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**TRANSLATING CULTURE, RATHER THAN
LANGUAGE: NARRATING THE (KOREAN)
NATION IN OTHER LANGUAGE(S);
(EXAMPLES OF CHANG REA LEE,
EUNY HONG AND KRYS LEE)¹**

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Abstract: This article will concentrate on three major topics. The first one will be connected with the idea of globalization and universalism in relation to national cultural and literary canons. The second one will discuss the possibility of how the national language and literature can stay authentic and universal, that how it can remain simultaneously appreciated as a work of

¹ This work was supported by the Seed Program for Korean Studies through the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2018-INC-20180060).

difference and an artefact of universal value. This calls for the introduction of the main topic which is the realm of translation, especially translation understood as a trans-creation, that is the re-creation of one literary world within (an)other cultural discourse, being it in a different language, or even uttered in a new *lingua franca*, which today is English. That means that the other nation can also be narrated in English, but in an English used by others for their own purposes, sometimes only commercial but other times purposely chosen as the tool of contra-hegemonic statement(s), having their own purposes and ways. How we can trans-create that in reading is of the utmost importance for interpretation. At the end of this essay we will see how that reflects on both the *otherness* of authentic culture (in this case study Korean) as well as English speaking discourse and English as an authentic language and the tool of trans-creating and disseminating the idea of literature as a global entity (or/and system).

Key words: global literary paradigm; world-literature; Korean literature as world-literature; local and global identifications; translation and transcreation; world-literature-system and canon; uneven development; inclusion(s); shared identities; “in betweenness”; naturalization and appropriation.

언어가 아닌 문화번역: 다른 언어로의 한민족 서술하기; (이창래, 유니 홍 그리고 크리스 리의 예)

초록: 이 논문은 세 가지 주제에 집중한다. 첫째, 민족문화 그리고 문학 규범과 관련된 세계화 및 보편주의와 관련된 것이다. 둘째, 민족어와 민족문학이 어떻게 진정성 있고 보편적으로 유지될 수 있는지, 어떻게 차이를 가진 작품인 동시에 보편적 가치의 인공물로 동시에 평가될 수 있는지에 대한 가능성에 대해 논할 것이다. 이는 번역의 영역이라 할 수 있는 주요 주제, 특히 창작번역으로 이해되는 번역, 즉 오늘날 영어와 같은 다른 언어로 된 다른 문화 담론 내에서 하나의 문학세계 재창조의 도입을 요구한다. 즉, 다른 국가도 영어로 서술될 수 있지만, 다른 사람들이 자신의 목적을 위해 사용하는 영어로, 때로 상업적으로 사용되지만 또 다른 경우에 있어서는 의도적으로 정반대의 헤게모니적 진술을 위한 도구로 선택되는 고유한 목적과 방식을 가지고 있음을 의미한다. 해석에 있어서 그것을 어떻게 변형시킬 수 있는가 하는 측면이 가장 중요하다 할 것이다. 이 논문의 끝부분에서는 그것이 진정한 문화(이 경우에는 한국문화 연구를 의미함)와 영어로 말하는 담론 그리고 원래의 언어로서의 영어, 그리고 문화의 개념을 재창조하고 전 세계적인 독립체(또는 시스템)로서의 문학을 보급하는 도구로서의 *타자성*을 반영하는 방법을 살펴볼 것이다.

핵심어: 글로벌 문학 패러다임; 세계문학; 세계문학으로서의 한국문학; 지역적 그리고 세계적 인지; 번역과 재창조; 세계문학 체계와 규범;

불균등한 발전; 포용; 공유된 정체성; “매개를 통하여”; 이입(移入)과
전용(轉用).

**POZAJĘZYKOWE ODNIESIENIA PRZEKŁADU KULTUROWEGO:
OPISUJĄC NARÓD (KOREAŃSKI) W INNYCH JĘZYKACH
(NA PRZYKŁADACH TWÓRCZOŚCI CHANG REA LEE, EUNY
HONG I KRYS LEE)**

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł koncentruje się wokół trzech głównych założeń. Pierwsze odnosi się do idei globalizacji i uniwersalizmu w kontekście narodowych kanonów kultury i literatury. Drugie analizuje możliwości zachowywania autentyczności i uniwersalności przez język i literaturę narodową, z ich jednoczesnym docenieniem jako dzieł powstałych w wyniku różnic i jako przedmiotów o wartościach uniwersalnych. Stanowi to wprowadzenie do głównego tematu – królestwa przekładu, rozumianego w szczególności jako transkreacja, tj. stworzenie na nowo świata literackiego wewnątrz innego dyskursu kulturowego, zapisanego bądź wypowiedzianego w innym języku, także w języku angielskim traktowanym jako *lingua franca*. Oznacza to, że inne narody mogą także być opisywane w języku angielskim, jednak takim angielskim, który jest stosowany przez pozostałe osoby dla ich własnych określonych celów, czasem jedynie komercyjnym lecz czasem celowo wybranym jako narzędzie wypowiedzi kontr-hegemonicznych, z ich określonymi celami i sposobami. Zatem dla przekładu najważniejszym jest ustalenie jak można oddać te założenia w transkreacji tekstu. Koniec wywodu prezentuje wpływ takiego założenia na zarówno *odmienność* kultury wyjściowej (w tym przypadku koreańskiej) jak i dyskurs anglojęzyczny, język angielski jako język wyjściowy i narzędzie transkreacji oraz rozpowszechnianie idei literatury jako globalnej jedni (lub/i systemu).

Słowa kluczowe: globalny paradygmat literacki; literatura światowa; literatura koreańska jako literatura światowa; identyfikowanie się lokalne i globalne; przekład i transkreacja; kanon i system literatury światowej; nierówny rozwój; inkluzja i inkluzje; tożsamości współdzielone; „bycie pomiędzy”; naturalizacja i zawłaszczenie.

1. Introduction: Ideas of “dislocated” literature, interviewing traditions and global citizenship(s)

Before we start discussing the first topic, it would be necessary to say few words about the authors chosen as examples of this complex

“dislocated” situation. They are both Korean and American, they both belong and not-belong to two cultures. As Homi Bhabha (1994) wrote, they are located “in the space in between”, as it will later be discussed in connection to Chang Rea Lee who is very often considered a “typical” dislocated author who does not belong “either here” nor “there”. In this respect the examples for cases of not-belonging to either literary-nation or world-literature² are one of the important characteristics of the Korean global literary corpus (system) which is both bilingual and bi-national. A number of authors belong to a couple of discursive marked traditions while always being other in relation to either language (usually American English and/or Korean) or the discursive marked space of literary transcreation (translating the text in an/other discourse, or the hegemonic order of a given system – being it the literature-system or world-system). The examples in this work will be from American-Korean literature and the authors are the above-mentioned Chang Rea Lee and Krys Lee and Eunyoung Hong. In respect to globalizing the local paradigms of literary expression (the right to remain different in the globalized hegemonic order) two Korean authors will be mentioned and compared to their “in between” located counterparts. These are Hwang Sok-yong 황석영 (b. 1943), as the author who, in my opinion, liberated the space of Korean literature from the firm burden of tradition³, and the next generation author Kim Young-ha 김영하 (b. 1968), who used the formal and intercultural possibilities of the tradition of western canon (Kafka, Beckett, Ishiguro) to interconnect the tradition of “dark and complex” European prose with the discursive possibilities of the Korean hegemonic order and transcreate the possibilities of one tradition into the system of another. This is very well followed by yet another generation’s author (Han Kang 한강) in the 2010’s, but this is out of the scope of this research. What is important for us here is the possibility of inclusion(s) into global trends (patterns) which simultaneously survive as a locally determined agency and a factor of the ability to change one’s own discursive environment,

² These phrases; world-literature as a system equivalent to the system of world-system in social anthropology is introduced to literary theory by Frank Moretti (2013) and literary-nation by Pascale Casanova (2004) and reaffirmed by Vladimir Biti (2016).

³ This topic is discussed elsewhere. In the article in *Književna smotra* (Literary Review, Zagreb) I discuss Hwang as an author who begins a new trend in Korean literature: write in the environment of Korean tradition, but with an emphasis on globalized and politicized issues that open new possibilities for Korean literature as a part of global literature-system. Compare with Lee (2003) and Park (2016).

as well as the very discursive environment itself. This means that local agency always is an important factor in the determination of Korean art, but the above-mentioned authors contributed greatly to the fact that nowadays Korean literature also contributes to global world-literature, in the same way as other artefacts and popular culture outlets build the narrative of the Korean “soft power” industry including arts, new media and popular music. In that respect the Korean “cultural miracle” is now seen as global player on the “cultural market” and a global citizenship power broker as far as the influence on others goes: in film, K-pop, soap operas and video games (see Kim Y. 2017; Kim E. 2017).

At this stage the argument I would like to put forward is connected with how to locate the idea of global citizenship on a wider scale, and the inclusion of difference in this concept, especially in relation to new media and the idea of transparency. This discussion of identity being simultaneously a local and global phenomenon goes all the way back to the 1960s. In Hannah Arendt’s article on global citizenship and her argument and comments on how global identification works in the modern world and in an era that actually started the age of postmodernism (Jameson 2007; see also Lyotard 1979), there is an ambivalent positioning towards this dual identity politics of twofold identification (denotation). In her article where she discusses the global citizenship concept of Karl Jaspers, this famous Jewish, German and American philosopher argues the negatives and positives of contemporary technological revolution and assigned processes that are reflected in the humanities and communication in general. The means of communications, she argues, and the export of so-called “universal” (that is European) values contributed to the fact that today we can talk about the joint, universal presence of the whole planet (Arendt 1968: 73).

She said that this fact about a shared present “state of the world” is based neither on shared history nor is the guarantor of a shared future. Arendt also claims that the very technology which connected the world can easily destroy it. When writing that article in 1968, she emphasizes the fact that the means of global communication were developed in parallel with the means of possible global destruction. In that respect, she claims, the solidarity of humanity is exclusively negative; it is based on the fear and unwillingness to change. Here, we are talking about the fact that the present time is heavily burdened by the responsibility of local governments towards the world community and the responsibility

of each single individual for what our governments are doing in the name of the country. This is where global responsibility starts.

That is the position from which the topics and problems of Cross-Cultural studies depart. I will now mention three of these problems in order to establish the frame for viewing locally marked paradigms in a global environment as well as denoting local discursive practices in globally connotated narratives. Firstly, solidarity carries a burden which sometimes can be very difficult to handle and deal with. This is why many nations, many groups and local religious communities opt for isolationism and apathy, rather than for using the possibilities of global networking for communication and a better understanding of others and then, indirectly, themselves. Simultaneously, this global trend of today (from United States to Poland, from Israel to Korea) has its origin in a contemporary reading of Kant and the hegemony of the school system (especially the institution of the “university”) that changes the focus of its endeavour: instead of previously asked (philosophical) crucial questions about the self (and “us”) we now, as claimed by Peter Sloterdijk (1987: xxvi and xxix), thanks to the “cynicism of the masters”, in centre of “longing for knowledge” have the concept of power. However, parallel with this global cynicism there also should be noted the very prominent trend of (commercial?) opening towards the other; sometimes in another language (the relatively large number of Korean writers who narrate in English while exploring very Korean topics: stolen women, alienation in Korean cities, overdevelopment, struggles of a nation divided), sometime in forms previously assigned only to *others* (K-pop, or the Korean genre of horror movies which is based on well-developed patterns from other “cultural circles”) and sometimes by intertextually participating in the diachronic order of system-values developed elsewhere (a substantial part of Korean literature which either uses or is trying to fit within the tradition, both formal and stylistic, of “the great canon”). While the above-mentioned openness simultaneously presumes a better understanding of ourselves – nations, genders, political options, local language communities, etc., the way isolationism works is that it always produces some type of neo-contra-hegemony that takes its forms through the processes of providing a particular, defined group (nation, gender or ideological/language community) with a certain type of selectively assembled information that contributes significantly to the development and continuous maintenance of a particular type of hegemony. In Gramsci’s *Prison*

Notebooks (see the 2007 edition, vol 1), the idea of hegemony is closely connected to the willingness of a particular community or society as a whole to obey a particular set of rules as natural, non-questionable, in other words “given” by some sort of “natural order”. At least, that is the narrative produced by those who hold power (knowledge?) about the world and the way in which it, in any given language and discourse of contingency, works. In an environment where “going global” and “export” local culture in the wider space of cultural interdependence (as a mapping and miming of the capitalistic order itself) it is also an opportunity to “play” as a global rather than local “player”. What remains a peculiar “reminder” in this transaction though, is the fact that locally produced “materials” (songs, films, books, games) withhold some of its “internationality” in an attempt to naturalize various elements of canon for its own advances. This is happening on the level of a better understanding of one’s own culture and especially traumas, but also at the level of distancing local vernacular from the uniformity of the capitalist project.

The second problem is genealogical in its essence. While in the unfounded optimism of some humanities the very idea of this superficial and artificial unity was in fact yet another imperial idea of the world market and the dominating power-driven centres imposing already introduced (Western) values, they are now a so called “unity in difference”, or, as some of the most optimistic researchers put it, we are talking about “local projects” that are part of a “bigger picture”. Later we will see that some of these processes of the power-struggle for ownership in spheres of local and global paradigms will best be represented in literature, especially in the literatures of *others* who usually are aware of their position on the margin. Here, I find it important to emphasize the crucial narrative assigned in literature to global contemporaneity. This is found in the fact that the global present “state of affairs” is not built on any common past. In that respect, despite the fact that followers of unconditional globalism often emphasize the importance of local identification, in the practice of the capitalistic world both individual national pasts and traditions are (re)considered as irrelevant. Instead of depth and diachronic continuity in the development of concepts, forms and ideas, we now have a collage of pieces that cannot be assembled to mimic the three-dimensional

picture of “uneven” but steady development based on some sort of consensus.⁴

The third issue which will be discussed here is closely connected to the various problems of translation(s). Over the period of the last thirty years it has become an important topic of theoretical argumentation in both linguistic and literary theory. In the context of this work it is important to emphasize that the problem is closely connected to two issues: the first one dealing with problems of handling the unevenness which results in erasing a concept of solidarity, and the second is connected to the post-modernistic phenomena of the loss of depth in order to achieve a unified surface. From these three areas of discussion the questions of a transfer of cultures, meanings, and positioning in between will arise as the most important topics. When applied to contemporary Korean literature it will give a particular point of view from the “unevenly treated” part of global discourse that is fighting for both global-capitalistic and local-traditionalistic value-preservation as well as their questioning.

2. The global universality of the language(s)-literature-system, the local de/construction of a (maybe not) “shared” vernacular

The whole contemporary unity of the world is based on the premises that we do not only have a unified means of communication transfer (which produces truths, or is a maker of the idea of truth, depending on a postmodernist, or metaphysical approach) but also the differences that can be bridged via the translation and transcreation of different content (languages) which are simultaneously supposed to function as a mark of difference and a potential to become something else (in translation). That would mean that we, as a “unified” civilization, are also in a position of defending the “last frontier” of difference, which is the idea of one’s own language and its grammar as one of the most prolific system of both difference and connection. This connection can be seen in various forms of comparative possibilities. And these possibilities

⁴ One this type of problem, concerned with the “uneven and combined development in literature as a world-system”, see WReC (2016).

are usually agencies of the process of translation and transcreation, but they are always framed within the limits imposed on the creation. These limits (frames) are closely connected to questions of grammar. As the saying which is attributed as an “urban legend” to Michel Foucault, goes: everything else is in dis/order, we are left with grammar as a last frontier of the mirage that is called the order of things. In same tone we can mention the anecdote describing the situation when Ronald Barthes was attending a meeting of the anarchistic fraction of Maoist sympathizers gathering at the University of Paris 8. When the issue of suspending all the Laws without exception was raised by the angry crowd, with all that remained of his authority but also panic in his voice, he asked in amusement: “And what are you going to do about Grammar?” And when we talk about grammar, we are talking about one of the best organized systems that is directly related to a number of similar systems and has a development that is simultaneously unique and opposed to other(s), but also shared with these same other(s), with neighboring, genealogically related language(s)-literatures-nations, and some connections can be assigned to distant language(s)-literatures-nations/worlds. At the same time there has not been discovered and introduced any better way of language/culture transfer than the process of translation. That means that there is (still) no quality communication nor the transfer of the depth of local meaning value system(s) (produced by language and related discourses) without the inclusion of the process of translation. When tackling this issue first it is necessary to distinguish between two types of translation. The first is closely connected to the transfer from one system of signs to another, with an emphasis on Grammar, as understood by Jacques Derrida, that is an emphasis on “the self-constructing” order of a particular language. But there is also the other part of the process, especially if we are talking about the idea of Cross-Cultural studies. That is the translation of a discursive whole, the possibilities of transfer from one discursive realm to the (an)other. In this context the world made from words needs to be re-created, rather than transferred. This opens the following questions: when we talk about translation, do we necessary only talk about the transfer of semantic and linguistic values from one language to another, or are we also looking for something more? Do we translate linguistic values or discursive possibilities? How do we translate some particular discursively connoted sets of meaning into a different discursive environment and assigned set of cultural values without losing “something” in both assigned discourses? Obviously, the answers to the

questions posed here are not simple ones. This is especially the case when two cultures without a similar past (such as European and Korean/East Asian cultures) are considered.

In the contemporary environment of the humanities, we rely on two methodological approaches that deal with the issues of translation and the creation of translated discursive options (see Katan 2016). The first of them allies with the tradition of philology and the school of a translation of the “set values” of sentences, phrases and textual characteristics transferred from language to language, rather than from one to another cultural discourse. Speaking in the plain language of descriptive values, this is a traditional philological approach with strict rules applied rigorously in a process of translation as (hard) linguistically denoted labour.

The second approach is still in its development phase, even though it is now more than thirty years old. It is built on the crossroads of various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and is closely connected to new developments across the humanities, but especially with theory.⁵ It strongly relies on interdisciplinarity and the inclusion of various disciplines in a process of translating culture to culture, rather than translating linguistic values into their equivalents in another language (and its system). At the speculative level, it is very closely connected to the processes of globalization and democratization in the field of literary and artistic endeavours. “Crossing the borders” became the *buzz word* of both literary (artistic) production and the industry that drives contemporary works towards a particular type of writing, where in translations “something is lost” but “something else is gained”, if not in added artistic value, then in added economic value. In the focus of such a process, opposed to scholars who are trying to locate the core problems of transcreation, is publishing and new-media industries, their marketing and possibilities to be present in another culture without the need to physically move the “product” (book). And while one process of capitalism, which is to “perpetuate change” (Jameson 2007) in its continuous pursuit for profit, is now dominating the “horizon of expectations”, marginal voices are simultaneously promoting their previously excluded sets of values to a global audience.

