. However, the editors of general anthology did not select her strongly ideological work; rather, they chose work that portrayed more general life experiences in colonial society. What did the editors want to convey? The miserable conditions of poor people, social debauchery, the society that placed money before anything, or a warning of the danger of opium? Broadly understood, the story of the opium addict could be read as a critique of capitalism, but only in a very subtle way.

Park Hwaseong's novel *Chunso (A Spring Night)* is about a baby girl and her mother. The girl asks for some food, but there was no food in the house. Annoyed by her daughter's crying, the mother gives her a spanking and then feels very sad and guilty. The mother finally earns some money to buy her baby some rice cakes, but while her mother was preparing food, the baby falls in the latrine by mistake and dies. The family and neighbors asked the doctor and the police to look at the baby, but they did not respond to their requests because the mother and her neighbors were poor and powerless.

This novel is the only novel that appears in both female anthologies. Park had written more than 35 novels, including six full-length novels, by 1937.<sup>76</sup> Why did both she and the editor of these anthologies choose the novel *Chunso (A Spring Night)* over others? Park had won several literary contests with her other novels, but these prize-winning novels were not published in anthologies. Furthermore, although *Chonso (A*

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<sup>76</sup> After her remarriage, she could not continue her writing until Korean emancipation. Although there were several explanations, after her second marriage, her household duties increased extremely; she had to prepare many business dinners, and several ancestor memorial rites, raise three children, and take care of sick parent-in-laws (Park 2004[1964]).

*Spring Night*) does portray the hard lives of Korean families, it is not the novel that best embodies her ideology, and it cannot be considered an example of KAPF literature aimed at persuading the masses. Rather, this novel seems to pay more attention to the image of the strong mother (Byeon 2001: 123-125) and it vividly portrays the sadness of mothers who lose their children. The selection of this novel may reflect her distance from KAPF as well as the editors' desire to emphasize that female literature should deal with the lives of individual women—especially strong mothers.

In the general anthology, Park's novel *Hangui (The God of Drought)* (1938[1935]) seems different from her other famous works. A very religious man faces severe drought and gradually loses his belief in God. The novel deals with the miserable conditions of peasants and their lives without water. When the peasants meet an American priest, they ask why they have to experience this severe drought. The priest responds:

“Brothers, repent your sins. God is angry because of your sins. Please remember Sodom and Gomorrah who were destroyed by fire because of their sins. We are close to end of the world. Brothers, you should repent and pray from your hearts. God is love, he will give rain soon” (Park 1938[1935]: 66-7).

The peasants ask what their sins are, and try to beat him to death. After more than one year of drought their dog attacks his daughter and wife, and he shouts “Shit, who puts me through hell like this? I don't have any sin. Why do you try to kill me? Why?” (Park 1938[1935]: 76-77). Finally, he loses his belief in God while still suffering from hunger.

Park's personal experiences of priests, Christian schools, and missionaries and their wives were somewhat ambivalent. Many New Women, who were educated in

missionary schools, built strong connections with them, received financial support from them, and used these networks to find jobs as teachers in other missionary schools or to study abroad. But according to her autobiography (Park 2004[1964]), Park did not have strong relationships with missionary wives, and she did not work at Christian schools. Unlike her friends who did sewing for missionary wives to earn some money, Park only met missionary wives at official events. Since she did not seem particularly religious, why did she decide to write about Christian peasants and their relationship with God? In addition, a critic evaluated that in this novel Park failed to describe how a natural disaster affects lives by their class (Yi 1935: 27). This means this novel did not contain her socialist ideology.

More interestingly, why did the editor include this novel in the anthology? To answer this question, we should examine other novels from the general anthology. Women writers were expected to write about women (Hong 1933a; Hong 1933b; P.W. 1935; Yi 1935).<sup>77</sup> Most novels from that anthology deal with women's experiences with family, marriage and the modern world (Sinae Baek 1938; Jeonghui Choi 1938; Jang 1938; Kang 1938; Kim 1938; Yi 1938).<sup>78</sup> Although each novel has a different plot, family-related themes run through them all.

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<sup>77</sup> Male editors seem to consider that it would be even better if women's novel could portray the role of educated women. Roh Cheonmyeong's (1939) *Sawoli (Born in April)* conveys the ideal path and obligations of New Women. Although she was better known as a poet, this women's anthology includes her short story due to this favorable theme. As a graduate of a female high school, she hired a girl to help with her housework while she was out. When this high school graduate met a girl who had experienced every hardship and was full of hatred and mistrust, this new woman wants to educate, cultivate and help her to become a nice person. She also wants the girl to meet a nice man and marry him. The new woman loves her and cares for her with a warm heart, but the girl leaves her home without even writing a note.

<sup>78</sup> Baek Sinae's (1938) *Jeokbin (Red Poverty)* is the story of a powerless old mother. With two useless sons, the mother lives under extreme poverty. When both daughter-in-laws were expecting babies, they do not have food. After the mother assisted the birth, she was happy but hungry. This story deals with the extreme poverty of people who don't have a chance to have any dream. Jang Deokjo's *Changbakhan Anjae (White*

These topics are especially obvious in Choi Jeonghui's novels. Although Choi used to be a left-wing writer, she turned away from her left-wing stance and adopted a nationalist approach. Following her political orientation, her novels' topics, plots and characters changed as well. Instead of portraying poor peasants and exploring social issues, she turned her attention to marital problems and the experiences of widows. As I already mentioned, one novel from the women's anthology tells the story of an opium addict (Choi 1939). A husband who had promised to earn money in Manchuria returned as an opium addict without a penny. In addition, he sometimes lied and tricked his wife to get some money and even stole her customers' laundry, which she washed, dried and ironed to earn their living. Finally he sold his son to an opium dealer who tricked him into believing that a rich family wanted to adopt a boy. However, the opium dealer sold his son to someone who wanted to eat a child's liver to cure a fatal disease.

This slight insight into society diminished in other short stories from other anthologies. One is *Hyungga (The Haunted House)* (Choi 1937) and the other is *Sanje*

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*Mist* (1938) is about a woman who had worked in Seoul and dreamed of becoming the wife of a rich man. Sunni was born and raised in a small village, but sent to Seoul to earn money and get some education. She worked like a dog but she was happy until her madam found her pregnant and sent her back home. She dreamed of going back to Seoul and thought she would marry a nice man and live well. But her imagination became a delusion as she started to believe she had a nice husband and a strict mother-in-law. She tries to go Seoul but dies in a traffic accident. The main character of Yi Seonhui's *Maesobu (The Woman Who Sells Smile)* (1938)'s, Chaegum is a Geisha with 13 years' experience. She started to work to support her family—mother, younger brother, his wife and his children. But when his wife helped to serve a glass of water to Chaegum's customers, the brother was angry because Confucian belief dictated that men and women should keep away from each other. Furthermore, when Chaegum's mother supports his brother's position, Chaegum feels betrayed. She decides to commit suicide, and searches for a man who will commit a double suicide. When she visits a promising candidate's house, she finds a plain and happy wife. She finally acknowledges her status as a Geisha, is beneath that of any wife. *Gohang (Sufferings)* (Kim 1938) is a humorous story of a husband's love affair. When he is in his mistress's house, his wife visits and asks to spend one night with his mistress. He hides himself inside a small closet and regrets that he introduced his mistress to his wife as a sister of his close friend. This closet is too small to move, and he is on the verge of peeing in his pants. When he decides to pretend to be a robber, hiding his face with one hand and his penis with the other hand, his wife leaves the house. He was very relieved and followed her to their home. Adultery is a very popular topic in Kim's work. Another work of her novel, *Pyeonji (Letter)* (Kim 1937) is about a wife's doubt and misunderstanding of her husband's adultery which originated from a letter from the sender's name which seems female.

*(Ritual for Mountain)* (Jeonghui Choi 1938). *Hyungga (The Haunted House)* is a story of a woman writer who also works at a newspaper. She finally buys her own house for her family and herself. She loves her house, but everyone says it is haunted. That night, she has a nightmare and a mask in her room seems to move. This story received a good review for its detailed portrayal of the fear and worry of a widow. Choi's social concerns, however, seem greatly diminished in this novel. Similarly, *Sanje* could have been a politically oriented novel, but the author limited herself in the description of the young bride's personal fear of her strong, heavy, and one-eyed husband. Jjoggan is a new bride. In exchange for barley and rice, her parents send her to her new husband's family. The first night, she was very frightened, and her husband's heavy legs become the most horrible things in her life. She continuously dreams of leaving this house, and when she watches her husband kill a pig, she thinks she will die the same way. To eliminate this possibility, she burns down the husband's room. After being sentenced to six years of imprisonment, she feels relieved and hopes that her parents will pay back the rice and barley before she is released.