⁵ Here, I am thinking of theory as it was described by Richard Rorty: it is rather a genre than a discipline, a way of writing (thinking) located at the crossroads between literary theory, anthropology, psychoanalysis, philosophy and linguistics, while at the same time not being any of them in particular (see Culler 2000).

One should not forget to mention that same goes for the allied propaganda and ideologies that also are naturalized into a different space. The difference between depth and surface is that when describing this twofold process, one should be aware of the fact that here we are on the fragile field of metaphorical in/possibilities that theory is producing as its language of description. As Rita Felski (2015) noted in her book on the limits of critique (which actually means of theory) the metaphors of space, of its depth and surface, are important ones to consider in discussions of the penetration (yet another metaphor!) of one cultural paradigm into the space of another/others. This penetration can be just the individual attempt of presenting a particular author “to the world”, or launching an important book into another space, without a systematic plan to impose one nation’s (culture’s) “soft power” onto another space. But it can also be the systematic transfer of local world-literature (and culture in the wider sense of the word) into a wider context with the purpose of achieving some sort of advancement: as a nation, as a language, as an economy or as an ideological paradigm.

3. Transferring the local (marginal) into a global (“unevenly structured”) environment: examples of (and from) contemporary Korean literature

Here we shall provide two examples of the transfer that the local (marginal), in its “uneven” position, projects onto the idea of canon. After winning the Booker Prize for *The Vegetarian*, Han Kang, a Korean female author of the middle generation (b. 1970), became an overnight, internationally recognized literary star. However, her popularity was of limited scope. Only in the space of so-called “great traditions” (the environments of power of new and formerly dominant colonial entities), which means in the English-speaking world, all three of her books were promptly translated. In other cultures, for example in Croatian, Serbian or Hungarian, only a highly esteemed and awarded novel is translated. It is also worth mentioning that its popularity was of limited scope. Furthermore, to the majority of the so-called “small languages” (and their marginal positions) the novel was translated from English, and not from Korean. The question of limited success may also be coursed by the fact that all of these translations were focused on

philological aspects of meaning/language transfer, rather than on trans-creations based on an adaptation of the contextual layers of the text. They are also translated by “serial professional translators” rather than devoted writer-translators. In that respect it may be said that the position of the margin managed to marginalize an otherwise fantastic novel. On the other hand, the persistence of K-pop, or new Korean film and tv-series on the international scene (market), have different references and tactics in winning over their audience, that they are in possession of a possibility to colonize the international cultural space, which today is very often called the global market. This goes as far as to the level where formal colonizers (Japan) now became a consumer (receiver) of “soft power” cultural colonization from the south of the Korean Peninsula (Hong 2014). In both cases there is a set of problems present, always connected with some sort of limitation, which usually is the awareness of the margin from which space the penetration into the new space (of others) is undertaken. Obviously, apart from this awareness of the position of margin there exist other limitations; of the other language, of the other culture, of a non-comparable canonized tradition that stipulates marginalization, as well as the limitation of discursive knowledge and of ideological misreading.

When we talk about these limitations and therefore the effects on the acceptance of the artefact from another culture into some sort of our space, some sort of stereotypes always come into focus. Here comes the paradox: while trying to present one culture to another space, being it on surface, or with the aim to present a deeply connoted set of values into a particular and explainable context, instead of widening the discursive possibilities and stipulating a better understanding of the other, the text from the *other culture* very often reinforces the previously held and very stereotypical view of the other culture and discursive environment which already existed before the introduction of the work of art (novel, film) into the *other space*. These stereotypes stipulate the division which was forced upon us via a school system, media, new media outlets and other types of cultural hegemony (see Gramsci 2007; WReC 2015). This is not a new problem. In his book on the relationship between literature and trauma in what is now known as the “global democracy”, Vladimir Biti searches for ideas connected with world literature, and opinions that may possibly include so-called non-European traditions into what is known and studied as *the great canon*. When researching the ideas of world literature, he traces the first attempts to include others (into the “family of the world of letters”) in

the periods of Romanticism and early materialism. This is connected to the writing of Goethe and Karl Marx. In his concept of *Weltliteratur*, Goethe in 1827 claimed that the concept of a national literature is losing its importance and that the “epoch of world literature has arrived” (Biti 2016: 133). Biti pointed that only 20 year later Marx and Engels also insist on the arrival of world literature and the idea of an international market. Both Goethe and Marx are aware of the limitations of world literature concept(s), but insist that this “planetary system” should override the narrow-minded scope of a national context (and its system of exclusive values and closed evaluation).

But Goethe on one side and Marx and Engels on the other did not have the same motivation, nor similar standing points regarding the idea of world literature. For Goethe the question of world literature was connected to the possibility to overriding narrow-minded local hegemonic orders and introducing a wider context for the acceptance of a particular work of literature in different contexts, both natural and naturalized. He simply stated that the “epoch of world literature has arrived”. At the same time his viewpoint was limited by what Jacques Derrida later named but also criticized as Eurocentric vision, or, if you want, the colonial spirit of the West. If we look into these issues from the 21st century we can see that Goethe, obviously, is thinking about French, British and German (as well as Austro-Hungarian) hegemonic paradigms. On the other side, Marx and Engels have a different motivation. According to Biti (2016) and Jameson (2007: 89), Marx insisted that what will later be considered world literature is in practice closely connected to the idea of the world market and its mechanisms. Furthermore, national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness (as quoted by Biti 2016: 133) caused that world literature, as a market-ready product and new phenomenon that was developed from selected works from various national literatures. This is the basis for all later work in the discussions on world literature as an independent world-system, and not only a subject of the comparative study of “influences”.

If we look closely at the contemporary situation in the field, it becomes obvious that there are three great advocates of the concept. They have different viewpoints, but they all agree to consider the works of Korean, Italian, Croatian or Indonesian traditions as a part of the same system, at least on the level of speculative possibility. First of these authors is Pascale Casanova with her idea of “The World Republic of Letters”. We have been talking about her concept practically were talking from the very beginning of this article, while discussing

problems of transferring literature and questions of inclusion and exclusion. The second one, a conservative (traditionally positioned) and with an emphasis on the great works of the past, is the concept of The Western Canon by American critic and literary theorist Harold Bloom. Despite of his exclusion of non-European, and many non-English-speaking others, his idea of canon still represents a reference point for many writers and scholars. Here, I will only mention two of the best Korean writers in the older and middle generations, first being Hwang Sok-yong (b. 1943) and the second Kim Young-ha (b. 1968). In Kim's novel translated into English as *I Have the Right to Destroy Myself* (1996) various western critics found (comparative) connections with Kafka, sometimes Dostoevsky and in one instance Italo Calvino. In the case of Hwang, often critics wrote about following the great tradition of the *Bildungsroman*, and the social novel of the American and British 1970s. His latest novel, which was translated into English as *At Dusk*, provides a play of narrative positionings and social hegemony critique that was also compared with Western works of the last three decades that are becoming the part of canon⁶.

Let us now consider the third author who, during his long and far-reaching career, dedicated most of his research to tackle the important conceptual issues related to world literature. In his works during early 2000's, Italian comparatist Franco Moretti not only proposed a return to Goethe and Marx's vision, but also insisted on the establishment of new methodology in the study of world literature. The first task would be to secure a position from which it would be possible to consider works of various traditions, written in various languages and translated (trans-created) differently into different languages as equally important for consideration. Moretti is aware that in consideration of the world literature corpus, one can not use the method of close reading because the task of "mastering" the "literature of the world" is not physically achievable. Biti suggests that Moretti argues that the close reading of the texts (linguistic, conceptual, critical, historicist, intertextual and stylistic) should be left to the experts in the fields of various national literatures. Instead of close reading, in the realm of world literature, he introduces the term distant reading. In its

⁶ The major criteria why I have chosen these authors for analytical part of the article is their popularity in "world community" of readers, that is, not so much in their own language, but in the ways how their status is achieved in translations and trans-creations in other languages (Kim and Hwang) or in *the other* cultural environment (Lee and Hong).

“metaphorical sense” (see Felski 2015), this concept can be read as similar to Pascale Casanova’s notion of James’s idea of “the pattern/figure on the carpet” (Casanova 2007). But in Casanova’s interpretation of Henry James, the particular pattern or figure represents only one element of endless composition belonging to various literary worlds, which in the end becomes one mega-system. In that respect, a close reading of all the languages in which literary works are written, as well as all the works ever published and writers ever considered by critics, is impossible to even contemplate (even Borges would not dare to contemplate this type of weaving). Instead, we should rely on a network of indirect contacts: critics and scholars in various languages, publishers, translators, the network of publishing industries, magazines, web sites, promotional brochures, book clubs. This would mean that I, as a Croatian scholar, have knowledge of Han Kang because it was mediated to me via three layers of expertise: firstly by Korean critics and scholars who are experts in contemporary Korean fiction and female (feminist) literature, then by the international publication hegemonic order, and finally by the owners of grant nomination schemes, translators (first the translator from Korean into English, and then from English into Croatian, if I want to read the interpretation of *The Vegetarian* in my own language). In this context I would like to add a footnote here, directly related to this topic. I have found out that there were three contemporary Korean novels translated into Croatian over the last two years: the above-mentioned *Vegetarian*, Shin Kyung-sook’s *Please, Take Care of my Mum* and *I Have the Right to Destroy Myself*. The first two novels are translated from English into Croatian, and only Kim Young-ha’s novel has been translated from the Korean, which was the work of professor Kim Sang Hun from HUFSS, with the help of some of his Croatian colleagues. This means that “distant reading” sometimes goes to even more than two languages and three procedural layers.

From what has been said until now, it is obvious that there are a number of serious problems which need to be considered here. The first one is connected to the philological tradition of close reading. The second one is connected to the question of languages. But the most important one is the third problem. It is of a theoretical nature and connected to locating the issues of the relationship between concepts of translation and trans-creation, of the appropriation of texts in another cultural environment and the naturalization of one linguistic environment (with its assigned discourse) into another one. These

problems produce two reactions: first there arises an opportunity to naturalize a particular text and make it more locally embedded. This may include its title, re-creation of the play of words, the appropriation of a whole set of contextual issues (the treatment of women, particular manifestations of nationalism, ethical values, etc.) and the appropriation of a particular set of values into another environment.

Also, there are various limitations attached to the process of trans-creation. In film, there is always a risk of not understanding the ironic layers in fast moving scenes, of misunderstanding allegoric layers or intertextual connotations. In the area of novel-reading whole discursive macrostructural issues can be misinterpreted or appropriated. For example, if Croatian or Polish readers are not familiar with the problems of suicide in the contemporary Korean community, or of concept of *han*, or in some situations the still very traditional treatment of women and/or wives, for example, it would be very difficult to understand some complex connotations in *The Vegetarian* or in the novel *I Have the Right to Destroy Myself*. In that respect, a closer acquaintance with Korean literature in Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Poland or Austria will be very much dependent on further reading and the critical texts that support the novel. But since, on the literary market, these critical issues of translation (or trans-creations) are practically non-existent, that opens yet another set of problems.

4. Limitations of “local identification” and tactics of (possible) changes: Korean and Korean-American Authors

How are the contemporary academic and cultural communities (in a wider sense) dealing with these limitations imposed by language barriers and discursive non-inclusions? In practice, works from other literatures usually are translated without any awareness of the complexity that these problems impose upon the exegesis and other types of interpretative practices (usages) of “foreign” texts/novels. Instead they are consumed in a process of appropriation, which in literature is labelled as a “control of meaning” (see Arrojo 2002) and/or the “politics of translation” (Spivak 2012). There are a number of options to approach these issues. In the 1990s the question of cultural

identity (Brisset 2012) was in the centre of attention and in the mid-to-late 2000s most of the studies in the field were connected to ideas of interdisciplinarity within the humanities and transnationality in the area of global citizenship studies (Snell-Hornby 2006). One of the options that I will stipulate as relevant here is the idea of Cross-Cultural research across the humanities that will prepare (or at least help) translators to deal with issues embedded in a particular cultural discourse where these topics are, more or less, self-explanatory. The concept is already promoted by the Germanic studies community and especially in the work of Snell-Hornby. She claims that we cannot talk about a paradigm shift in the approach to translation, but for sure we are in the age of “shifting the viewpoint” in the discipline. In a centre of Snell-Hornby’s attention is the idea of “*Blickwechsel*”, which in German means the “exchange of glances” (2006: 2). In her opinion the central focus of this change of viewpoint should be on the interweaving of discourse and cultural factors (2012: 134). As stipulated by Spivak, this leads towards a new type of intercultural communication which is now not Eurocentric in the consideration of the domination in space nor Anglocentric in the sphere of language ownership, but also open to views, judgement calls and manipulations from the “other side” as well (since every hegemonic order has its counter-hegemonic opponents). If a text is not conveyed (trans-created) with the thorough consideration of most of the issues discussed here, in another culture (as well as in another discourse and hegemonic order) readers/viewers may, and probably will, miss subtle suggestions⁷ from some finely conveyed layers of textual possibility, and sometimes can under-interpret or over-interpret the underlayer(s) of crucial importance for understanding the textual potentials, being it in a particular novel, poem, film or television series.

In the context of what has been said so far, we first have to say a few words about trans-creation as a process that is very closely connected to cross-cultural research and teaching. This is not only a problem from a “foreign”, “far away”, or “unknown” culture but it represents a significant issue in connecting to a text’s discursive anomalies (or un-globalized, locally connoted and suggested issues/layers of meaning). These local issues are usually not understood

⁷ On the questions of “overinterpretation” and “under-interpretation” see the book co-authored by Umberto Eco and Richard Rorty. 1992. *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

to the full extent in translations without footnotes, or without some sort of departing from the traditional way of translating (as described by Bandia 2018) and they engage in the process of trans-creation that we have mentioned a number of times so far. To do so we shall peruse a few works related to Korea and Koreans that are written either by Korean writers or of Korean descent living in the United States. For examples in this article I have chosen three writers of Korean descent, or, if we look from (an)other perspective, Koreans who write and live in *another language*, or we can also say discourse, cultural environment; that is – they write in English and are positioned in between two cultures. But they are still connected to their culture of origin. One of these three writers lives in United States and writes in English, two other female writers used to live in the United States, but now they have returned to Korea while they still publish in English. Looking from the perspective of the presentation and representation of their narrated worlds, all three of them, to a certain degree, belong to what nowadays is considered to be the realm of global literature. All three of them are supporters of local, Korean themes and traditions while at the same time they remain strong advocates of de-localized, universally human issues. The writer living in the United States from the age of three is Chang Rae Lee. He has received numerous prizes in American “mainstream” literature, has been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize twice and is well respected in “mainstream” American literature, while still considered to be an ethnic writer.

In works of Chang Rae Lee these processes of delocalization are taking a few different directions in his narratives. After publishing his first novel, *Native Speaker*, he was labelled as the founder of American Korean writing school (Page 2017: 16), even though there have been a number of Korean writers in the States before him, for example there was Younghill Kang with his novels *The Grass Roof* (1931) and *East Goes West* (1937), or later Richard E. Kim with his best seller *The Martyred* (1964). Being labelled “the first Korean American writer”, he was often considered an autobiographical author, and put in a position of *Being of Two Cultures and Belonging to Neither*, as Pam Belluck (1995) wrote in the *New York Times*. Many critics emphasize his “rapturous evocation of past life, viewed across a great gap of time and culture” (Page 2017: 2). Insisting on the autobiographical element, many American critics, as Amanda M. Page in her book on Chang Rae Lee put it, undermined the author’s work as a piece of creative fiction.

Sometimes it is the destiny of authors with “ethnic” names and literary topics to be simultaneously considered global and dislocated in the space between their countries of origin and the cultures of difference they are trying to bridge in their imaginary worlds. Homi Bhaba (1994) speaks about this positioning “in between” as “being neither here or there”. This is the position Lee uses not only in *Native Speaker*, but in all of his later books. He will use this tactic to reconcile his double folded identity: the position of belonging to “the great western tradition” and simultaneously being the other in comparison to its mainstream topics, issues, language and created world(s). Following these tactics, he not only writes about (Korean) minorities, but also other types and modules of otherness. In my opinion this can best be seen and interpreted in two of his novels: *On Such a Full Sea* (2014) and *My Year Abroad* (2021). The first book is set in some distant future (maybe 150-200 years from now) and the division of the imagined society is very much dependent on today’s understanding of the positioning between different cultures, and the domination of one cultural paradigm over the expense of other(s). To be able to read this in such a key, the interpreter has to be able to translate not only elements of speculative space and chain of events, but the consideration of the present being transformed (or changed) into a mostly upsetting and destructive image of the future. Many elements of contemporary Korean life and signs referring to Korean discourse are embedded into the procedures of this imagined future and its ways of handling the crises of the future to come. By not decoding these signs it is very difficult to understand some of the textual layers. For example, even though the novel is written in English and in the United States, when talking about community responsibility in the joint households of the future, one could not fully understand and appreciate the irony of this social hierarchy in if the discourse of the Korean family is not familiar.

If we take a look into Lee’s latest novel, *My Year Abroad*, the motive of being Asian, or especially of Eastern Asian descent, has an important role in better understanding the motivation of the main character and some of the elements of the “Asian way of doing business”, of “being entertained”, which to outsiders may look unconvincing or even grotesque. In other words, the whole not-trans-created world of difference, either “in between” or of “the other”, will not be understood and accepted in its complexity and there will always remain something exotic, foreign or/and excluded, that to the “outsider” (*the other*) looks and sounds artificial. This is exactly the way in which

we read today famous Indian-British authors such as Salman Rushdie or Aravind Adiga. The way that British critics have appropriated and naturalized their works takes its framework from postcolonial studies and the ways in which cross-cultural issues are settled in a process of the negotiation between the so-called Centre (West) and the Otherness of what is usually called *the space of others* (sometimes the Orient, sometimes the East, sometimes the Edge or the Border, and sometimes the Third World).

East Asian positioning in relation to the idea of the West and of “being western” is different, both in the tactical approaches of authors and critics and in the way otherness is treated. This is especially visible in popular culture and film. A good example is Euny Hong. She is the author of just one novel in English which had limited success. It may even be better to say that this novel did not reach a wide audience, or even better, that it was not read in the appropriate key⁸. *Kept* is definitely a novel about *being other* in the United States, and by being other I do not only think of being Korean, but of being some sort of the third entity (similar to some of Lee’s or Shteyngart’s characters). This third entity of Hong’s is neither Korean nor English, but also not one, but many (things and not-possibilities) at once. It is about being pure and tainted, being faithful to the family but also its black sheep. The novel is set in both the United States and Korea, but I am of the opinion that it would be read very differently in each of the cultures. Furthermore, if the cross-cultural, and even transcultural context is not an integral part of the reader’s horizon of expectations, it would be very difficult to understand not only the ironic and allegorical levels of communication, but also the very nature of the otherness presented in the novel. When talking about Euny Hong, we must mention two books which, contrary to her only novel so far, are great hits worldwide. One of these books is especially popular. At the same time this book is a popular reading and reference source for scholars. That is *The Birth of*

⁸ In my opinion in Hong’s novel (2006) there is more “ethnic-self-irony” by and “otherness-destructiveness” which is a driven and inscribed potential than in today the very popular and often-quoted book by Gary Shteyngart entitled *The Russian Debutante’s Handbook* (2002) which was, on one paperback issue by Penguin, proclaimed to be a “visionary” novel about a “Russian immigrant who is trying to find himself”. The Korean ex-student and pseudo-prostitute in *Kept* in my opinion is a better character. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact that Shteyngart was Chang Rea Lee’s student in his course of creative writing, and that Lee was instrumental in publishing Shteyngart’s novel in 2002.

Korean Cool, with its subtitle *How one Nation is Conquering the World through Pop Culture*. The book is written from a personal perspective, in its introduction it gives Hong's personal story: after 20 years in the United States her parents decided to move back to Seoul in 1985. Hong was 12 years old at the time. That means she had a basic knowledge about American culture (in America school kids called her a "Jap", and she "never made the effort to explain that she was actually Korean"). When asked by other kids if she is Chinese, her answer was "yes", so not to complicate things. Already in this first chapter she changes the perspective and starts the narrative about Korea's journey from poverty and anonymity to being the fifteenth largest economy in the world, and discusses the scopes of popularity of Korean popular culture, being it film, tv series, video games, cartoons or popular music. The style and narrative positioning in which the story about "the Korean cool" is narrated is very much located from the perspective that Bhabha would label as "in betweenness". Hong went back to the United States for her university education, and then returned to Korea for a second time. She always stipulates that her education is American, that she understands what westerners "expect" from the/her story of otherness, from distant others and their ways of living, thinking, acting. This is obvious when she discusses the vernaculars of Korean life and consciously works on a contextualization of these differences intensively using a frame of reference that would be understandable to the Westerners. In other words, she trans-creates the Korean other into the form and language (English) in a way that is going to be understandable, acceptable and palatable for this western frame of mind and its expectations; that is the preconceived idea(s) of the East Asian other.

In the chapter on irony, for example, Hong explains how irony was a foreign concept for the Korean frame of mind, while herself using irony in a process of elaboration. She also explains (in very superficial terms and with a strong ironic zest) the concept of *han*, the importance of tradition, and later in another chapter the idea of *hallyu* as a neo-politicized way of "conquering" the (at least Eastern) part of the world. She completes the story of Korean Cool by exposing the "secret weapon" of South Korea's conquering of the world, which is video games. In her second non-fictional book (*The Power of Nunchi: The Korean Secret to Happiness and Success*, 2019) Hong continues in a same "foreign but insider" style, now writing about the idea and various perceptions of the concept of *nunchi*. At first glance, this book may be conceived as belonging to the so called "self-help" genre of "world

pseudo-literature”, while in fact this text is a very cleverly organized continuation of the previous book. It exploits the concept of an original Korean idea and the practice of difference as well as the usage and possible tactics through which this difference can penetrate the contemporary global environment (market). In brief, this book could be a good example of what we said at the beginning in the theoretical introduction: being locally identified, a cultural entity at the same time strives to be recognized outside of its own discursive surroundings, while also mystifying the origins and specificity of its own differentiation tactics and locally shared experience. The purpose of this “mystification” is the (post)modern urge to be different yet the same, original yet the part of the bigger picture, a user but also a contributor to the “wider course”. This ambivalent concept of difference-sameness is what is “hardest to grasp” in the other cultural (or discursive) environment⁹ and it is not primarily of a philological nature. It can best be denoted at the level of reading the tactics in which it can be seen how the idea of otherness is used in the hierarchy of text and its manipulative tactics, as well as in the wider practices of the poetics of the everyday.

This possibility is mastered in the prose works of Krys Lee, which are written in English. She as well was educated in the United States, but also in the United Kingdom. Just as Hong, she now lives in Seoul. While Hong is a journalist, Lee is pursuing an academic career, teaching creative writing. She is a well-respected author on the international scene, as both of her fictional books are. Her collection of short stories *The Drifting House* is situated in both the United States and South Korea. This is a socially-aware literature and all of the stories deal with problems of contemporary society. In the focus of her narrative attention is the difference between the Far East (Korea) and the West (United States). Through her narrative procedures, Lee often remind us of the works of British sub-continent writers and their specific, sometimes ironic, but most of the time emphatic view of the difficulties with the concept of “being in between”. This authorial intention is even more direct in her novel *How I Became a North Korean*. In that very complex and complexly layered prose text she is re/presenting at least two different spaces (the States and the Korean

⁹ This process is very openly visible in Korean society because the process of modernization (and post-modernisation) in South Korea was very fast, planned and in some respects forced upon communities. That can be seen very well in the novels of Hwang Sok-jong, Kim Young-ha and Han Kang.

Peninsula), three nations (Koreans, Chinese, and Americans) two systems (Capitalism and Socialist Dictatorship), the dichotomy between religion and agnosticism, between the North and the South (particularly in the case of the Two Koreas), but also between China and North Korea as well as between Eastern Asian communism (and the pseudo-capitalism of China) and American society (with all its complex entanglement of opportunities, repression, inclusions and exclusions). In this complex structure it is obvious that voices employed by author stipulate what Mikhail Bakhtin labelled as polyphonic consciousness. However, this is a very specific kind of polyphony. It divides, rather than intertwines voices with different discursive backgrounds and often remotely located spaces of identification. To translate intentions and tensions between various cultural paradigms and their discursive differences becomes an interpretative necessity, despite the fact that the whole novel is written in English. This unique literary work is very much embedded in the space of otherness (the border between North Korea and China) but also has a form of a contemporary global (read western, or stipulated by the western idea) novel. Lee intentionally writes with an intention to be read and accepted on the global literary scene, but even in this form that is common and acceptable by Western reader(s), there are a number of semantic and tactical layers that call for further cross-cultural references (active engagement of the reader/interpreter) in order to be understood and accepted as rounded and aesthetically completed, as “suitable” for reception in the English-speaking world.

5. Conclusion: The other language as a tool thorough which the “local” is becoming “global” (Korean literature as World-Literature)

Our examples of three Korean writers who write in English show two facts which are important for any cross-cultural studies project. The first is that the translation of the text is not simply a question of transfer from one language to another, that is an interaction with *an/other language*. In order to better grasp the various textual layers and interpret the textual connotations sometimes crucial for interpretative consensus, *the question of translation* also involves consideration of the other culture

and its discursive power games. This becomes a very demanding extra-linguistic pressure, including cultural appropriation and ideological naturalization, involving a number of intercultural and cross-cultural tactics and activities that accompany the philological procedure of “accurately” translating the text. These problems have been in the focus of attention over the last thirty to forty years, especially in the domain of interdisciplinary translation studies (see Katan 2016; Spivak 2012 and Snell-Hornby 2006). I mentioned some of these problem in the description of Snell-Hornby’s term “glance of the eye” and the dilemmas between a “paradigm shift” or a “new view of looking into problem(s)”.

In my opinion working with texts and the extra-textual context of Korean-American (or in of our two cases former-American, or even better: global) writers provides a very good example of this process where “cultural procedures” and “the other discourse” are not only the focus of attention, but without them it is not possible to read a text without a significant “reminder” of un-translated discursive possibilities. The beginning of this “process-solving environment” can be established as a framing discourse while the dynamic and dialectic process of interviewing one cultural and hegemonic complex with (or against) an/other starts to take place in the practice of academic and pragmatist communities. In the relatively brief tradition of intercultural translation studies it is already consensually established that translation is always also an interpretation (see Edwards 2010) and that while translating, the question of “the right interpretation” is always connected not only to the text, but also to the way in which signifiers are interconnected (Derrida 2012). There are a number of scholars from literary theory, semiotics and philosophy who have paved the way to this “turn”: Umberto Eco with his book *Experience with Translation* (2010), Spivak, Derrida, Rorty and others. Coming from this type of background myself, I also argue for closer relationships between translation and interpretation but also for a comprehensive cross-cultural approach which will not only study various contextual differences and “discursive exchanges” but also a much wider series of interviewed phenomena and the models of their signification(s). The question of writers who write in the language of a dominant culture are introducing models of signification practices which are characteristic for various “cultures from the edge”, or “marginalized cultural practices” could play an important role in not only understanding what in translation “is lost” and what “also can be gained”, as it was cleverly

written by Salman Rushdie¹⁰, but also what are the conceptual mechanisms in which this loss is substituted by what is gained. What type of linguistic, discursive and critical language and methodology is going to be applied here? How wide is the intervention that is going on behind the “pleasure of the text” in Barthes’s sense of the word, and should it be undertaken? And last but not least: would such an interpretative action also be a political act, or only an academic exercise?

These are very complex questions and for now I suggest that they remain open to be “tackled” from various angles and methodological standpoints. At this stage I will conclude that translation (or the work of perpetual translating) is a necessary tool in a process of interpretative practices, not only for foreign texts (ones originally written in another language and another discursive environment) but also in works written in seemingly the same language (but in different discursive frames). Probably the major problems of the above questions can be better detected and discussed if one starts with the double fold possibilities of a text that represents some sort of “foreign object” attached to the dominant language as if it were some sort of weight. For trans-creation from language to language things will become more complex and multi-layered.

It now becomes obvious that in the process of cross-cultural communication (translation) we are dealing with two processes that take place simultaneously. The first one is the process of appropriation. That in fact is translation from language to language, but at the same time it is a translation (interpretation?) from one culturally and hegemonically distinguished discursive environment into another one. This involves not only the traditional philological procedure of translating words and sentences, but also knowing both the discourses and cultural differences between them. The appropriation of the cultural paradigms of another culture into the space of dominant others is one of the major macrostructural tools in Chang Rea Lee’s novels. By transferring cultural patterns from “excluded” cultures (Chinese, Korean) into post-apocalyptic America, Lee also appropriates these patterns into a possible world of speculative reality. With that tactic he opens the possibility of viewing the other in imagined forms of interaction and domination, offering alternative possibilities that in

¹⁰ This quote is paraphrased from the introductory chapter of Rushdie’s book *Imaginary Homelands* (1991).

different circumstances may not look convincing¹¹. The second process is naturalization. This is also a process where adapting the “content” of the text into another environment is taking place. However, it also mimes the re/creation of the situation and spirit of another language and/or culture into the other environment. Instead of being introduced to another culture as a text that can be understood to the maximal extent, here the written utterance also has an ironic dimension. It is seemingly adapting into the realm of (an)other space (and language) but also tends to remain purposely different, at the same time tamed and untamed (but not wild). How misleading that can be is obvious in the novel *Kept*. I am aware of the series of metaphors with which I am trying to describe metaphorical language, narrative tactics and the imagined world of fiction. However, what is produced in the attempt to answer the questions posed in this conclusion is yet another metaphorical realm. Rita Felski in her above-mentioned chapter on metaphors produced as an answer (interpretation) of other metaphors claims that this prolonging, or deferring of definite answer(s) is in fact the true nature of our job as literary critics and interpreters. Nevertheless, I think that the question of margin and the “edge” (as understood by WReC 2016) is better seen and it is easier to approach it from the perspective of the usage of the same language for the purpose of fighting one’s own battles, being it the preservation of a hegemonic order (in the imagined and imposed order of “Global Culture”), or a counter-hegemonic resistance fought in the language of one’s own *other(s)*.

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BITTERNESS AND RECOGNITION: ROOM FOR OTHERS IN THE NOVELS OF STEPH CHA¹

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Abstract: The novels of Steph Cha posit two key characteristics for openness toward others: bitterness and recognition. The thesis of this paper is that both characteristics must be present together in order for openness to occur. Cha's Juniper Song detective series (2013-15), as well as her stand-alone novel *Your House Will Pay* (2019), foreground the role that bitterness and recognition play in an openness of Korean-Americans to other American people of color. Following the work of Jacques Rancière and Axel Honneth, bitterness is seen

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as a characteristic that keeps recognition from falling into the oppressive traps of one group only recognizing the pre-established modes of identity of another. Cha's novels insist on moments of bitterness within scenes of recognition, thus showing how both characteristics, together, form an essential way for a positive openness to another to be possible. Other Korean-American authors discussed include Cathy Park Hong, Caroline Kim, and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha.

Keywords: Steph Cha; Korean-American literature; openness; recognition; bitterness.

괴로움과 인식: 스텝 차 (Steph Cha) 소설 속 타인을 위한 공간

초록: 스텝 차 (Steph Cha)의 소설은 타인에 대한 개방성의 두 가지 핵심적 특성, 즉 괴로움과 인정을 사실로써 상정한다. 이 논문의 주제는 개방성이 발생하기 위해서는 두 가지 특성이 함께 존재해야 한다는 것이다. 스텝 차 (Steph Cha)의 *Juniper Song* 탐정 시리즈 (2013-15)와 독립소설 *Your House Will Pay* (2019)는 다른 유색인종인 미국인들에게 한국계 미국인의 개방성에 있어 괴로움과 인식이 차지하는 역할을 전면에서 보여준다. 자크 랑시에르 (Jacques Rancière)와 악셀 호네트 (Axel Honneth)의 저작에 따르면, 괴로움은 한 집단의 억압적인 함정에 빠지지 않고 다른 집단의 미리 설정된 정체성 양식만의 인식을 유지하는 특성으로 간주된다. 스텝 차 (Steph Cha)의 소설은 인식의 장면 내에서 괴로운 순간을 역설하며, 이 두 가지 특성이 함께 다른 사람에 대한 긍정적인 개방성을 가능하게 하는 본질적인 방법 형성을 보여준다. 또한 본 논문에서는 다른 한국계 미국인 작가들인 캐시 박 홍 (Cathy Park Hong), 캐롤라인 김 (Caroline Kim), 그리고 테레사 차학경 (Theresa Hak Kyung Cha)에 대해서도 논의된다.

핵심어: 스텝 차; 한국계 미국문학; 개방성; 인식; 괴로움.

CIERPIENIE I ŚWIADOMOŚĆ: PRZESTRZEŃ DLA INNYCH W POWIEŚCIACH STEPH CHA

Abstrakt: Powieści Steph Cha umiejscawiają dwa główne założenia otwartości na innych: cierpienie i świadomość. Artykuł ten przyjmuje, że oba te założenia muszą współlistnieć by zaistniała otwartość. Stworzona przez Cha seria detektywistyczna z *Juniper Song* (2013-2015), a także jej samodzielna powieść *Your House Will Pay* (2019) uwypuklają rolę, jaką cierpienie i świadomość odgrywają w otwartości Amerykanów o koreańskich korzeniach na pozostałych Amerykanów o pochodzeniu mieszanym i o innych kolorach skóry. Zgodnie z pracami Jacquesa Rancière i Axla Honnetha, cierpienie jest postrzegane jako cecha charakterystyczna, powstrzymująca świadomość od przekształcenia się w opresyjne pułapki jednej grupy, uznając jedynie

wcześniej ustalone sposoby tożsamości Innego. Powieści Cha skupiają się na chwilach ukazujących rozgoryczenie wśród scen uświadamiania, pokazując tym samym jak obie te cechy wspólnie kształtują podstawowe podejście do pozytywnej otwartości na drugiego człowieka. Inni omawiani autorzy koreańsko-amerykańscy to Cathy Park Hong, Caroline Kim i Theresa Hak Kyung Cha.

Słowa kluczowe: Steph Cha; literatura koreańsko-amerykańska; otwartość; świadomość; cierpienie.

1. Openness to Others in Korean American Literature

In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova mentions Korean literature almost randomly, saying that it is an example of *the small literatures* (Casanova 2004: 191), meaning, in the words of Jongyong Hwang, “a literature created to serve the cause of nation and people,” thus occupying “a dominated position in the international world order” (Hwang Jongyong 2010: 50). Although there may be an element of truth in this statement, perhaps in relation to writers responding to a perceived need to define language, state, and identity, some of the literature written by Korean diaspora in America does much to counter this claim.

The thesis of this work is that the diasporic nature of the novels of Korean-American writer Steph Cha allow for an openness to the issues, places, and people of non Korean-American immigrants. In other words, put far too bluntly and much too simply here at first, there is something about being in the position of an immigrant that creates an openness to other immigrants. Initial arguments against this thesis might be based on the isolation to which certain diaspora (especially women) might be subject (Cho 2008: 2-3). Disagreement can also come from the violence enacted by one minority group on another, for example on Asian Americans in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. On the other hand, initial support for the thesis might be based on an “ethic of collaboration” (Nkhoma 2008: 96) that has been especially developed by the oppressed. However, a more specific route is taken here in order to delineate the mechanics of such an openness to the other. The novels of Steph Cha are taken as a model because they portray Korean-American characters who are inspired and angered by events

affecting other American minorities outside their immediate situation. The manner in which this openness is expressed is by coupling the characteristics of *bitterness* and *recognition*.

In other words, when the diaspora are oppressed, this is not only traumatic, but also a potent position from which to enact change. This argument is similar to one found in Cathy Park Hong's collection of essays, *Minor Feelings*, in which she takes the immigrant's "unmastering of English" as a rallying cry, finding inspiration in those who use their lack of mastery of the language as a mode of questioning. She is interested in those "who queer" the language,

twerk it, hack it, Calibanize it, other it by hijacking English and warping it into a fugitive tongue. To other English is to make audible the imperial power sewn into language, to slit English open so its dark histories slide out (Hong 2020: 97).