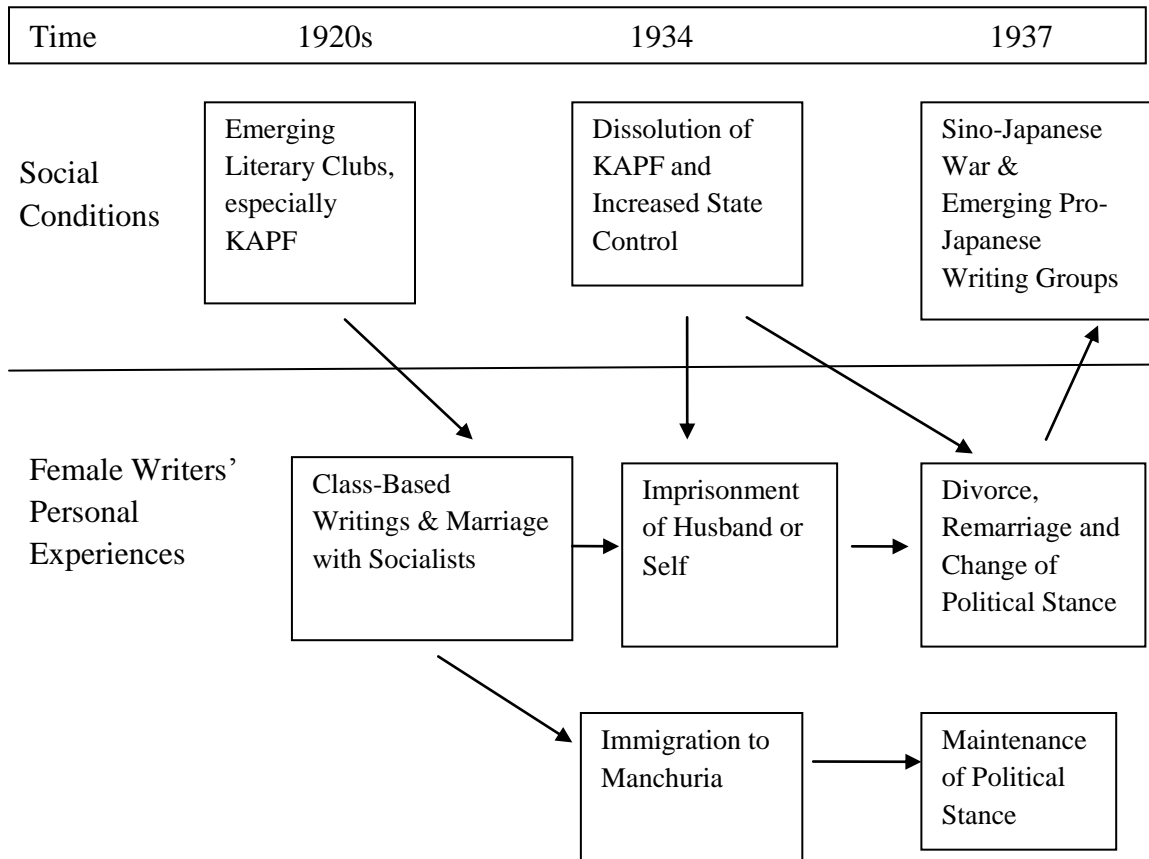
As we can observe in these anthologies, the selection of left-wing writers' pieces seems to respond to social and male expectation. Although these second-generation women writers received more favorable reviews from male writers than their predecessors did, their work appearing in anthologies was not class-conscious and proletarian literature. Rather, these works portrayed the role, and experiences of poor mothers and widows. Portrayals of intellectual leaders and messages of social reformation do not show up their works despite of their popularity as left-wing writers. This tendency is clear when we compare these pieces with their earlier collaborative

work *Jeolmeuneomeoni* (*Young mother*) (Choi 1933b; Kang 1933; Jahye Kim 1933; Park 1933a; Song 1933). In less than five years, what happened to these left-wing female writers?