A powerful example of this can be found in "Mr. Oh," the first story in Caroline Kim's collection *The Prince of Mournful Thoughts and Other Stories* (2020). Told in the first person, Mr Oh is an immigrant who speaks in a stereotypical Asian-English, as seen in the story's first sentences: "The doctor say he no can help me. He don't find any problem. He say:" (Kim Caroline 2020: 3). Yet despite being at a linguistic disadvantage when talking to his American doctor about his neck pain, Mr Oh does not give in to pressure to accept a psychological reason for it

No, I shake my head. I know what he talking about. He don't believe this pain in my neck. Almost, I can no longer swallow. He think I'm crazy, have some kind of mental problem. What he know anyway? Doctors, they just suppose to find place where pain start and fix it (Kim Caroline 2020: 3).

This is what Mr Oh thinks at the beginning of the story, and it is also what he thinks at the end. At least in part it is Mr Oh's "unmastering of English," in Hong's words, that allows him the stubbornness to insist on his pain and expose the weakness of a medical system that will not take the time to examine the real cause of his discomfort. There are other examples of a similar theme in Korean-American literature², and the books delineated below also engage in

² A key example is Chang-Rae Lee's first novel *Native Speaker* (1995), in which even the main character, who has lived in the US since he was a child, and who speaks

such a linguistic hacking, although using various narratological techniques.

That said, first there should be a note on methodology. My argument will not be historiographical, although some references to history will be made. What I will not argue, for example, is that the novels under discussion mirror a current reception of the historical relation of Korea to its immediate neighbors of China and Japan, say beginning in the early years of the Three Kingdoms, thus arguing that the country's relative independence or dependence on its neighbors (Hwang Kyung Moon 2017: 13-4) has had an influence on narrative strategies. Instead I approach the texts of Steph Cha and a few other Korean-American writers from a narratological perspective, noting how *textual space* is made for one minority within another.

Examples of an openness to others is of course found in Korean literature as well, yet within an immigrant experience the stakes of such an openness are sometimes different, as shown in a number of works from some of the most prominent Korean-American authors. For example, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's experimental novel *Dictée*, from 1982, published just days before the author's tragic murder, not only features stories of Cha's childhood, her mother's forced immigration, and a biography of activist Yu Guan Soon, but also the stories of Joan of Arc and Demeter and Persephone. The book also includes non-textual elements: family photographs, newspaper images, medical illustrations, and handwriting. In addition, the way the text is presented is also full of interruptions. For example, in the part on Joan of Arc, some pages end abruptly, mid-sentence, only to continue on pages later. It is up to the reader to piece the elements together. It is as if the narration had to be torn apart in order to make room for the other to enter. Or, in Juliana Spahr's words,

By destabilizing reading practices that seek to conquer or master, a reader-centered work like *Dictée* calls attention to – rather than elides

English fluently, can still be identified as a non-native speaker: "You look like someone listening to himself. You pay attention to what you're doing. If I had to guess, you're not a native speaker" (Lee Chang-Rae 2013: 13). Although there is a minor character called Mr Oh in Lee's novel, it bears no resemblance here. Another example can be found in Cathy Park Hong's first collection of poetry, *Translating Mo'um* (2002), which is in part concerned with the various ways the word *mother* can be translated into different linguistic contexts.

Brian Willems: Bitterness and Recognition: Room for Others...

– all that is least assimilable about a reader's connection to a work, making it an integral part of what must be 'read' (Spahr 1996: 24).

And there are other examples. The poetry of Cathy Park Hong, who was mentioned above, reverberates with both a Korean-American experience and many others outside that experience as well. Her second poetry collection, *Dance Dance Revolution* (2007), is both centered on the 1980 Gwangju Uprising and, although written in English, contains words from over 300 emigré language groups. In her most recent book of poetry, *Engine Empire* (2012), the horrors of American Manifest Destiny and the greedy indulgence of China's voracious construction industry are also given prominent roles (cf. Willems 2020). In a more recent example, Don Mi Choi's National Book Award winning collection of poetry *DMZ Colony* (2020) features a similar openness to multiple forms, including oral history, scribbles, memoir, and translation, although all with much more of a focus on Korean-American relations.

The novels of Steph Cha, the main writer under discussion here, both fit and do not fit into the above examples. Formally they are not as experimental. Cha's first three novels are quite standard detective stories, and her last book is more of a historical reconstruction. However, some of her work features interruptions by others just the same.

2. Early Cha

Cha's first three detective novels form a continuous series, all featuring the main protagonist Juniper Song (whose Korean name is Yoon-Kyung, although only her mother uses it). Song is a young woman in Los Angeles who accidentally gets involved in a murder investigation, which turns her into a budding detective. Although all of the novels feature a wide variety of themes and topics, from the perspective of this work, as the series continues, the novels gradually begin to incorporate more and more issues outside of Korean- or Asian-American concerns, until Cha's most recent novel (as of this moment), *Your House Will Pay* (2019), is both not a part of this detective series and is equally divided

between Korean-American and African-American issues. A discussion of this novel will take up the largest portion of this essay³.

Looking back at Cha's detective fiction however, the first novel in the series, *Follow Her Home* (2013), is the most "internally focused." It tells the story of how Song became a detective. She is obsessed with Raymond Chandler and his Philip Marlowe, and when a friend of hers suspects his father of having an affair with his employee, Lori Lim, Song is more than ready to try and find out the truth. However, when Song is attacked outside of Lori's apartment, and then later finds the dead body of one of Lori's colleagues in her car trunk, her career as a bonafide detective truly begins.

Most of the social issues addressed in the novel relate to the manner in which Asian women are sexualized, as in this passage about Lori and Song's dead sister Iris:

Over the city was the miasma of sexual predation, with submissive young Asian women as it eroticized target. Iris with her small feet and long, almond eyes was a fetishist's snack, and dollish Lori suited similar tastes (Cha 2013: 126).

Later in the novel, when an erotic photograph of Iris is discussed, a similar comment is made: (Cha 2013: 238). While both of these passages highlight some of the strengths of the story Cha is telling, they do not explicitly refer to an other outside of an Asian-American experience:

'She was so young, and she was putting herself on display as this Asian-schoolgirl archetype. It made me feel sick, as her sister, of course, but I felt like it reached and grabbed on to the Asian girl in me, too' (Cha 2013: 238).

³ Of course Cha is not the first Korean-American author to deal with such issues. Younghill Kang's *East Goes West* (1937), which is generally considered to be the earliest example of Korean-American literature, features many African-American characters, and Leonard Chang's *The Fruit 'n Food* (1996) and Yongsoo Park's *Boy Genius* (2002, as well as his other works) are just a few other examples of novels which deal with Korean-American and African-American relations. From an academic standpoint, Claire Jean Kim's *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City* is essential, as is Jeehyun Lim's 2013 article "Black and Korean: Racialized Development and the Korean American Subject in Korean/American Fiction".

Cha's second novel, *Beware Beware* (2014), is somewhat similar. Now working as an apprentice in a private investigator's office, Song is starting to take on actual cases. A woman named Daphne Freamon calls asking for a tail to be put on her boyfriend who is a Hollywood screenwriter. While this novel does include a number of aspects of the Los Angeles movie industry, it is not until the third Song book that we really start to find the mechanism of incorporating the other into a text which is already about a diasporic situation.

3. *Dead Soon Enough*

The novel that will take up this third section, *Dead Soon Enough* (2015), features the two main characteristics for openness to others: bitterness and recognition. The novel also introduces two of its major themes in the first chapter: motherhood in an Asian-American context and the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Song is in trouble financially and she sees an Article in the *New York Times* that seems promising. It is about

Asian-American egg donors. Apparently, our eggs commanded high premiums for rarity on the market – Asian-American women waited longer than average to have babies, chasing those professional dreams with their biological clocks ticking softly in the background. It was like a help wanted ad singing my name (Cha 2015: 2).

Yet the solution to Song's financial problems do not lie in donating her eggs, although this is not so far off the mark. At the same moment that she is reading the paper a new client walks through her detective office door. Rubina Gasparian wants Song to check up on her cousin Lusig, who is the gestational surrogate mother for Rubina's child and seems to be leading a less-than-restful life. It is in this initial get-to-know-you session that the first textual strategy for the intrusion of otherness appears: *recognition*. Song wonders why adoption is not an option for Rubina and her husband, but then realizes that her new client's last name gives the game away: Gasparian. " 'You're Armenian,' I said. Armenian names were almost as easy to spot as Korean ones" (Cha 2015: 4). Yet this is not just a moment of the recognition of the origin of a name, but rather the recognition, in "Armenian names" being

“almost as easy to recognize as Korean ones”, of the position of a minority in one group by another.

This scene represents a moment of solidarity that is on the one hand similar to Grace Kao’s call for thinking strategies of solidarity in America outside the politics and the history of the white oppression of native peoples (Kao 2015: 121). It also showcases an awareness of what Juliet Hooker calls “racialized solidarity”, meaning “how the social fact of race shapes the practice of solidarity and the challenges this poses to the project of achieving racial justice” (Hooker 2009: 4). The first technique that Cha’s novel posits for such solidarity is *recognition*.

And recognition is at the heart of the role of the Armenian Genocide in the novel. The Ottoman Empire’s murder and deportation of Armenians during and then after World War I has been recognized by many countries, although Turkey remains an important exception, and there the event is often viewed quite differently (Suny 2009). In Cha’s novel, Lusig, who is Rubina’s surrogate mother, does not lead the quietest of lives since she is an activist for the Turkish recognition of the genocide. The character of Tanner Kaymak, an assistant professor of history at the University of Southern California, is a rare Turkish supporter of the recognition of the genocide:

“This word – “genocide”,” the professor says, “ ‘it was coined by Raphael Lemkin in 1943, to describe what had happened to the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. It’s fascinating that there’s a question today about whether this term defines the phenomenon it was conceived to define (Cha 2015: 207).

Yet the question then becomes, to put it quite crudely, what is the question of the Turkish recognition of the genocide ‘doing’ in a detective novel that is also about Korean-American issues? In an interview with the author, when asked why she was interested in such an event, Cha says:

Two of my good friends are Armenian Americans, and my husband and I ended up getting into a long conversation with them about the genocide during a weekend trip to Lake Arrowhead. The genocide happened a hundred years ago, but it has yet to be recognized by the Turkish government or, for political reasons that have nothing to do

with truth or justice, by the United States.⁴ I'm Korean American, and despite being born well after World War II and having never lived in Korea, every now and then, I get extremely angry about Japan's denial of its war crimes. I know the feeling of rage in the blood, and I guess this conversation just called something out of me.

Later, when I interviewed them about their experiences growing up in Armenian immigrant households, I was struck by the parallels in our upbringing. The emphasis on education and family, the obsession with food, our truly exemplary mothers (Pochoda 2015).

Here Cha is referring to the Japanese killing of hundreds of thousands of Koreans after it annexed the country in 1910 (Hwang Kyung Moon 2017: 129-137), although this was not the first time Japan had invaded Korea⁵. Two failed attempts during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, which, according to historian Kyung Moon Hwang, were the beginning of “a poisoning of relations with Japan that would never disappear” (2017: 68).

Thus we reach the second textual strategy for incorporating the other into an already decentered position: *bitterness*. And bitterness, coming from the Old English *biter*, meaning *to bite*, resonates with the Cathy Park Hong quote mentioned above about the immigrant's ability to queer and hack the language they use in order to expose the dark sludge underneath. The inclusion of the Armenian Genocide in Cha's novel thus strikes a resonance with the Korean-American experience: both foster a need to bite back.

And there is some bitterness in *Dead Soon Enough*. For example, Song mentions the “bitter truths” (Cha 2015: 46) that came out in relation to her sister's death (her sister committed suicide after becoming pregnant as a teenager), and Song wonders a number of times if she is becoming a “bitter” old hag. But more importantly for this discussion, in the conversation with Professor Kaymak quoted above, when he expresses the uncommon view for a Turk to support the recognition of the genocide, the word bitter has an important role to

⁴ At the time of the novel's writing the United States did not recognize the Armenian Genocide, although President Joe Biden did so in April of 2021. This interview was given in 2015.

⁵ Probably the most famous example of treating the theme of the Japanese annexation of Korea in Korean-American literature is Min Jin Lee's *Pachinko* (2017), which begins in 1910.

play. Discussing the how pro-Turkish supporters show up at almost every Armenian rally for recognition, the professor:

laughed, loud and bitter, opening his mouth wide to a view of mashed batter and onion. ‘Of course,’ he said. ‘Of course of course of course! It’s like the Turkish government has a Google alert for the phrase “Armenian genocide”. And whenever it pings, they get their people ready’.(Cha 2015: 210).

Although the word ‘bitter’ is not foregrounded in this passage, it does indicate the anger of someone in opposition to prevailing opinions, much like both Korean- and Armenian-American immigrants in relation to those who oppress them.

Thus both *recognition* and *bitterness* stand as the first two characteristics which are necessary for the inclusion of the other in a narrative. It will take more time to develop the other strategies in play in this novel from Cha, as well as those found in her next and most important novel, *Your House Will Pay*.

4. *Your House Will Pay*

On March 16, 1991, 15-year-old Latasha Harlins was shot and killed by 51-year-old Soon Ja Du in Du’s convenience store in Los Angeles. Harlins was African-American and Du is Korean-American. Du’s light sentence of paying funeral expenses and 300 hours of community service enraged many (Stevenson 2013: 18), and coming only 13 days after the videotaped abuse of Rodney King, it was influential in starting the 1992 riots in LA (Stevenson 2013: 278). While Cha’s first three novels form a continuous story following Juniper Song’s development as a private detective, her fourth novel, *Your House Will Pay*, deviates from that trajectory by presenting a stand-alone story that lies outside of this series. In fact, it fictionalizes the murder of Harlins as well as the ramifications of this event on both African-American and Korean-American communities in 2019. This multi-generational story addresses the concepts of both reception and bitterness in the recognition of others within the potentially violent relations between various minority groups.

The first chapter of the novel takes place in 1991 and tells the story of a day one week before the murder of Harlins, who is given the name Ava Matthews in the novel. Ava, her brother Shawn, and their cousin Ray are waiting to get into the first-day showing of the film *New Jack City* (1991). As they wait in the crowd they begin to feel something strange: “There was something new and heavy in the air” (Cha 2019: 7). The movie gets cancelled because an uprising is starting, but the kids do not know what it is about

‘Didn’t you hear about Rodney King?’ “ a man nearby asks, and “Shawn nodded like he knew all about it,” but not really. “Rodney King – he did know the name. A black guy the cops beat on last week or something (Cha 2019: 8).

This “or something” is an indication of the distance between Shawn and the concerns of the African-Americans around him. This is a distance that will be crossed through the combination of bitterness and recognition. Coming back to this scene, Shawn and his sister and cousin are more worried about seeing the movie than the riots, although when people begin breaking storefronts Ray does get a nice stereo.

Actually, it is in the breaking of glass of one of the storefronts that we get a description of one of the most important elements of the novel, that is of *a breach*. Shawn had

seen glass break plenty of times before, but never a pane so large and clean, so invisibly solid. This was a breach between worlds, a pried-open passage to another dimension (Cha 2019: 10).

The breach between worlds is one of the key aspects of the book. It will be seen in the Korean-American characters struggling to truly emphasize with the Black Live Matter movement and with Shawn’s eventual niece and nephew trying to comprehend fully the murder of their cousin Ava, who died long before they were born. This division between worlds is all the more difficult to cross because it is both invisible and solid, thus *a prying open* is necessary, a violent penetration of one world into the other, here symbolized by the breaking of storefront glass in what is often trivialized as mere looting, but now taking on a more important dimension.⁶

⁶ In the scene describing Ava’s murder, a glass partition which is not broken is a symbol of worlds which remain estranged from each other. Accused of stealing some milk she probably intended to pay for, Grace’s mom reaches across the convenience store counter

In 2019, Grace Park is with her sister Miriam at a rally protesting the police shooting of a young black man named Alfonso Curiel. Miriam has been estranged from her and Grace's mother for years. Grace does not know that this is because Miriam has learned that their mother, back in 1991, was the woman who shot and killed Shawn's sister Ava Matthews. When their mother was let off with a light sentence, that, along with the aftermath of the Rodney King beating, lead to the LA Uprising of 1992. Yet since their mother had changed her name and kept a low profile, her identity was kept secret for years, at least until a day in 2019 when she is shot and killed outside the pharmacy where she works with Grace.

As mentioned above, this story is based on the real-life murder of Latasha Harlins. Although names and a number of details have been changed, the basics of the story have remained. One of the reasons that Cha chose this tragedy as the basis for her novel is that it directly addresses the violent tensions that can exist between immigrant groups in the United States, and between African Americans and Korean Americans in particular. As Cha has said in an interview about the novel

I'm Asian American, and I feel solidarity with people of color in this country. But I'm also aware that it's not the same struggle. And I think there's an impulse to consider it the same struggle, or part of the same thing, but the reality is that Asian Americans are treated differently from black Americans. It certainly shows up in the criminal justice system (Chang Ailsa 2019).

The task here is to develop the narrative strategies for incorporating such otherness in her novel.

The first chapter ends with Grace getting drunk after the Curiel memorial and having to be picked up from the bar by her parents. On the car ride home Grace's "head hurt, pounding with shame and gratitude, bitterness and love" (Cha 2019: 31). Here it seems that perhaps if love was not enough to enact an openness to others, indicated by Grace losing the initial rapture she felt at the memorial, bitterness might be the missing ingredient that could, when coupled with love, make the connection with another last. This idea is given some support by the end of Chapter Four. Grace knows that there is something

and grabs Ava's collar: "She pulled her like she might drag her over the barrier between them, the wall of glass and plastic that was supposed to keep them safe, one from the other" (Cha 2019: 107). The glass barrier here is a false barrier, separating two groups of people while keeping neither of them safe.

unsettling about her mother's past, but she does not know what it is. Her sister Miriam has been estranged from the family, after having a fallout with her mother, but there has been no really satisfactory answer as to why (they last had a quarrel when Miriam brought home a black boyfriend, but Grace does not feel like that is the whole story (Cha 2019: 58)). At the end of the Chapter Grace does not get any truth out of her mother. Instead, her mother tries to console her with food, in fact, even feeding Grace like a child in order to keep her quiet. Grace consents: "She opened her mouth and received the sweet bite" (Cha 2019: 61). Here the key descriptive detail is the word *sweet*, which is the opposite of *bitter*. If bitterness is supposed to be one of the necessary components for getting at the truth, then sweetness here is being posited as its opposite, as a means for concealing, hiding, smoothing over a hard truth that needs to come out, in this case that Grace's mother is a murderer.