These three female left-wing writers, Kang Gyeongae, Park Hwaseong, and Choi Jeonghui, could not become members of KAPF, despite their class-consciousness-based writing and their dreams of social revolution. After the collapse of KAPF and under intense censorship, Choi Jeonghui married a nationalist writer who published the popular magazine, *Samcheonri*, and began to write about women's experiences on marriage and widowhood. Later, she participated in collaborative works and was criticized as a pro-Japanese writer. Park Hwaseong's writing also changed after her divorce from her Marxist husband. She even stopped writing until Korea's emancipation. After liberation and the Korean War (1950-1953), she returned to the literary arena and started to write. From this time forward, her writing grew more mass-market oriented. Obviously, the South Korean government explicitly prohibited left-wing writings. However, instead of choosing not to write anything, she returned to writing—especially popular novels. Finally, Kang Gyeongae was the only writer to maintain her political stance until her death in 1944. Living in a remote place, far from the censorship of the Japanese governments, she did not face the danger of her husband's imprisonment. When Park Hwaseong's first husband stayed in Manchuria and Park tried to divorce him, Kang sent a letter to Park asking her to move to Manchuria and not to divorce. If marrying an established publisher and securing her place under his influence was Choi's choice, staying with a proletariat husband and writing class-conscious novels was Kang's

strategy for success in the limited literary field. Park, though, chose economic affluence over her class-based writing.

Figure IV.2 Social Conditions and Personal Experiences of Left-wing Female Writers



In this chapter, I have outlined four strategies of second-generation women writers. The first one was to distance themselves from the first generation and to use their literature for ideological purposes. As left-wing writers, they could evade the criticism of the literature itself—as art for art’s sake. The purpose of proletariat literature was explicitly to portray the problems of capitalist societies and to persuade the masses to participate in labor and peasant movements. The second strategy was to write fiction that



conformed to male intellectuals' conservative values regarding sexual behaviors and free love. Unlike the writers themselves, the main characters from their publications demonstrate class consciousness without violating the ideal role of mother. The third strategy is a more practical one. After the collapse of the KAPF, they either divorced their husbands and remarried bourgeois men, or moved outside of Korea. Finally, as time went on, their selections in anthologies became free of class-consciousness and conformed more closely to male writers' expectations of "womanly" works.

My arguments are not intended to blame the second-generation writers for their strategic choices. My goal is to show how they escaped the first generations' harsh experiences and social criticism by using effective strategies to survive and even maintain their popularity in the literary world.

## **5. Conclusion**

How can we understand the literary women of colonial Korea? Despite the success of some women writers, it is difficult to conclude that the literary field of colonial Korea was egalitarian when it came to gender. Above all, the simple fact that just 6 percent of writers (only 19 out of 288) were women makes us doubt the egalitarian nature of the field. In his critical work of the literary history of Korea, Baek Cheol (1949: 336) suggests that female writers were constrained by the "feudalistic family arrangement and (social) environment." Similarly, even successful female writers such as Choi Jeonghui testified that unfair practices were pervasive:

When we look closely at the literary field or society in general, while pretending to give privilege to women, males indeed do not give us any chance, or share the stage with us. Male writers monopolize occupational opportunities. They treat female writers like parasites (Samcheonri Feb 1936: 222).

Similarly, another female writer, Mo Yunsuk complained that reviewers tended to be more critical of a work when they knew it was written by a woman (Samcheonri Feb 1936: 222). Although these female writers were not fundamentally critical of gender inequality (Shim 2006c: 232), they did not have to be feminists to see the gender inequality of the literary practices of the time. These unfair practices discouraged women from seriously considering writing as an occupational prospect. The small figure of 6 percent speaks loudly in this regard.

Furthermore, even after women became acknowledged as writers, they were generally classified as *yeoryu* (literally, woman stream or current) writers. As Baek Cheol (1949: 336) admits, there was no convincing reason to segregate female writers into a special group, except for the conventions of the literary field at that time. Not only the segregation but also the derogation was widely accepted.

At least, in order to be called a literary writer, he/she should have a wide range of knowledge such as politics, economics, philosophy, and religion.... Among the so-called female writers, few have this kind of quality from the start, so that it is rather a waste of time even to talk about the decline of women's literary field. Have we even ever had one? (Yun 1934)

Such evaluative statements appeared so frequently in newspapers and magazines that they seemed to represent a consensus (For more examples, see Hong 1933a; Hong 1933b; P.W. 1935; Yi 1935.). Even when female writers' works were lauded, they were usually

appreciated for being widely popular (rather than literary novels) (Cheol Baek 1938), for aptly representing women's sentiments (Choi Jaeseo 1938), or for showing some possibility of going beyond "mere" womanly works (Kim Sangyong 1933). In a similar vein, popular novels were considered to be written to flatter female students' vanity (Baek 1949: 332). At the same time, female students were encouraged to write more "womanly" works (Samcheonri 1936 Feb: 221). Similarly, in the introductory remarks to his collection of women's traditional poems, Kim Eok (1944: 4-5) complained that the poems of the former ruling-class women had been too influenced by the Chinese classics to express the authors' inner feelings. As Tuchman's (1989) analysis shows, this double standard functions as a significant entry barrier to the literary field. Indeed, female writers did experience barriers. For example, my data show that they usually belonged to less diverse literary groups than their male counterparts. This result is consistent with testimony from female writers:

In fact, in our [Korean] literary field, it is rare for male and female writers to gather together. Although I know the male writers very well through their works, I have scarcely met them in person (Jang Deokjo); even when we actually meet them, we just manage to match faces with their names like travelers asking directions. So, we can hardly know their personalities very well (Samcheonri 1936 Feb: 230).

This gendered segregation of the literary field significantly limited the female writers' scope of interpersonal relationships. Through this mechanism, male writers could restrict entry to the literary field to only a few undeniably good women writers, who were then patronized and gossiped about.

Under these circumstances, the second generation of female left-wing writers used several strategies to survive. When they entered the literary field, they had already witnessed the miserable fates of the first-generation women. Learning from their mistakes, they chose to construct a strong personal safety net and did not dare to argue for free love or against the obligations of marriage. They criticized and distanced themselves from the first generation of female writers, saying they were “void of works, and only have name or reputation.” These writers supported KAPF men’s concern about the purity and virtue of women, as seen in their collaborative serialized novel; *Jeolmeun eomeoni* (*Young Mother*). Instead of conflicting with male intellectuals, they demonstrated the role of a good Marxist wife. However, when the Marxist movement weakened and the KAPF collapsed two of the three female writers I follow in this chapter divorced their Marxist husbands and remarried influential and rich bourgeois men.

Although these women had to change their political identities and the topics they explored in their writings, they did not experience the miserable ends of the first generation. They survived as women and as writers. Ironically, however, the first-generation writers they tried to distance themselves from are now receiving more critical attention, particularly from feminists who want to shed light on their miserable ends. The relative indifference of contemporary critics does not mean that these women’s strategic behaviors were not feministic enough. As I have pointed out, given the limited publication market and the exclusivity of literary groups, their slightly conservative stances made it possible for them to maintain their reputations. In addition, they succeeded in drawing some attention to their work rather than becoming notorious for their personal lives. Furthermore, as history demonstrates, marriage can also be a very

political gesture and a way to establish familial bonds and strategic alliances. These writers used their marriages to enter the networks of both the KAPF and the nationalist writers. Moreover, because of the stable economic conditions provided by their membership in a family, they could concentrate on their work—unlike the first-generation writers who were discarded from their families. From the failures of the first generation, the second generation female writers had to learn several strategies. If they wanted to survive, they could not be radical feminists. Instead they pretended to follow the ideal role model of wise mothers and good wives.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion: Being Women, Being the Colonized

#### 1. Summary

While I was searching through some recently published Korean-related books, I found a very interesting autobiographical novel written by the son of Kim Ilyeop, who was one of our three New Women (Kim 2008). This writer, as a son of Kim Ilyeop and the scion of an aristocratic Japanese family, was abandoned at birth because of the unfortunate ending of his parents' love affair. Fifteen years later, according to his book, when he visited his mother at her temple, she said, "You should call me monk, not mother." Later he became a Buddhist like his mother. When I read reviews of this book, I felt some sadness about the repetition and circulation of Kim Ilyeop's personal stories for the purpose of advertising her son's book. Even her son used her story as an effective advertising tool by evoking the idea of *the lost mother*.

In this dissertation, I tried to follow the lives and works of writers. Colonial modernity, itself, has suffered insufficiencies from birth. The absence of ways for the colonized to participate in the political structure led them to find another sphere in which to practice their modern knowledge and lifestyles. In studying this situation, I chose to

focus my research on a group of writers who demonstrated several conflicts and struggles. At first, following the change from Chinese literature to Korean vernacular literature, they had to find a market and readers who were able to read and understand their westernized and modern literature. At the same time, they also hoped to deliver the idea of nationalism and national identity to the masses—with the hope of nation building. It was mostly male writers who constructed this literary field—market, readers, and even materials. However, they found that they also needed some female writers in the literary arena in order to follow the western [ideal] model. Because the nation needed enlightened women as mothers and wives and the western literary model called for women writers, male intellectuals encouraged women to become educated (i.e., westernized).