4.1. *Distance and Forgiveness*

However, before we get to the role of bitterness and recognition in the novel, a number of other characteristics are put forth which are considered a hinderance to openness to the other. One of the most important, as seen above, is that of *distance*⁷. One reason that Grace has

⁷ In addition to showing the inadequacy of forgiveness, in the first part of the book Cha shows another problematic strategy for connection. Grace is listening to the speeches at the Curiel memorial, one of them given by Shawn's Aunt Sheila. At first, Grace is filled with a feeling of connection: "Her heart swelled with wretched humility and righteous, motivated passion. It was a familiar feeling, one she knew from her church days, the feeling of Christian revival. She was full of love, abundant and pure and impersonal, enough to reach every fallen soul, to take part in the sorrow of all" (Cha 2019: 19). Initially this seems like a perfect quote for an article on the way in which openness to others is enacted in fiction, with its "reach every fallen soul" and "to take part in the sorrow of all". The mechanisms for this openness would then be humility, righteousness, passion, Christianity, and impersonal love. Yet we should not move so quickly. This is an example of Cha setting up some assumed characteristics for openness only to shut them down, which can be seen just a few pages later, when Sheila is giving a speech: "It took an effort" for Grace "to make sense of her words over the noise of the crowd, and after a minute, Grace stopped trying. She couldn't find her way back to her rapture; she was already starting to forget the feeling. It was like trying to fall back asleep to dream the rest of a promising dream" (Cha 2019: 14). Grace not being able to go back to the rapture that was caused by humility, righteousness, passion, Christianity,

a hard time keeping up her anger about Curiel's murder is that she never met him:

she couldn't force herself to keep caring about this boy she'd never met, not with any passion, not when it seemed like the rest of the world was moving on (Cha 2019: 53).

The same issue happens with Shawn's family. Dasha and Darryl, Shawn's niece and nephew, are angry about the death of their Aunt Ava, but Shawn feels that their anger comes from too far a distance:

Darryl and Dasha were angry, sure, but their anger was inherited, abstract and bearable. They could indulge it without getting burned (Cha 2019: 69).

The issue of distance comes to the fore when Grace's mother is shot outside of her pharmacy and it is learned that Darryl is the one responsible. In confronting his nephew Shawn asks,

'She was my big sister... When she died, everything I knew fell in on itself. I used to dream about finding that woman, making her look at me. Humiliating her. Killing her. Are you gonna sit there and tell me you wanted that more than I did?' (Cha 2019: 260),

thus showing that the closer connections to father and uncle are the real causes of the violent act, rather than a sense of justice for a young woman who died many years before Darryl was born.

Yet the difference between positive and negative characteristics in relation to openness toward others really comes to the fore in the two moments in the novel when Grace and Shawn meet. The first time is 'unsuccessful' because it is based on a false characteristic for openness: *forgiveness*. The second is 'successful' because it is based on bitterness and recognition, the combination of characteristics outlines in Cha's early detective novels.

The first time Grace and Shawn meet, Grace seeks Shawn out. Grace's sister Miriam, who had previously learned about their mother's past, reached out to Shawn and his family but they did not take her up on it. But that means that Miriam had their address and Grace used it to come over unannounced once she also learned that their mother killed

and impersonal love, shows that those are not the characteristics that lead to a lasting openness.

Ava. But Shawn is having none of it. He does not understand why she has come. He is not angry at her because she has nothing to do with what her mother did. On the other hand, just as Shawn knew Darryl shot Grace's mother because of his relationship to his dad (who just got out of prison) rather than Ava, Shawn also knows that Grace's visit is not what it seems on the surface. " 'You want me to forgive you, don't you? That's why you came' " (Cha 2019: 191), Shawn says, but when Grace says that no, she just came over to help, Shawn says " 'You did me no wrong, and I have no reason to forgive you' " (Cha 2019: 191), thus indicating that forgiveness, even if it is something that Grace feels she needs, is not the correct path to connection. Forgiveness here is problematic. It is, in the words of Jacques Derrida, "addressed from the top down, it confirms its own freedom or assumes for itself the power of forgiving, be it as victim or in the name of the victim" (Derrida 2005: 58), and Grace is quickly shown the door.

4.2. In Defense of Bitterness

The second meeting between Grace and Shawn takes place the day after Grace buries her mother. She goes to City Hall where there is a protest against the arrest of Shawn's brother Ray for the murder of Grace's mother. Grace knows that Ray did not do it. She has video showing that it was Ray's son Darryl. However, she has not gone to the police. Ray seems to be taking the blame in order to keep his son out of jail.

It is here that Grace and Shawn have their final interaction, and it is the scene in which the characteristics for being open to another are finally given form.

Grace is the one who wanted to come to City Hall, but the reason is not to ask for forgiveness, or to prove that Ray is innocent: "She wasn't here to set him free. She was here for the boy. He had to be here" (Cha 2019: 285). The boy is Darryl, and the whole reason Grace came is to see the young man who killed her mother. Not to put him in jail, but just to see him.

And see him she does. He is standing in front of the crowd with his uncle Shawn and great-Aunt Sheila. Aunt Sheila. is speaking to the crowd, and the first thing she does is offer forgiveness to Grace's mother

(Cha 2019: 290), but this is not the end of the scene. It is not really what connects Grace and Shawn.

Shawn sees Grace in the crowd. Shawn's main motivation is to protect Darryl. He comes down and meets Grace. He says he is sorry about the death of her mother, Grace's sister says she is sorry about the death of Shawn's sister. But this is not the point. Grace says that she wants to talk to Darryl, otherwise she will submit the evidence she has that he killed her mother to the police. Shawn freaks out. He goes down on his knee to beg Grace for mercy, even though he is incredibly angry (Cha 2019: 292). Grace is not sure that this is what she wants:

She remembered the way he'd denied her before, withholding his forgiveness, turning her away. Was that what she'd wanted? To make him cough it up, now that she had the power? Now that she'd finally been wronged? 'No,' she said. 'Please. Get up. This isn't –' (Cha 2019: 292).

This is a scene of *recognition*. Darryl comes down and Miriam asks him if he knows who they are and he does, first using the name of their mother at the time that she killed Ava, and then the name she used when she change it after: “ ‘You're Jung-Ja Han – voice cracking – Yvonne Park's daughters, Miriam and Grace.’ He nodded at each of them as he said their names” (Cha 2019: 294). Miriam then follows this with a statement about how her mother still, until her death, misrecognized Ava:

Miriam nodded. 'One thing that's haunted me since I found out about my mom – she wrote a letter to the judge, and she got your aunt's name wrong. 'Anna Matthews,' she called her. And she said she felt sorry for her mother' (Cha 2019: 294).

Grace's mother, despite being sorry for what she had done, never really recognized what had happened, she did not even properly learn the name of the young woman she killed. This, in the final scene between Grace and Shawn, puts recognition at the heart of being open to another.

The etymology of recognition means to know something again, to recall someone or something to mind. It means that you have met or seen someone before, and now, seeing them again, you remember that person. This is the strength of Grace's request to *see* Darryl. She saw him briefly at Shawn's house when she came to visit, and she saw him again in a blurry video from the CCTV of her pharmacy's security

system when he shot her mother. And now here, at the rally in front of City Hall, she wants to see him again. Not to accuse him, or put him in jail, but to recognize him.

And it is not that Grace felt any sympathy for Darryl, she is full of bitterness:

Grace hated him. This fragile, pathetic, sobbing boy who'd had strength enough to shoot to kill. Sixteen years old. The age his aunt had been when she died. When a weak, frightened, angry woman, a woman who'd never aimed a gun before, had landed the shot of her lifetime (Cha 2019: 295).

Yet when the crowd realizes who Grace and Miriam are and move in to attack, Shawn protects them (Cha 2019: 298). Recognition, combined with bitterness, seems to be the reason why.⁸

5. Recognition

Yet recognition is a very heated concept. It encodes and disguises a number of important assumptions. One way to approach this is through the thought of Jacques Rancière, who puts “the denial of recognition experienced by the dominated” (Deranty 2003: 137) at the heart of his thought. This falls in line with Rancière’s demand for his particularly pragmatic demand for a universal principle of equality, which, for example, “confronts the discourse of the bourgeois denying the workers the right to express their rights with the universalistic discourse of the declaration of human rights” (Deranty 2003: 145), demanding that this inequality be addressed. For example, the philosopher describes the way that the common notion of recognition emphasizes “a relationship between already existing entities” (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 83). This is where the “re-” of recognition comes into play, since recognition in this sense is about both “the coincidence of an actual perception with

⁸ An example of Korean-American literature that has a different view of bitterness is seen in the title of Yongsoo Park’s essay collection *The Art of Eating Bitter*, in which part of the immigrant experience is swallowing the bitterness of life: “In hindsight, I can’t help but marvel at my parents’ willingness to do without. They readily ate the bitterest bitter without complaint. My mother rarely spent money on herself. She didn’t shop for pleasure or simply to have something to do. She didn’t wear jewelry, and she and my father wore out clothes until they were literally threadbare” (Park 2018: 145).

a knowledge that we already possess” as well as being a response “to the claim of other individuals who demand that we treat them as autonomous entities or equal persons” (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 84). At first this seems to be where this final scene from Cha’s novel lies. Grace wants to confirm that Darryl is the young man she saw in the video, Miriam wants to apologize for her mother not remembering Ava’s name.

However, Rancière goes beyond this position, and I will argue that Cha does too. For Rancière, recognition has another meaning, a philosophical one, which “focuses on the conditions behind such a confirmation” (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 85). In this sense recognition is “not the confirmation of something already existing but the construction of the common world in which existences appear and are validated” (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 85). Philosophical recognition is something which comes first, not after. It is about two entities meeting and making sense to each other, not recognizing each other from a previous meeting. Philosophical recognition is when someone addresses me and I actually respond, rather than my knowing this person from a previous encounter. Philosophical recognition “is what allows us to know, to locate and identify anything in the first place” (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 85), rather than being a confirmation of an identity previously understood.

Here Rancière finds himself in the company of many others who have taken the concept of recognition to task. For example, the quotes from Rancière are from a dialogue he has with Axel Honneth, German philosopher and recent director of the Institute for Social Research, for whom recognition is central to moral philosophy and any thought on power (through his readings Michel Foucault and others). In *The Struggle for Recognition* from 1992, Honneth seeks a way to retain individual self-realization within the broader need to recognize different groups in the development of an ethical life, mainly through readings of Hegel and George Herbert Mead (Honneth 1995: 175). However, in his later dialogue with Rancière, Honneth calls for a need to go beyond Hegel in the construction of an idea of social recognition, in which it is no longer enough to extend the same notions of freedom in the same way to every member of society, but rather there is a need for individuals to be

equally able to participate in the institutionalized spheres of reciprocity, that is to say, in families and personal relations, in the labor market, and

in the process of democratic decision-making (Rancière and Honneth 2016: 175-6)⁹.

On the one hand, Rancière and Honneth aim to uncover some of the important underpinnings and assumptions involved in the politics of recognition, and these can have serious consequences. As argued by Glen Sean Coulthard in *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*,

in situations where colonial rule does not depend solely on the exercise of state violence, its reproduction instead rests on the ability to entice Indigenous peoples to identify, either implicitly or explicitly, with the profoundly asymmetrical and nonreciprocal forms of recognition either imposed on or granted to them by the settler state and society (Coulthard 2014: 25).

In the Korean context, recognition can also be seen as a political tool, as North Korea to this day refuses to recognize the country South Korea, considering the whole peninsula to be under its own jurisdiction.

Just like her previous detective novels, this second scene between Grace and Shawn is not just about recognition, but also about bitterness. This is important because bitterness is a characteristic that keeps recognition from falling into the oppressive traps outlined by the thinkers above. Bitterness, meaning to bite, is an essential coupling with recognition because it foregrounds the connection between what Rancière called the common and philosophical meanings of recognition. Remember, the common meaning was both remembering something or someone from before and a demand to be treated as an equal to someone or something else, while the philosophical version was about being able to make sense with someone else at all in the first place. Bitterness is a way to see how the common and philosophical definitions of recognition are not so far away from each other. Bitterness abstracts the common definition into something more fundamental, while at the same

⁹ Both Rancière and Honneth are in dialogue with a classic text on the issue, Charles Taylor's *The Politics of Recognition* from 1992, in which he divides recognition into three main types, a universal recognition of all people, a differential politics where only one aspect of an individual is recognized, and a recognition of concrete individuality (Taylor 1994: 25-73). However, Rancière takes issue with the manner Honneth defines recognition in terms of an individual's ability to contribute to society when that society is hierarchical (cf. Deranty 2003: 151).

time grounding the philosophical definition in something more real. And it works like this:

Grace is bitter because her mother is dead. No matter how terrible an act her mother committed, Grace still hangs onto the fact that she can mourn. She hates Darryl, as quoted above: “Grace hated him. This fragile, pathetic, sobbing boy who’d had strength enough to shoot to kill” (Cha 2019: 295). Yet at the same time, she reaches out to Darryl:

She reached both arms out toward the weeping boy. She found his hands and took them in her own. They were warm and wet, and she felt the life pulsing through the meat of his palms. She wrapped her fingers around his and waited for something to happen, for some indication of how she was meant to go on (Cha 2019: 296).

The combination of bitterness and recognition turns Grace’s feelings into a kind of “politicized anger” (Coulthard 2014: 110), they become part of a “ ‘social struggle’ ”(Fraser and Honneth 2003: 199). This is not bitterness as failure, such as Albert Camus, through his reading of Scheler and Nietzsche, sees it, meaning a “resentment against oneself” (Camus 1991: 18). In Cha’s work, bitterness has a different function. It keeps recognition real, so to speak, meaning that it keeps the oppressive and colonialist aspects of recognition in play. Bitterness functions as a “breach”, as described above, or an intervention into the potentially destructive aspects of recognition.

This is similar to the manner in which Cha herself describes how *Your House Will Pay* works. In an interview the author conducted in mid-2021, she stresses both bitterness and recognition. She says first that

‘I imagine [conflicts between Korean and Black communities] will continue wherever Black people are thrown into close quarters with Korean people, especially when Koreans are praised as a model minority in order to shame Black people,’

and then she says that

‘I also think there’s a lot of solidarity between Black and Korean Americans, especially among the younger generation. It’s not all ugly, and it’s not all good’ (Choi Jae-bong 2021).

When we read Cha’s novels this combination of bitterness and solidarity does not come as a surprise, but is rather shown to be a

necessity. It is an essential way for a positive openness to another to be possible.

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CRITICISM OF LITERATURISM IN THE 1990S: FOCUSING ON *MUNHAKDONGNE*

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Abstract: Regarding the recent critical evaluations surrounding the Korean literature field in the 1990s, this paper argues that the criticism should be presented at a more ‘intrinsic’ and ‘reflective’ level. In particular, through *문학동네* *Munhakdongne* (the Literature Village) as a negative origin of today, I would like to examine the rationality of ‘literaturism’ (the art for art’s sake principle) in the 90s, which is difficult to criticize easily. This ‘rationality’ is not only one that is repeated and persuasive in today’s literature, but also one that shares much from the perspective of critically judging *Munhakdongne*. By critically examining the nature of this ‘rationality’ in the 1990s, this paper aims to define today’s Korean literature field and to prepare for the possibility of moving beyond it.

Keywords: 1990s Korean literature field; *Munhakdongne*; literaturism; inner self; authenticity.

1990년대 문학주의 비판: 문학동네를 중심으로

초록: 본고는 90년대 문학장을 둘러싼 최근의 비판적인 평가들과 관련하여, 그 비판이 보다 '내재적'이고 '반성적'인 차원에서 개진되어야 함을 주장한다. 특히 오늘날의 한 부정적 기원으로서 『문학동네』를 통해 손쉽게 비판하기 어려운 90년대 문학주의의 합리성을 살펴보고자 한다. 그 합리성은 오늘날 문학장에서 여전히 반복되며 설득력을 얻고 있을 뿐만 아니라, 이들을 비판적으로 판단하고 있는 시각에서 역시 상당 부분 공유하는 합리성이다. 본고는 저 합리성의 정체를 비판적으로 규명함으로써 오늘날 한국 문학장을 규정하고 이를 넘어설 수 있을 가능성을 마련해보고자 한다.

키워드: 1990년대 한국문학장; *문학동네*; 문학주의; 내면; 진정성.

KRYTYCYZM WOBEC LITERACKOŚCI LAT 90. WIEKU XX JAKO SZTUKI DLA SZTUKI – ZE SZCZEGÓLNYM UWZGLĘDNIENIEM *MUNHAKDONGNE*

Abstrakt: Artykuł, nawiązując do niedawnych krytycznych opinii dotyczących literatury koreańskiej lat 90. wieku XX, sugeruje, że podejście krytyczne powinno być realizowane w sposób nieco bardziej refleksyjny i skupiony na wnętrzu. Autor zamierza przeanalizować racjonalność skomplikowanego założenia o 'literackości' (zasada 'sztuka dla sztuki') w latach 90. wieku XX ze szczególnym skupieniem uwagi na *Munhakdongne* (*Literacka Wioska*), uznawanym za jej negatywne źródło. Nie chodzi bowiem jedynie o taką 'racjonalność', która jest powtarzalna i przekonująca we współczesnej literaturze, ale także taką, która dzieli się doświadczeniami z perspektywy ocenianej krytycznie *Munhakdongne*. Autor, wyszedłszy z krytycznego ujęcia natury owej 'racjonalności' próbuje definiować współczesną literaturę koreańską, czyniąc tym samym punkt wyjścia dla dalszych badań.

Słowa kluczowe: literatura koreańska lat 90. wieku XX; *Munhakdongne*; literackość jako sztuka dla sztuki; 'własne ja'; autentyczność.