However, the first generation of female writers, who were inspired by western feminism, was not satisfied with the submissive role of serving as the nation mothers and wives. They tried to obtain the human rights and liberation that men usually enjoyed. Male intellectuals could not bear the spread of these radical ideas and did their best to diminish the influence of the New Women's liberal behaviors. In addition, economic conditions meant that the colony did not have much room for even male intellectuals; it could not afford to provide more than a handful of women writers to sufficient income to survive independently. With these insufficient economic resources and the social pressure of male intellectuals, the regulation of lavish New Women succeeded. Several New Women were ostracized by the literary community and even died miserably.

Under these circumstances, some of the second-generation New Women learned their lesson from their sisters and they found several safety nets to maximize their chances for success. As Table V.1 demonstrates, the first rule when publishing their

works was to follow the invisible guidelines of male intellectuals in spite of their liberal life styles. To understand these guidelines and the female writers' obedience, this dissertation collected several anthologies to evaluate which works were considered canonical by both male intellectuals and second-generation female writers. In addition, female writers' serialized novels provided another example of what kind of mother and wife model should be publically portrayed. Second-generation New Women learned not to break taboos, unlike first-generation New Women such as Na Hyeseok, whose "I hon go bak jang (Confessions of a Separation)" (1934) argued that having love affairs strengthens the love of a married couple. The second rule was to be careful not to lose economic support by using several methods—marriage, getting secure jobs, and so on. These strategically different life choices led some women to be memorialized and others to be seen as lavish and unrespectable.

Table V.1 The Reasons for Female Writers' Success and Failure in the Literary Field

	Three New Women and Other Radical Women	Successful Left-wing Writers
Economic Safety Net	Failure to find economic resources	Find support through marriage or membership in powerful groups
Affairs and Multiple Marriages	Yes	Yes
Publication of Radical Arguments	Strongly present in magazines	Self-censorship, moderate tone
Outcomes	Ostracized	Memorialized

While male intellectuals, mainly writers, tried to regulate and repress women's desire to obtain individual rights as human beings, they also suffered from their own position as the colonized. Colonized men are usually understood as nationalists who direct and



control women and regulate society in the interest of nation building. Although they were main characters in the male-centered society, the relative superiority of men was lost in the face of the empire's power. Whether nationalists or collaborators, they had been demoted from the center to the periphery with the start of colonization. Under this newly structured society, their endeavors to strengthen their position were expressed in their relationships with women, both Japanese and Korean. As already mentioned, the control of Korean women was successful and consistent with the dynamics of other colonial societies. However, the racial similarities of the Japanese and Koreans, as well as Japanese social policies, offered Korean male intellectuals a way to subvert the colonial power relationship. Using the power of their gender, Korean men tried to control and degrade Japanese women in their literature. In expressing their imagination and self-satisfaction in novels, Korean male writers ironically revealed their own weakness as the colonized.

Ironically, the success or failure at that time did not directly reflect the current evaluations and interests on female writers. Although she was harshly criticized when she was alive, the favorable reevaluation of Na by later generations can be found in several places. Several Television documentaries have been made for the memorization of her life-time achievements. As usually observed in history, evaluations of writers have constantly changed according to the conditions and needs of successive time periods. Because of her historical place as the first female modern painter and the advocate of women's rights, Korean mass media favored her experiences over other female writers. Na Hyeseok has been placed in a unique historical niche because of the subsequent ascendance of feminism in South Korea. Although her works are, surely, mentioned

because of several awards she received in her life-time, the usual main focus in these television programs is her marriage experiences and her strong feminist arguments most evident in “The confession of Divorce” (Na 1934). However, studies on the majority of the female writers of that time are limited within the context of colonial literature and do not extend beyond that. Despite the fact that these women adopted several successful strategies and achieved some successes, Korean literary studies have neglected to pay them any serious scholarly attention. As a sociologist, a global assessment of Korean literary criticism is beyond my ability and, moreover, my interests. It seems certain, however, that the female writers from the colonial period are overlooked, despite their achievements in literary field.