1. Introduction

Perhaps the approval of contemporary criticism of the inner nature of literature in the early 1990s may be a signification for taking action for self-defense, which was attempted somewhat hastily. Perhaps criticism in the 90s excluded or tried to turn a blind eye to some important aspects in order to overcome literature in the 80s and out of a compulsion to prove that literature in the 90s was not a regression from the great literature in the 80s. Therefore, did critics in the 90s isolate the discourse of internality of literature in the 1990s into too narrow and limited areas? Thus, through this series of processes, the inner nature of literature may have acquired a kind of literary hegemony¹ (Bae Haeun 배하은 2016: 553).

It is not difficult to sympathize with the view of the Korean literature field in the 1990s as the product of “a signification for taking action for self-defense, which was attempted somewhat hastily” and “a compulsion to prove that literature in the 90s was not a regression from the great literature in the 80s” (Bae Haeun 배하은 2016: 553). Even a brief look at the criticisms in the early 1990s makes clear that terms such as ‘sociality’, ‘history’ and ‘totality’, which were common in the literature of the 1980s, quickly disappeared and were replaced by terms such as ‘personality’, ‘innerness’, and ‘sincerity’, and these substitutes eventually acquired importance. However, it seems somewhat problematic to attribute much of this to certain Ecole critics such as Seo Youngchae (서영채) and Hwang Jongyeon (황종연), rather than to share it with both writers and readers. These criticisms not only have the risk of “paradoxically overestimating the capabilities of a particular generation subject but also allow us to

¹ “어쩌면 1990년대 초 문학의 내면성에 대한 당대 비평의 승인은 다소 선부르게 시도된 자구(自求)적인 의미화는 아니었을까. 80년대 문학과와의 결별, 그것의 극복을 위해, 그리고 스스로가 위대한 80년대 문학으로부터의 퇴행이 아님을 입증해야 한다는 강박에 사로잡혀 어떤 중요한 측면들을 배제, 주변화하거나 애써 외면한 것은 아니었을까. 때문에 90년대 문학의 내면성이라는 담론은 지나치게 협소하고 제한적인 영역으로 스스로를 고립 내지는 게토화시킨 것은 아니었을까. 그리하여 이 일련의 과정을 거치는 가운데 문학의 내면성은 일종의 문학적 헤게모니를 획득하게 된 것이 아닐까” (배하은 2016: 553). All translations from Korean are by Author, unless stated otherwise.

underestimate the opportunity for the emergence of the ‘internal’ discourse”² (Kang Dongho 강동호 2020: 262).

If so, in order to answer enough of the above concerns, the ‘series of processes’ must be explained about how ‘innerness’ came to ‘acquire a kind of literary hegemony’. According to earlier studies, in the 1990s, the literature field was symbolically marked by *Munhakdongne* along with “[T]he desire for recognition of the 386 generation as second mover in the literature field”³ (Cho Yeonjeong 조연정 2018a: 224) and “the will to regain the original privileges of the tarnished literature”⁴ (Cho Yeonjeong 조연정 2018b: 26). In addition, *Munhakdongne* finds ‘innerness’ as “the area of literature that can sustain the value system of authenticity in the past in the most literary way”, and acquires hegemony by assuming ‘pure self-identity’, or ‘true authenticity’, for the novel’s “restoration of essence” (Bae Haeun 배하은 2016: 559-563). In the end, *Munhakdongne* forms an ‘unknown myth of authenticity’ based on innerness and colonizes the areas outside the Oikos called the literary world through a true/false dichotomy (Lee Soyeon 이소연 2017: 184).

However, the above explanations are not sufficient grounds for their arguments. The above explanations repeat only negative evaluations without providing sufficient explanation of how ‘literaturism’ based on ‘inner nature-sincerity’ won the confrontation with literature in the 1980s and how it became the main origin of today’s literature field. One previous critical commentator sets up discussions by distinguishing between ‘depressed’ and ‘cynical’ writers and critics who want to convince readers that the ‘signs’ of such writers are really ‘new ways to fight reality’. It also evokes the fact that

the view of considering the disconnected narratives common in literary history descriptions as products of discourse, and the view of criticizing the desires and generational recognition of the subjects who

² “역설적이게도 특정 세대 주체의 역량을 지나치게 과대평가하는 결과를 낳을 위험”이 있을뿐더러, “‘내면성’ 담론이 출현하게 된 계기를 과소평가”할 수 있게끔 하기 때문이다” (강동호 2020: 262).

³ “후발주자(386 세대)의 인정욕망” (조연정 2018a: 224).

⁴ “실추된 문학 본연의 특권을 되찾고자 하는 의지” (조연정 2018b: 26).

invented discourse can also be returned to the subject of historical description⁵ (Kang Dongho 강동호 2020: 261).

In other words, the commentator indirectly argues that the declaration of disconnection could not have been made solely by the desire of the critics at the time by suggesting that what the researchers' desires are today should also be reflected on.

In short, if today's researchers have no choice but to make value judgments with specific desires, and if judgment on today's literature is being made based on this, it should also be critically reviewed whether the value judgment of the researcher looking at the research subject is justified. Otherwise, today's research may not only violate the ethics of historical descriptions related to 'value judgment'; paradoxically, the recent criticism of criticism in the 90s is also due to 'a rather premature justification' in relation to literature today, and the obsession to prove that it is not a regression from literature in the 90s.

2. Methodology for Understanding Literature in the 1990s

This is commonly found in many critics of modernity discourse during this period (90s) ... the ultimate task of critics in the 90s, summarized as living and thinking seriously about the paradoxes and contradictions of modernity, is no different from thoroughly experiencing the paradoxes and contradictions proposed by Hwang Jongyeon. In the end, it is a repetition of the Berman-style frame. ("Modernism for Berman is an attitude that fully embraces modernity, full of tension and contradictions, and corresponding vision that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, and transformation of ourselves and the world, while at the same time threatening to destroy everything we have, everything we know and ourselves".) ... In this way, the discourse that actively raised modernity involves an interpretation that expands modern capabilities close to infinite power and expands modernity's boundaries close to permanence. ... By the

⁵ “문학사 서술에서 흔히 이루어지는 단절적 내러티브를 담론의 산물로 간주하고 담론을 창안한 주체들의 욕망과 세대론적 인정 욕구를 비판하는 관점 역시 역사 서술의 주체에게로 되돌려질 수 있다는 사실” (강동호 2020: 261).

reflection of aesthetic modernity, the impossibility of revolution is replaced by the revolution of modernity itself and ultimately forgotten. However, as such, the impossibility replaced by possibility cannot help but leave some trace⁶ (Hwang Jeonga 황정아 2020: 123-133).

One commentator, who defines modernity as a narrative category and metaphor rather than a concept, stipulates that the main task of modernity is rewriting, but that the discussion of modernity in the 1990s is rewriting related to the ‘status’ of the category itself, and critically approaching the discourse of modernity in the 90s. The above criticism argues that concepts associated with ‘literaturism’ such as ‘sincerity’ and ‘inner self’, which are transformed into ‘aesthetic modernity’, only specialize in ‘self-identity’ of modernity, but cannot escape itself. This is in line with earlier criticisms, but it is meaningful in that it expands the scope of criticism not only to the editorial committee of *Munhakdongne* of the time but also to several critics who participated in (aesthetic) modernity discourse. In addition, no matter how thoroughly aesthetic modernity criticizes and reflects on modernity, such argument of aesthetic modernity proves the limitations of literature in the 1990s by revealing that it is only a self-reflection of modernity. It should be fully explained how well the power of each element contained in modernity is justly recognized, and how well the contradictions and paradoxical tensions created by different elements are maintained. Otherwise, ‘aesthetic modernity’ will only degenerate into a means of self-justification of ‘modernity’ along with mythical explanations such as along with mythical

⁶ “이 시기 근대성 담론의 상당 수에 공통적으로 확인 되는(바) ... 근대성의 역설과 모순을 ‘온몸으로 살고’ ‘진지하게 사고’하는 것으로, 궁극적인 과제도 황중연이 제안한 역설과 모순을 철저히 겪는 일과 다를 바 없다. 결국 버먼식 프레임(“버먼에게 모더니즘이란 ... 모험, 힘, 기쁨, 성장, 그리고 우리 자신과 세계의 변형을 약속하는 동시에 우리가 가진 모든 것, 우리가 아는 모든 것, 우리 자신인 모든 것을 파괴하려고 위협하는 역설과 긴장과 모순으로 가득한 근대성을 온전히 수용하고 그에 상응하는 비전을 갖는 태도”)의 반복인 셈인데 ... 근대성을 적극적으로 부상시킨 담론에는 이와 같이 근대의 역량을 거의 무한 동력에 가깝게 확대하고 그 경계를 거의 영속성에 가깝게 확장하는 해석이 개입한다. ... 미적 근대성의 반성작용에 의해 혁명의 불가능성이 근대성 자체의 혁명성으로 대체되고 궁극적으로 망각되는 것이다. 하지만 그렇듯 가능성으로 대체된 불가능성이 어떤 흔적을 남기지 않을 수는 없다.” (황정아 2020: 123-133).

explanations such as ‘reviving the contradiction of modernity faithfully = restoring modernity’ (Hwang Jeonga *황정아* 2014: 142).

To summarize the above criticism, the loss of utopian concepts which were popular in the 80s, such as ‘Revolution’ and the ‘Outside’ still applies not only to the ‘90s’ but also to ‘Today’, and it argues that if we do not actively remember and present what we have forgotten since the 1990s, both the criticism of the past and today’s criticism will fail. The above criticism, which is very fundamental and persuasive, is more intransitive than the previous discussions, criticizing Fantasia, which romanticizes and mythologizes the ‘aesthetic modernity’ pursued by ‘literaturism’. This criticism evokes the impossibility of aesthetic modernity and emphasizes that the recovery of utopia in the 80s is a way to overcome the above pitfalls. However, was this criticism and proposal possible at the time, and is it possible today? This may be another disconnection and settlement between the 1990s and today.

Whenever I look back on the acceptance process of post-discourse in Korea over the past 20 years, I feel surprised. Such surprises arise, above all, from the puzzling changes that took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the acceptance of post-discourse was just beginning. ... It was a change that could be called epistemological disconnection or amputation. ... Why on earth did this drastic change take place? The most obvious answer to this question is that it is due to the rapid changes in world history that took place at the same time. For example, the Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe fell one after another ... However, it is difficult to properly answer the question of why the “change in external reality” had to involve such a rapid “internal ideological change.” ... Rather, it can be hypothesized that the rapid acceptance of post-discourse is a kind of expression of condolences. ... The hypothesis of post-discourse as a mourning discourse allows us to explain why so many narratives of confession and conversion became popular in Korea in the early 1990s. Post-discourse was something that made it possible to endure the painful process of mourning and replace an object that had already been lost⁷ (Jin Taewon *진태원* 2019: 35-37).

⁷ “지난 20 여 년 동안 국내에서 이루어진 포스트 담론의 수용 과정을 들여다볼 때마다 놀라움을 느끼게 된다. 그러한 놀라움은 무엇보다 포스트 담론의 수용이 막 시작되던 1980년대 말~1990년대 초에 일어난 수수께끼 같은 변화로 인해

According to the discussion that analyzed the discourse of the humanities as a whole beyond the literature field, the emergence of new things in the 90s that felt disconnected from the 80s was ‘something that allowed us to endure the painful process of mourning and replace the already lost loved ones’. The advantage of this framework is that ‘post-discourse was at first and is still tied to the bondage of its introduction conditions’, as well as that it connects the 1990s and today more closely to reflect on it, and that the 1990s can be approached away from sincerity-based ‘value judgments’ (Jin Taewon 진태원 2019: 34-35).

When applying the above perspectives one by one to the literary field of the 1990s, we can see that

- 1) critics of field of the 1990s continued their literary history as a process of sincere mourning by using the works and attitudes (scepticism, cynicism, masochism, etc.) shown by depressing writers of the time as a ‘substitute’.
- 2) In addition, as for the response to the loss of mourning [mourning/depression], we should be more cautious as long as Derrida’s argument that a more ethical response should accept the impossibility of mourning is still something unfamiliar. Today’s gaze should be more careful in determining the value of mourning work, which was common in the 1990s. To continue the above application,
- 3) we easily confirm that the criticisms for the 90s literature field represented by Hwang Jeonga belong to the category ‘depression’, another aspect of response to loss, and that

생겨난다. ... 가히 인식론적 단절 내지 절단이라고 부를 만한 변화였다. ... 이러한 급격한 변화는 도대체 왜 일어난 것일까? 이 질문에 대한 가장 명백한 답변은 같은 시기에 일어났던 급격한 세계사적 변화에 그 원인이 있다는 것이다. 1989년 베를린 장벽이 붕괴되고 소련을 비롯한 동유럽 사회주의 국가들의 연쇄적인 몰락... (그러나) 이 답변은 ‘외부 현실의 변화’가 왜 꼭 그렇게 급격한 ‘내부의 사상적 변화’를 수반해야 했는가라는 반문에 대해 제대로 답변하기 어렵다. ... 오히려 포스트 담론의 수입과 급속한 수용은 일종의 애도의 표현이라는 가설을 세워볼 수 있다. ... 애도담론으로서의 포스트 담론이라는 가설은 왜 1990년대 초에 국내에 그토록 많은 고백의 서사와 전향의 담론이 유행하게 되었는지 설명할 수 있게 해준다. 포스트 담론은 그 고통스러운 애도의 과정을 견딜 수 있게 해주고 이미 상실된 사랑하는 대상을 대체할 수 있게 해준 어떤 것이었다”(진태원 2019: 35-37).

‘depression’ as a different choice remains a moral criticism of 90s literaturism (mourning), and it cannot be an alternative.

Citing Derrida, Jin Taewon proposes a way to overcome the (sorrow/depression) dichotomy. Mourning of mourning, or mourning about mourning, are answers to ‘how to mourn ourselves’ (‘narcissistic subject-centeredism’), and it asks for (re) mourning work on the ‘sorrow’ work that ‘we’ have been performing since the 1990s. In other words, we must truly mourn ourselves in the meantime, looking back on ‘we’, which have expressed ‘inner self’, ‘sincerity’, and ‘literaturism’ as mourning works since the 1990s. However, the above way is somewhat unique. Looking at Jin Taewon’s work of mourning for the discourse field of theory (the humanities as a whole, philosophy), he performs ‘primarily’ ‘discovering and developing unique insights into post-discourses that have not been properly recognized or practiced despite the arrival of post-discourses over the past 20 years’. However, such work, contrary to the ‘denial’ and ‘disposal’ of products that have been replaced and developed since the 1990s, clarifies 90s’ ‘benefits’ and ‘meaning’ once again. This is because the author assumed that the main prospective reader of the book, including himself in the past, was the subject of depression. Depression is also an aspect of self-destructive ‘other mourning’, a process of mourning as a larger category, and the author argues that the subject in depression should not narcissistically adhere to his own method, but should instead discover the ‘original connection’ from the 1990s. In other words, the depression of criticism, which rejects mourning in the 1990s and insists on the recovery of what was in the 1980s, should start with the affirmation of what was in the 1990s and move itself to the realm of mourning ourselves and dialogue with others.

3. Criticism of Literaturism in the 1990s (1)

Jin Jeongseok: As you know, the active recognition of national literature played a decisive role in the spread of the Shin Kyung-sook phenomenon to the entire range of the literature field. This was a kind of incident. To many people, Shin Kyung-sook’s novel seemed almost contrary to the resistance image of national literature. However, there seems to be an analogous resemblance and structural agreement

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between Shin Kyung-sook's topic and the concerns of national literature. *Writing as a Confession* is the medium. The essence of Shin Kyung-sook's novel is a confession, a desperate confession to oneself, not anyone else. It is a common belief in literary history that the form of confession is usually submitted in a crisis of identity, and that it is a writing method that pursues sincerity. National literature in the 90s, in a serious identity crisis, discovers a new meaning implied in the writing of this confession in the process of seeking an alternative to overcoming. This structure can also be found in Choi In-hoon's "화두 Hwadu (The Topic)", a clear coordinate of confession novels in the 1990s. Doesn't "화두 Hwadu" also have a creative motivation to overcome the impact of the collapse of the Cold War and reaffirm one's identity?⁸ (Jin Jeongseok et al. 진정석 외. 1999: 37).

First of all, the 'loss' of literature in the 1990s and the subsequent 'serious identity crisis' were quite common, and keywords such as 'confession', 'inner self', and 'sincerity' were not only for critics of a specific École, but rather a substitute for the mourning process borrowed from the entire literature field. Of course, the pattern will vary greatly depending on how it is handled and how the relationship is established in the future (e.g., as a confession of depression or as a new alternative), but at least it can be seen that several keywords assumed to be literary were somewhat inevitable in the process of loss and mourning. One interesting fact is that several critics of the time went through the above process of mourning after considerable hesitation. Therefore, the point to note today should not be the judgment of the external value of the answer they eventually gave, but

⁸ “진정석: 아시다시피 <신경숙 현상>이 전문단적인 범위로 확산되는 데는 민족문학 쪽의 적극적인 사후 추인이 결정적인 역할을 했는데요. 이걸 일종의 사건이었죠. 많은 사람들에게 신경숙 소설은 민족문학의 저항적 이미지와 거의 배치되는 것처럼 보였거든요. 하지만 신경숙의 화두와 민족문학의 고민 사이에는 어떤 유비적인 답음, 구조적인 합치점이 있었던 것 같아요. <고백으로서의 글쓰기>가 바로 그 매개인데요. 신경숙 소설의 본질은 고백, 그것도 다른 누가 아닌 바로 자기 자신을 향한 간절한 고백이지요. 고백의 형식이 대개 정체성의 위기상황에서 제출된다는 것, 진정성을 추구하는 글쓰기 방식이라는 것은 문학사의 통설입니다. 심각한 정체성 위기에 처한 90년대의 민족문학은 극복의 대안을 모색하는 과정에서 이 고백의 글쓰기에 내포된 의미를 새롭게 발견하게 되죠. 90년대 고백체 소설의 뚜렷한 좌표인 최인훈의 <화두>에서도 이런 구조를 찾아볼 수 있어요. 화두 역시 냉전체제의 붕괴가 가져다준 충격을 극복하고 자기 정체성을 재확인하려는 창작동기를 갖고 있지 않습니까?” (진정석 외. 1999: 37).

the work of verifying whether it was logical and effective from an intrinsic point of view.