The literary field in colonial Korea was one place where these struggles and controls took place. In one way, male and female writers produced their work as tools to deliver their ideologies to contribute to nation building, construct social norms, and provide competing ideal role models. At the same time, the frequencies of publication and the selection of canonical works also served as tools to regulate female writers.

Throughout this dissertation, I tried not to fall into the trap of reproducing standardized images of colonized women and colonized men. The colonized women were truly regulated by the male-centered society and its nation building project; however, as generations passed, they started to find their own survival strategies. At the same time, the colonized men repressed women but were themselves vulnerable because of their own colonized position. In order to demonstrate their superiority, they had to suppress Korean women more severely, and they also strengthened their position by winning Japanese women who frequently fell in love with them because of their intellectual abilities,

sincerity, and even fortune. In this dissertation, I tried to revisit and reconsider the lives and experiences of the colonized keeping in mind the dual insecurity of being colonized and being women.

## **2. Contributions to Scholarship**

This study primarily challenges the lack of attention to women's subjectivities in studies of gendered nationalism. Admittedly, the male-dominated society controlled women's rights, determined the ideal role model for women, and regulated them successfully. Still, we should try to search out the subjectivities of women in the period of nation building. In this dissertation, I compare the miserable cases of the first generation and the success of women from the second generation of New Women (especially writers), paying particular attention to the second generation's strategic choices. These New Women endeavored to recover their subjectivities in a colonial context using several strategies: including self-critiques in their published works, and maintaining social networks.

Studies on Korean writers, whether they are female or male, have mainly focused on the topics derived from traditional literature criticism such as those based on classifications along the presumed lines of political ideologies and literary trends. In this study, my question originates from a slightly different position. Although many writers are the material for this study, research questions do not intend to answer the questions of professional successes or failures per se. Rather, from the perspective that canon could change according to social and historical conditions, this study raises the question of how

they archived their positions compared to their unsuccessful counterparts. This study does not assume that every female writer's writings were equally successful from the perspective of literary criticism. Rather in the emerging literary field, the question of who had the opportunity to publish their works and ideas through a handful of magazines and newspapers made indelible marks on Korean literary history. Six writers, despite the different volume of works, had received positive evaluations and interests from many male writers and literary circles. When did they receive favorable comments and when did they not? Under an economically limited publication market and colonial power struggles, how did they choose their supporters? From the unavoidable nationalistic sentiments and predetermined political landscapes, evaluations of many Korean writers were confined to questions such as who were nationalists or collaborators, were they socialists or nationalists. This experimental study hoped to provide other possible sets of questions on Korean literature not only for understanding the Korean literary field as a field of cultural production in a Bourdieuan sense, but also for a more vivid portrayal of colonial intellectuals under the influences of empire.

In addition, in this comparison between the first generation and the second generation, the nationalist group and the left-wing group, I hope to challenge the old and stubborn perspectives of Korean studies. Because of their entirely different ideological backgrounds and Korean-specific contexts—the Korean War (1950-53) and the division of Korea, these two groups are usually not studied together. As a result, the first generation of women writers and the second-generation left-wing writers have been seen as separate groups who did not have much to do with each other. But the second-

generation's strategic choices did not fall from heaven; rather, the second-generation New Women learned lessons from their predecessors.

At the same time, I hope this study provides a chance to rethink the woman question in a broader context. When focusing on women's issues, it is hard to discover huge differences among nationalists, communists, and even the colonial government. Although their arguments and goals were different, their ideal women shared the same characteristics—they were educated, knowledgeable, practical, and submissive. Despite their politically antagonistic positions, these three groups shared “scientific” knowledge and supported each other's gender politics. I hope that this study demonstrates that categories should be flexible and may change according to historical conditions and interests.

This emphasis on the subjectivities of women and their connections despite differences in their ideological backgrounds could be applied to other case studies as well. The perspective that women are the controlled, has always run the risk of suppressing their subjectivity in history and society. But at the same time, we should not overcorrect and suggest that women are not controlled. This is the double-edged problem of women's studies. In this case study, by combining the personal history and the public presentation of women, I hope to show one way to recover the subjectivity of women.

### **3. Limitations and Future Research**

This study could be enriched by including the female workers who experienced being the colonized and being women in different places. Factory workers, who moved

from their hometowns to big cities and from an agricultural society to a market-centered society, observed first-hand the new culture of consumption as well as New Women. How did these factory workers, who were less educated but living under the influence of the urban consumption culture, experience this transition from the first to the second generation of New Women? What were their strategies for surviving in this gendered colonial society? These questions should be answered in the future.