The problem is that it is relative and one-off, and that parody without the original cannot exist, and lightness can only be established on the premise of heavyness. Nietzsche's Zarathustra also talked about the lightness of a child. However, the child's condition is only possible after going through a painful camel and a violent lion. ... The reason why nihilism is repeatedly mentioned at the discussion of feature novels in the 1990s is because of the fact that a new generation of writers is now naked in front of that huge nihilism. Disillusionment is basically a form of self-confession, so it is difficult to repeat it more than once in a writer. In other words, there is no continuous productivity. ... How to acquire the vitality of serious cheerfulness and lightness, which is not frivolous, is an exciting concern for readers, but it will be an object of considerable struggle for them⁹ (Seo Yeongchae 서영채 1995: 34-40).

However, it is not an alternative to established culture by itself to making something pitiable, that is, praise for deviance and immorality. ... If you believe that the corrupt reason that dominates society will be broken down through the recovery of suppressed madness, it is an innocent idea. ... It is correct to say that the carnival of madness has the effect of helping reconstruction rather than destroying the bourgeois identity. ... Unlike the interpretation of people who make romantic beautifications about it, the "people's carnival" is only a temporary crack in the hegemony allowed by the established power itself from the beginning¹⁰ (Hwang Jongyeon 황종연 2001: 30-31).

⁹ “문제는 그것이 상대적이고 일회적인 것이라는 점, 원전 없는 패러디는 존재할 수 없으며 가벼움은 무거움을 전제로만 성립될 수 있다는 점이다. 니체의 짜라투스트라도 어린아니의 가벼움을 이야기했다. 그러나 그 어린아이의 상태는 고통스런 낙타와 격렬한 사자의 상태를 거친 이후에만 가능하다. ... 90 년대의 장편 소설을 논의하는 자리에서 거듭 허무주의를 언급하는 것은, 이제 새로운 세대의 작가들이 저 거대한 허무주의 앞에 알몸으로 노출되어 있다는 사실 때문이다. 환멸은 기본적으로 자기고백의 형식이기 때문에 한 작가에게서 두 번 이상 반복되기 어렵다. 곧 지속적인 생산력이 없다는 것이다. ... 진지한 쾌활함과 경박하지 않은 가벼움의 활력을 어떤 방식으로 획득할 것인지, 이것이 독자들에게는 흥미진진한 관심거리이지만 그들에게는 적지 않은 고투의 대상일 것이다.” (서영채 1995: 34-40).

¹⁰ “그러나 비루하게 만들기, 그 일탈과 패덕의 찬양이 그 자체로 기성 문화에 대한 대안이 되지 않는 못한다. ... 사회를 지배하는 타락한 이성이 억압된 광기의

The novel driven by disillusionment, which is difficult to repeat more than once in a writer, is simply in crisis. In addition, the carnival of madness is more likely to contribute to helping rebuild rather than destroying bourgeois identity. Looking at writers passing through the 90s as ‘depressions’, critics are critically aware of the limitations of so-called 90s literature, recognizing that it cannot be the ultimate literary answer. In particular, Seo Youngchae and Hwang Jongyeon, both literary critics and Korean modern literature majors, commonly felt similarly to those in their late 30s and early 40s, and agonized to avoid repetition of ‘comic’ history. Seo Youngchae carefully took a literary attitude, remembering that

Kim Nam-cheon wanted to take a step back and look at the world; Choi Jae-seo went one step further, but Kim Nam-cheon took two steps back and wrote a popular novel, and Choi Jae-seo went two steps further and was awakened by the pseudo-modern fantasy of fascism¹¹ (Seo Yeongchae 서영채 1993: 41).

Through the above, we can talk as follows. The above critics are those who live in universal historical times such as the world history of the time and are obsessed with the time of the special field ‘Korean Literary History’. Furthermore, as literary critics (i.e., as authorities in the field of literature), they would have thought carefully with the writers of the time as they passed through a series of ‘end’ periods. For example, it is difficult to fully agree with the negativity shown by writers in the literature field of the time, but by deconstructing this negativity and paying attention to the innerness and authenticity assumed to exist in it, they somehow denied the end and continued history (literary history). If so, maybe critics wrote a ‘bildungsroman’ called Korean literary history, assuming writers at

복권을 통해 타파되리라고 믿는다면 그것은 아무래도 순진한 생각이다. ... 광기의 카니발은 부르주아적 정체성을 파괴하는 효과가 있다기보다는 오히려 재건을 돕는 효과가 있다고 해야 옳다. ... 민중 카니발은 그것에 대한 낭만적 미화를 일삼는 사람들의 해석과 다르게 애초부터 기성 권력 자체가 허용한 헤게모니의 일시적 균열에 불과하다”(황종연 2001: 30-31).

¹¹ “김남천은 한 발 물러서서 세상을 바라보고자 했고, 최재서는 한 발 더 나아가 세상 속으로 뛰어들라고 했”지만, “김남천은 두 발 물러서 통속소설을 썼고, 최재서는 두 발을 더 나아가 파시즘이라는 사이비 탈근대의 환상에 경도되었다.”(서영채 1993: 41).

the time as ‘characters’. If so, today we can find some problematic points from a critical point of view as well as a historical point of view over a ‘bildungsroman’ conducted by critics in the 1990s, if the ‘bildungsroman’ called rewriting of literary history is still inevitable today.

4. Criticism of Literaturism in the 1990s (2)

Full denial in the 80s style falls into the trap of suicide. So literature moves under the whip of a good mother. It is myself who is being beaten and at the same time, a bad father hiding inside me. I am in pain, but I feel a sense of pleasure in getting my father beaten. It’s a painful and pleasant joke that happens inside us. Death and cynicism appear in the text of the four writers, and furthermore, the big plot of the 1990s novel is read in a fundamentally masochistic context for us. The representative divinity of masochism is Jesus. ... The masochistic desire revealed through the divinity of Jesus is the will and desire for regeneration or new birth. ... It does not seem to be lacking in telling us the aspects and subject matter of the critical potential that literature must have in this era. The forest of novels in the 1990s, where these plots are intertwined, feels dense and deep¹² (Seo Yeongchae 서영채 2005: 150).

Of course, any generation has their own wounds, and they have their own language of authenticity. The same is true of Kim Young-ha’s generation. However, at least for them, literature is characteristic in that it is not a suitable form for expressing or healing wounds. ...

¹² “80 년대식으로 전면적으로 부정하는 것은, 자기 부정이라는 혹은 자살이라는 함정에 빠져버린다. 그래서 문학은 착한 어머니의 채찍 아래로 나아간다. 매를 맞고 있는 것은 나 자신이면서 동시에 내 안에 숨어 있는 못된 아버지다. 맞는 나는 고통스럽지만 아버지를 맞게 하는 나는 통쾌감을 느낀다. 그것은 자기 내부에서 벌어지는 아프고 유쾌한 농담이다. 네 작가의 텍스트에 나타나는 죽음과 냉소가, 더 나아가서는 1990 년대 소설의 큰 줄거리가 우리에게겐 근본적으로 마조히즘적인 맥락으로 읽힌다. 마조히즘의 대표적 신성은 예수이다. ... 예수라는 신성을 통해 드러나는 마조히즘적인 욕망은 재생 혹은 신생애의 의지이자 회구다. ... 그것은 우리에게 이 시대에 문학이 지녀야 하는 비판적 잠재력의 양상과 소재를 알려주기에 그다지 부족함이 없어 보인다. 이런 줄거리들이 서로 얽히며 만들어가는 1990 년대 소설의 숲은 더 없이 울창하고 그윽하게 느껴진다.” (서영채 2005: 150).

Soonmo Yang: Criticism of Literaturism in the 1990s:

Their literature seems to be serving as a mechanism of reflection while paralleling with sexuality and the tendency to sublimate in emotional life, which have gradually become the mainstream of the entire culture since the 1990s. ... They appear to have taken another dimension of authenticity in different ways, finding their own literary language. ... As Adorno said, if true depth stems from resistance, literary resistance will now be resistance to oneself¹³ (Seo Yeongchae 서영채 2005: 99-103).

In contrast, Seo Youngchae, who could not hide his skeptical gaze toward contemporary artists in the early 1990s, fully approved their works by the end of the 90s. The reason why this was possible was because Seo discovered an ‘enemy’. Critics confirm that writers are continuing their struggles and resistance by discovering the ‘enemy’ hidden behind self-torment and suicide shown by writers in the 1990s, and they approve such struggles as good literature. In fact, the importance of ‘the enemy’ and ‘fighting’ is evident from the beginning of Seo’s writing. For Seo, literature is a form of ‘fighting’ and ‘resistance’, and the inner self and authenticity exists as a ‘place’ as long as the fighting continues. In other words, for Seo Youngchae, literature is form of a resistance through reflection; thus, even Kim Young-ha’s novel, which seems far from ‘authenticity’, Seo captures that it performs fighting functions (reflection and reflection) well for the culture of the time, and approves it as another attempt to depth of literature.

The order of the commander (Hwang Ji-woo) was not a desperate battle, but a retreat. It means we have to be in seclusion. Caused by what? Needless to say, it is because of the enormous power of marketism. ... But isn’t it too late? Aren’t there already such vivid

¹³ “물론 어느 세대나 자기들만의 상처가 있게 마련이고 또 진정성에 대한 자기들만의 고유한 언어가 있게 마련이다. 김영하의 세대들도 마찬가지다. 그러나 최소한 그들에게 문학은 상처를 표현하거나 치유하는 데 적합한 형식이 아니라는 점에서 특징적이다. ... 그들의 문학은 1990 년대 이후 점차 문화 전체의 주류가 되고 있는 섹슈얼리티와 감정 생활에서의 탈승화 경향과 나란히 가면서 동시에 그에 대한 반영과 반성의 기제 노릇을 하고 있는 것으로 보인다. ... 그들은 다른 방식으로 진정성의 또다른 차원을, 자기들의 문학적 언어를 찾아나선 것으로 보인다. ... 아도르노의 말처럼 진정한 깊이가 저항에서 비롯되는 것이라면, 문학적 저항은 이제 자기 자신에 대한 저항일 것이다” (서영채 2005: 99-103).

traces of the struggle (fighting) that literature walked in the 1990s in front of our eyes? ... How remarkably different are the socialities of literature in the 1980s. Aren't these the literary expressions and responses to the cynicism and duality of the proud market?¹⁴ (Seo Yeongchae 서영채 2005: 111).

Therefore, literaturism, unique to *Munhakdongne*, which is distinguished from existing literaturism, is a head-on confrontation with marketism of the time, as previously confirmed in the approval of Kim Young-ha's novel. In short, 'enemy' as an object of struggle and resistance to literary neighborhoods is not an 'idol' (false hope, false reconciliation), but an obvious 'enemy' of the time.

The news that the ego is fiction now has no feeling of scandal. If you decide to use the word fiction like that, the whole human culture is fiction. Saying the self is a fiction does not exempt you from the task of contemplating and exploring the self. We must learn something from the post-structuralist correction that the ego is built in linguistic, cultural, and political connections, but we must also remember the historical fact that the ideal of the ego played an important role in human self-liberation. ... If so, the inner-self literature we have discussed so far is also responsible for reflecting on and renewing itself. Shin Kyung-sook and Yoon Dae-nyeong's novels have realized the principle of aesthetic subjectivity that builds the self after the neutralization of national-popular identity, but pending issues surrounding the self continue to be born, and the principle of introversion that meets the self truthfully remains valid¹⁵ (Hwang Jongyeon 황종연 2001: 136-137).

¹⁴ “사령관(황지우)의 명령은 결사 항전이 아니라 퇴각이었다. 은둔해야 한다는 것이다. 무엇 때문인가. 말할 것도 없이 시장주의의 저 엄청난 위력 때문이다. ... 그러나 그것은 너무 늦은 게 아닐까. 이미 우리 눈앞에는 1990 년대 문학이 걸어온 고투의 흔적들이 너무나 생생하게 펼쳐져 있지 않은가. ... 1980 년대 문학이 지니고 있었던 사회성에 비하면 얼마나 현저하게 다른 것들인가. 이들이야말로 저 의기양양한 시장의 냉소주의와 이중성에 대한 문학적 표현이자 대응이 아닐까”(서영채 2005: 111).

¹⁵ “자아가 허구라는 소식은 이제 조금도 추문의 느낌이 없다. 허구라는 말을 그렇게 사용하기로 한다면, 인간 문화 전체가 허구다. 자아를 허구라고 말한다고 해서 자아에 대해 고민하고 탐구해야 하는 과제에서 면제되진 않는다. 우리는 자아가 언어적, 문화적, 정치적 연관 속에서 구축된다는 후구조주의적 교정으로부터 뭔가를 배워야 하지만 자아의 이상이 인간의 자기 해방에서 중요한 역할을 담당했다는 역사적 사실도 아울러 기억해야 한다. ... 그렇다면

In addition, in relation to *Munhakdongne*'s struggles, it can be confirmed that 'individuals', 'inner self' and 'sincerity' are truly places of struggle and are never ideal, safe, or pure spaces. The inner self, rather than a resistance base against the colonization of capital, is a place of struggle in which battles take place, and it is necessary to 'reflect and renew itself' repeatedly. Hwang Jongyeon carries this out in his own way, referring to the criticism of 'post-rescueist correction'. In other words, as the neoliberal drives of the 1990s transformed individuals, the inner self, and authenticity into 'products' and tools of 'product aesthetics', *Munhakdongne*'s struggles can be seen as efforts to somehow protect and re-examine values such as the inner self and authenticity. In short, authenticity itself is not a weapon, but a battlefield. For example, Charles Taylor emphasizes that authenticity culture has many problems, but it is a 'non-reversible' culture that cannot be discarded and should be re-dedicated (Taylor 2001: 40). Therefore, it can be concluded that literaturism in *Munhakdongne*, including concepts such as the inner self and authenticity, existed as a bastion of struggle in the confrontation with marketism, the 'enemy' of the time, rather than being materialized in itself. Therefore, as literature struggled with neoliberalism in the 1990s, the literaturism of *Munhakdongne* is an attitude that is difficult for us to criticize today, and criticism of this needs to be carried out more accurately.

5. Conclusion

This paper reviews 90s literaturism as represented by *Munhakdongne*, and Chapter 3 revealed that the inner self and authenticity were somewhat inevitable universal concepts in the process of mourning at the time, as critics and literary history continued to write their

우리가 지금까지 논의한 내면성의 문학 또한 스스로를 반성하고 갱신할 책임을 짊어지고 있는 셈이다. 신경숙, 윤대녕의 소설은 민족-민중적 정체성의 무력화 이후 자아를 구축하는 미적 주체성의 원리를 나름대로 실현했지만, 자아를 둘러싼 현안들은 계속해서 태어나고 있으며 자아와 진실하게 만나는 내향성의 원리 또한 변함없이 유효하다” (황중연 2001: 136-137).

‘bildungsroman’ using those writers of the inner self as characters. Chapter 4 confirms that their literature is literaturism that seeks its essence in the struggle, and thus argues that the inner self and authenticity were truly a battlefield of struggle against the market. These points are difficult to criticize easily today, but this paper critically approaches whether ‘bildungsroman-criticism’ was sufficient as their struggle. Through the above inherent criticism, this article tries to confirm the possibility of today’s literature-method, which is different from the 90’s.

As Franco Moretti points out in his book <The Way of the World>, the bildungsroman is a genre with an epochological origin for modernity’s experience. ... Growth only takes on a problematic character as autonomous abilities become inevitable and justifiable for individuals. ... Anxiety that one does not have a firm personal and social identity, and nervousness that constantly wants self-renewal and rise, like an unruly chronic disease, afflicts modern individuals. The universal experience of modern people who hide their inner anxiety and go on the path of wandering and speculation gave birth to an unusual human figure in modern European novels. ... The complex inner and arduous aspects of such characters constitute an image of dynamics and variability characteristic of modernity in themselves, while clearly showing the pastoral, comedy and tragedy of life contained therein. In this regard, Moretti’s argument that European liberal arts novels or bildungsroman are “symbolic forms of modernity” makes sense¹⁶ (Hwang Jongyeon 황종연 2001: 55-56).

One of the peculiar points that can be found in Hwang Jongyeon’s writing, which critically reviews ‘bildungsroman’ in the 1990s, is that

¹⁶ “프랑코 모레티가 그의 교양소설론 『세상살이』에서 지적하고 있듯이, 교양소설 혹은 성장소설은 모더니티의 경험에 발생론적 기원을 두고 있는 장르이다. ... 자율적 능력이 개인에게 필연이자 당위가 되면서 성장은 비로소 문제적인 성격을 띤다. ... 자기에게 확고한 개인적, 사회적 정체성이 없다는 불안감, 끊임없이 자아 갱신과 상승을 원하는 초조감과 근절되지 않는 숙환처럼 근대적 개인을 괴롭힌다. 내면의 불안과 불안과 초조를 감추고 유랑과 투기의 길을 가는 근대인의 보편적 경험은 유럽 근대소설에서 이채로운 인간형상을 낳았다. ... 그러한 인물들의 착잡한 내면과 고단한 편력은 그것 자체로 모더니티에 특징적인 역동성과 가변성의 이미지를 구성하는 동시에 거기에 담긴 삶의 목가와 비가, 희극과 비극을 극명하게 보여준다. 그런 점에서 유럽의 교양소설, 혹은 성장소설을 ‘모더니티의 상징적 형식’이라고 보는 모레티의 주장은 확실히 일리가 있다” (황종연 2001: 55-56).

Franco Moretti's reading of *The Way of the World* is not distinct from Lukacs' *The Theory of the Novel*. For example, like critic Seo Youngchae, it is somewhat understandable to name the struggles of writers in the 90s as Lukacs' *Finding the Way* and make it the essence of the novel. But the bitter reflection of the cracking of the European bourgeois capitalist society, which is mainly conveyed by *The Way of the World*, is hard to find in his writings. In other words, against the background of the contradiction of the bourgeois capitalist society in the early modern era, the work of having the main character of 'youth' deal with the contradiction was bound to result in a bitter adaptation to the capitalist society. Therefore, the work of rewriting a bildungsroman called 'literature history', using young writers of the 1990s as characters, should have deeply considered the historical precedent pointed out by Moretti. But Hwang did not give enough answers to Moretti, saying, „I tend to believe that the ideology of aesthetic modernity is still productive in Korea, unlike in the West”.