Other stories, I hope to delve into in the near future, include the actual experiences of the Japanese wives of Korean men, both in Korea and Japan. In this dissertation, although I collected some numerical data of mixed marriages, the main focus of this study was how male writers imagined the Japanese women in their literature and tried to place them inside of the imperial order. In the future, I would like to investigate how successful these endeavors were. In addition, these mixed marriages should be compared with cases of western and native marriages, especially those involving western wives and colonized men. The black-and-white distinction in the western context and the “yellowness” in Japanese empire could produce different logics of control and resistance. These comparative studies offer us the opportunity to enrich our knowledge of the weapons of the colonized in each historical and structural setting.

Finally, I plan to investigate how and why the lives and experiences of Japanese and Korean New Women differed. Japanese New Women, in spite of their radical behaviors and the similar ways in which they were regulated in Japan, did not experience the miserable deaths of their Korean counterparts (Lowy 2007; Moon 2003; Morley 1999; Sato 2003). The size of the literary market, their familial backgrounds, and the more amicable environment of Japan for New Women could be considered. What difference

did the colonial context make for Korean New Women? With similar historical backgrounds and cultures, why did Japanese New Women and writers experience more freedom than Korean New Women and writers? I plan to investigate these questions in future research.

### Appendix.1 List of Literary Clubs

Name	Date of Activity	The Number of Leading Members
Changjo	1919-1921	11
Pyeheo	1920-1921	11
Geukyesulhyeophui	1920-1923	10
Jangmichon	1921	8
Baekjo	1922-1923	11
Towolhoe	1922-1931	11
Geumseong	1923-1924	9
Paseuculla	1923-1925	10
Yeomgyunsa	1923-1925	8
Yeongdae	1924-1925	11
Pyeheoihu	1924	13
Munuhoe	1925-1927	10
KAPF	1325-1934	34
Haoemunhakeonghui	1926-1927	16
Baekchi	1928	4
Musanjasa	1929-1931	5
Simunhak	1930	9
Geukyesulyeonguhoe	1931-1939	11
Guinhoe	1933	14
Samsamunhak	1934-1935	13
Sigeonseol	1935	22
Changjak	1935	6
Siinburak	1936-1937	12
Nangman	1936	8
Siinchunchu	1937-1938	10
Jaoseon	1937	13
Baekji	1939	2
Sihak	1939	21
Sunmunye	1939	4
Sirim	1939	6



## Appendix 2. List of Professional Literary Journals

Name	Date of Publication	The Number of Major Contributions
<i>Saengjang</i>	1925	8
<i>Joseonmundan</i>	1924-1926, 1927, 1935	34
<i>Munyeundong</i>	1926	11
<i>Munyesidae</i>	1926-1927	25
<i>Yesulundong</i>	1927	7
<i>Wongosidae</i>	1928	3
<i>Joseonsidan</i>	1928-1934	8
<i>Sinsidan</i>	1928	2
<i>Munyeonglon</i>	1923	23
<i>Sinsoseol</i>	1929-1930	13
<i>Joseonmunye II</i>	1929	16
<i>Eumakgwasi</i>	1930	12
<i>Munywolgan</i>	1931-1932	32
<i>Munhakgeonseol</i>	1932	9
<i>Yeongeukundong</i>	1932-1933	8
<i>Munhak I</i>	1932-1936	2
<i>Munhak II</i>	1934	17
<i>Munhakchangjo</i>	1934	13
<i>Sininmunhak</i>	1934-1936	21
<i>Hyeongsang</i>	1934	16
<i>Siwon</i>	1935	24
<i>Pungrim</i>	1936-1937	28
<i>Mak</i>	1936	4
<i>Joseonmunhak</i>	1936-1939	11
<i>Munhak III</i>	1936	11
<i>Bukhyang</i>	1936	3
<i>Ah</i>	1938	1
<i>Maek</i>	1938-1939	12
<i>Bakmun</i>	1938-1941	10
<i>Samcheonrimunhak</i>	1938	39
<i>Jakpum</i>	1939	8
<i>Unggye</i>	1939	4
<i>Munjang</i>	1939-1941	39
<i>Inmunpyeongron</i>	1939-1941	14

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