Hwang Jongyeon: Thankfully, Jin Jeongseok reminded me, but I tend to believe that the ideology of aesthetic modernity is still productive in Korea, unlike in the West. The desires, oppressed desires, and insulted hopes that have been illegalized by bourgeois rationality still have vitality on the outskirts of the capitalist world system here, and I think their artistic expressions should be protected and encouraged in the name of aesthetic autonomy. ... However, adhering to the ideology of aesthetic autonomy is also likely to remain in modernism. I'm saying this at the same time as self-criticism, but I don't think it should be assumed that the alienation of literature on the premise of aesthetic autonomy, that is, alienation from science or morality, is natural. Doing so is, in the end, neglecting literature-art in favor of superstition and dogma, and withdrawing the right of literature-art to truth by itself. ... Shouldn't we now explore the cognitive and moral powers of literature-art rather than blessing the aesthetic alienation of literature-art? In Adorno's way, we have to think of "the reconciliation between Art and Truth." Somehow, it became a little speculative, but I hope that it will be accepted as meaning that aesthetic modernity is not a concept that guarantees the creative path of literature¹⁷ (Jin Jeongseok et al. 진정석 외. 1999: 71).

¹⁷ “진정석 씨가 고맙게도 상기시켜 주었지만, 저는 미적 근대성의 이념이 서구와는 다르게 한국에서는 아직 생산성을 갖는다고 믿는 편입니다. 부르주아적 합리성에 의해 불법화된 욕구, 억압당한 욕망, 모욕당한 희망은

In the sentence “Shouldn’t we now explore the cognitive and moral power of literature-art rather than blessing the aesthetic alienation of literature-art?” we confirm that Hwang Jongyeon is trying to take a step forward like Seo Youngchae, not a step back. In addition, it can be understood that Hwang will actively struggle with the world, that is, the market, by modifying the aesthetic modernity based on the autonomy of closed art. He argues that aesthetic modernity becomes active through ‘remaining negativity’, which can again serve as a mechanism of reflection on negative modern times. However, in his writing, it is difficult to find a specific way to protect himself or repeatedly reflect on himself in that enormous struggle with the enemy. Above all, the above struggle against reality and participation-oriented literaturism are questionable due to Adorno’s inappropriate citation, and according to Adorno, the above reconciliation is exactly ‘false reconciliation’.

Art works cannot be separated from sinful materialism, just as all sinful things are. This is because in a world mediated by a universal society, nothing is located outside the relationship of sin in this world. ... Art works that want to give up materialism through extremely suspicious political intervention are intertwined with socially false consciousness without exception through the inevitable simplification (Adorno 1984: 352).

While advocating for literaturism, Seo Youngchae and Hwang Jongyeon, who cite Adorno at a decisive moment, emphasize the ‘negativity’ of 90s novels about the world and seek repeated

이곳 자본주의 세계 체제 변동에서 아직 활력을 갖고 있고, 그것들의 예술적 표현은 미적 자율성의 이름으로 보호되고 권장되어야 한다고 생각합니다. ... 그런데 미적 자율성의 이념을 고수하는 것은 따지고 보면 근대주의에 머물 소지가 많은 것이기도 합니다. 자아비판을 겸해서 하는 말입니다만, 미적 자율성이 전제로 하는 문학-예술의 소외, 그러니까 과학이나 도덕으로부터의 소외를 당연한 것으로 가정해서는 곤란하다는 생각도 듭니다. 그렇게 하는 것은 결국 문학-예술을 미신과 도그마에 방치하는 일이기도 하고 진리에 대한 문학-예술의 권리를 스스로 철회하는 것이기도 합니다. ... 이제는 문학-예술의 미적 소외를 극복하기보다는 문학-예술의 인식적, 도덕적 권능탐구해야 하지 않을까요. 아도르노식으로 말해서 <예술과 진리의 화해>를 생각해야 하는 거죠. 어찌다보니 조금 사변적인 얘기가 되고 말았습니다만, 미적 근대성이 문학의 창조적 활로를 확실하게 보장해 주는 개념은 아니라는 뜻으로 받아들여졌으면 합니다” (진정석 외. 1999: 71).

expression of aesthetic modernity and modern reflection through them. However, through their reflection, the ‘bildungsroman’ seems more Hegelian (as a negative evaluation commonly used in discourse) than Adornian. Even if they stick to ‘denial’ to the end, if they ‘want to give up materialism through extremely suspicious political intervention’, their conception of the inner self and authenticity as a battlefield will already have become something ‘meaninglessly praised’. In short, when they claim that ‘truthfulness is dialectical’, it will be difficult to avoid countless criticisms imposed on the so-called 386 generation unless sufficient devices have been prepared to prevent the consequences from leading to paradoxes such as ‘the dialectic of enlightenment’.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF FILM CRITICS IN SOUTH KOREA FROM 2000 TO 2020

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Abstract: This paper empirically analyzes the social status of film critics in the Korean film industry. Film critics contribute to the creation of films as producers of specific values in film art by producing cinematographic discourse. Then how does one become a film critic? How does the film critic space operate – which can be understood as structured based on the development of the market for film magazines in the 1990s? The result of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the social recruitment of film critics from 2000 to 2020 shows that those who attained the legitimate status of film critic by winning awards in contests possess a high level of academic capital. It was also found that the location of higher education among these laureates was mainly concentrated in Seoul. Although film critics are not fully institutionalized and have an artistic mission to some extent, to access the profession of film criticism, they need to be controlled by established film

critics who share similar cultural and symbolic capital each other. This suggests that symbolic power exists in the world of film criticism and that the structure can be reproduced through gatekeeping by the owners of symbolic power.

Keywords: film critic; film criticism; Korean film; field; subfield; cultural capital; academic capital.

2000년부터 2020년까지 한국 영화평론가의 사회적 조건

초록: 이 논문은 한국 영화계에서 영화평론가의 사회적 지위 획득을 경험적으로 분석한다. 영화평론가는 영화예술에 고유한 가치의 생산자로서 영화에 관한 담론을 생산함으로써 영화 창작에 기여한다. 그러면 어떻게 영화평론가가 되는가? 1990년대 본격화된 한국 영화잡지 시장의 발달을 바탕으로 구조화되었다고 이해할 수 있는 영화평론의 공간은 어떻게 작동하는가? 2000년부터 2020년까지 영화평론가의 사회적 채용을 양적, 질적으로 분석한 결과, 영화평론 공모를 통해 영화평론가라는 정당화된 지위를 획득한 자들이 높은 수준의 학력자본을 보유하고 있음을 확인했다. 또한 이들의 최종 학력에 관계된 고등 교육 지역이 서울에 집중된 것을 알 수 있었다. 영화평론가는 완전히 제도화되지 않았으며 어느 정도 예술적 사명을 바탕으로 하는 일임에도 불구하고, 이에 직업으로서 접근하기 위해서는 유사한 문화자본 및 상징자본을 지닌 기존의 영화평론가들에게 통제를 받아야 한다. 이는 곧 영화비평계에 상징권력이 존재하며, 이 권력의 소유자들의 게이트키퍼를 통해 구조의 재생산이 가능해진다는 점을 시사한다.

주제어: 영화평론가; 영화비평; 한국영화; 장; 하위장; 문화자본; 학력자본.

SPÓŁCZNE UWARUNKOWANIA KRYTYKI FILMOWEJ W KOREI POŁUDNIOWEJ W LATACH 2000 – 2020

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł stanowi empiryczną analizę społecznego statusu krytyki filmowej w południowokoreańskim przemyśle filmowym. Krytycy filmowi, będący jednocześnie kreatorami określonych wartości w sztuce filmowej, przyczyniają się do powstawania filmów tworząc dyskurs kinematograficzny. Zatem jak zostaje się krytykiem? Jak funkcjonuje przestrzeń działalności krytyków filmowych, którą pojmować można jako strukturę wyrosłą z rozwoju rynku prasy filmowej w latach 90. wieku XX? Wyniki z analizy jakościowej i ilościowej naboru społecznościowego krytyków w latach 2000-2020 pokazują, że ci, którzy wygrywając nagrody w konkursach osiągnęli formalnie status krytyka filmowego, posiadają tzw.

kapitał akademicki w wysokim stopniu. Ustalono również, że ci krytycy-laureaci wywodzili się głównie z seulskich uniwersytetów. Mimo, że zawód krytyka filmowego nie jest w pełni zinstytucjonalizowany i w pewnym stopniu pełnią oni misję artystyczną, to by stać się zawodowymi krytykami muszą oni podlegać kontroli już uznanych postaci, które dzielą podobny kulturowy i symboliczny kapitał. Sugeruje to, że w świecie krytyki filmowej istnieje symboliczna władza oraz, że struktura może być wykreowana przez tych, którzy ową władzę symboliczną posiadają.

Słowa kluczowe: krytyk filmowy; krytyka filmowa; kapitał akademicki; kapitał kulturowy; film koreański; dziedzina; specjalizacja.

1. Professional development of film critics in South Korea

In the 1990s, Korean cinema flourished both industrially and artistically. With the political democratization in South Korea in the late 1980s, consecutive revisions to the 영화법 (*Yeonghwa beob*, Motion Picture Act) contributed to a relative autonomization of the field of cinema¹ from the political field. These revisions² liberalized the market for film leading to an increase in the production of films and intensifying competition in the market. Film critics have played a crucial role in the social consecration and cultural legitimization of cinema. Cinematographic work, as a symbolic good, requires the production of symbolic values. It is therefore film critics who have produced and emphasized the specific value of cinema and who have

¹ The notion 'field' refers to the concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Regarding cinema as field of cultural production, Julien Duval (2016) conducted an empirical study on the world of cinema in adopting the concept of field, demonstrating the validity of this notion in the analysis of cinematographic world.

² The fifth revision of the Motion Picture Act in 1984 introduced a registration system for film production replacing an authorization system, resulting in an increase in the number of film production companies. The sixth revision of the Motion Picture Act in 1986 opened up the market further: according to the Film Agreements between South Korea and the United States in 1985, Hollywood studios were permitted to distribute films through their branch offices, instead of indirect distributing through Korean companies.

contributed to making films worthy of being created and viewed as art (Bourdieu 2014: 422–425).

This paper aims to empirically analyze the social status of film critics in the field of cinema in South Korea. How does one become a film critic? Who are the *legitimate* film critics? If a film critic is regarded as an occupation, it is, like that of an artist, a complicated object to treat in terms of the sociology of occupations (Freidson 1986; Moulin 1983). While the profession of a film critic is recognized as an “economic activity that an individual carries out for income” according to the Korean Standard Classification of Occupations by 통계청 (*Tonggyecheong*, Statistics Korea), a public central organization under the Ministry of Economy and Finance, only a handful of renowned critics can subsist on their incomes from criticism. Many film critics carry out related activities, such as teaching at universities or private institutes or programming at film festivals. Some also do additional work that is not related to their profession as a film critic, but which provides them with a stable income. Like the profession of a writer (Sapiro 2007), there is no mandatory academic degree or official license which can ensure a film critic’s competence in the world of film criticism. Despite this, to publish texts that can be read by others, film critics must compete with other critics in the film critics’ space where each occupies a different position from the others. In this situation, the concept of “professionalization” used by American sociologists of professions, which considers a profession as a “sequence of development” generating a “career” pattern, is not an appropriate tool for understanding a profession or an occupation of heterogeneous groups, with little or no codification (Abbott 1988).

2. Conceptual tools and methodology

Considering the heterogeneity arising from different conditions of the performance of vocational activities, it is necessary to understand the status of a film critic through a configuration of objective relations between positions and social conditions: that is, the concept of field (Bourdieu 2015 [1992]: 351–384; Denord 2020: 731). In addition, the concept of subfield allows us to understand the intermediaries whose

activities are related to the field of cinematographic production. As a microcosm, subfields have their own logics that do not necessarily conform to those of the encompassing field, while they share oppositional principles with the latter. The the notions of symbolic power and symbolic violence forged by Pierre Bourdieu are further mobilized in the analysis because the definition of the field, or the frontier of the field, which acts on the social recruitment of film critics, is closely linked to these two concepts.

In order to examine the “entrance fee” to the subfield of film criticism in South Korea, the social characteristics of contest winners, which is the main modality of access, will be analyzed (Mauger 2006). For this purpose, data on all the laureates of three contests between 2010 and 2020 were collected (N=38): the Film Critic Contest of 씨네 21 (*Cine 21*), a movie magazine; the annual spring literary contest of 동아일보 (*Donga-ilbo*), a national daily newspaper; and the annual spring literary contest of 부산일보 (*Busan-ilbo*), a regional newspaper.

Moreover, the social characteristics of the members of 한국영화평론가협회 (*Hanguk Yeonghwa Pyeonnonga Hyeobhoe*, Film Critic Association in Korea, a.k.a. FCA) (N=59) and the juries of these three contests (N=23) will be examined to understand the conditions of the dominant players in the subfield, those endowed with symbolic capital. A qualitative analysis of interviews with the winners and their acceptance speeches published in the press as well as the juries’ comments enables an understanding of the required values for the participation in the critics’ symbolic struggles.

3. Control of legitimate access to the subfield of film criticism by peers

The Film Critic Association (FCA) in South Korea has played an important role in the professional development of film critics. Founded in 1960 by six members through the initiative of two young critics, 이영일 (Lee Young-il) and 김종원 (Kim Jong-won), the association was dissolved by the regime of Park Chung-hee in 1961 and re-established in 1965. Although there were a few active members until the mid-1970s, the creation of the FCA Awards in 1978

contributed to the public promotion of the FCA in the film industry. Under the auspices of 영화진흥공사 (*Yeonghwa Jinheung Gongsa*, Korean Film Corporation), the first FCA Awards Ceremony was held in 1980 in the screening room of the Korean Film Corporation. Eleven awards were presented, including the Best Film Award, the Jury Award, the Best Director Award, the Best Actress Award and the Best Actor Award. The FCA's activities have since gained legitimacy through the government support allowing the FCA to cumulate symbolic capital through the recognition of film creators. Furthermore, it launched the FCA Film Critics Contest in 1997 serving as a breeding ground for professional critics while other contests were also held by film magazines and newspapers (Kim, 2010).

If the FCA consolidated the legitimacy of film critics as a body of recognition, the development of the market for film magazines led to a structuration of a film critics' space. The film magazine market began to develop in the mid-1980s with two magazines, 스크린 (*Screen*) published in 1984 and 로드쇼 (*Road Show*) created in 1989. In 1995, the publication of three specialized film magazines - *Cine 21*, 키노 (*Kino*) and 프리미어 (*Premiere*) – contributed to the formation of different discourses between the two extreme poles, the popular, commercial pole and the erudite, artistic pole. The competition among critics gave rise to belief in the specific values of the critics' game, the *illusio* (Bourdieu 1971: 52–53; Bourdieu 1996 [1994]: 149–167).

It was at that time that control over access to the critic's space was introduced. In 1996, the weekly magazine *Cine 21* and the monthly magazine *Kino* respectively launched the *Cine 21 / Kino* Film Critics Contest. In 1997, the FCA also launched the FCA Film Critics Contest. Although *Kino* stopped organizing its contest in 1998 and the FCA relaunched its contest in 2009 after the first competition, the *Cine 21* contest has established itself as an institution in the reproduction of professional critics by giving awards to one or two young critics each year.

This modality of access to the work of criticism is part of an entry system into the literary field for writers, or 등단 (*Deungdan*, 登壇), which refers to the beginning of a career as a writer. This system is represented by the annual spring literary contest launched by daily newspapers and literary magazines. Among the newspapers, the national daily *Donga-ilbo* has been giving awards for the film

criticism in its annual literary contest since 1998. In addition, *Busan-ilbo*, a regional daily, give awards in the category of criticism which includes literary criticism, but it mainly awards film critics: among the nine winners from 2010 to 2020, there was only one literary critic. Overall, among the four institutions that sustain contests for film criticism – *Cine 21*, *FCA*, *Donga-ilbo*, and *Busan-ilbo* – *Cine 21* is the oldest as well as the only film magazine capable of continuously providing editorial content dedicated to film criticism, which reinforces its symbolic power.

Winning contests brings economic benefits to aspiring critics, and also guarantees symbolic and professional recognition to aspiring film critics. Indeed, the selection of the laureates is made by judges composed of established professional critics. The judgments of established critics form the *nomos* of the subfield, that is, “the principle of vision and division that defines the artistic field as such” (Bourdieu 2015 [1992]: 366). These dominant critics evaluate the critical writings of aspiring critics from their perspective. The principle of division, which is shared by the dominant critics in this subfield, applies to the criteria for defining what is *good criticism*. The aspirants need to understand the rules and interests of the film criticism space to be able to produce good criticism that corresponds to the specific values of the film critics’ world. An aspiring critic must share a vision of the world more or less in line with that of dominant critics or one must be willing to invest in the game of criticism based on a belief in these specific values. The judge with symbolic power grants laureates permission to call themselves film critics. Then, they obtain the professional title that facilitates the publication of critical texts. Moreover, the fact that certain figures participate as judges for successive years, and that the members of the panel of judges are those who have previously competed in the contest, allows us to observe the reproduction effect of the structure.

4. Objective conditions for the profession of film critic

Our analysis shows that education capital is a crucial resource for entry into the subfield of film criticism. Firstly, the very high level of education required is confirmed by the educational capital of the

laureates (N=38)³ : most laureates hold an undergraduate degree, with the exception of three students who were studying for a bachelor's degree when they participated in the contest. Approximately 40% of the laureates were graduate students and/or doctoral candidates at the time of the contest (see Table 1). This shows that among competition entrants, a higher proportion has completed tertiary education compared to the national average⁴. Secondly, the academic disciplines of laureates are concentrated in film and audiovisual studies as well as literature. In our population, 28 laureates had studied the aforementioned majors. Specifically, 11 laureates learned film studies for their final academic degree, while 11 others studied literature, such as Korean literature (n=9), English literature (n=1) and creative writing (n=1). The majors in the audiovisual and media field (communication studies, visual cultural studies) account for about 21% of the laureates. In addition, disciplines requiring critical thinking and logical writing skills such as law and philosophy are evident (see Figure 1).

Table 1. The level of education of laureates of *Cine 21*, *Donga-ilbo*, *Busan-ilbo* between 2010 and 2020.

Degree ⁵	Total		Female	Male
		%		
High school graduate	3	7.9	1	2
BA	15	39.5	7	8
MA, MFA	15	39.5	8	7
JD	2	5.3	1	1

³ I was unable to collect data of one laureate among the sample of 38 laureates, other than the sex (male) and profession (broadcasting journalist).

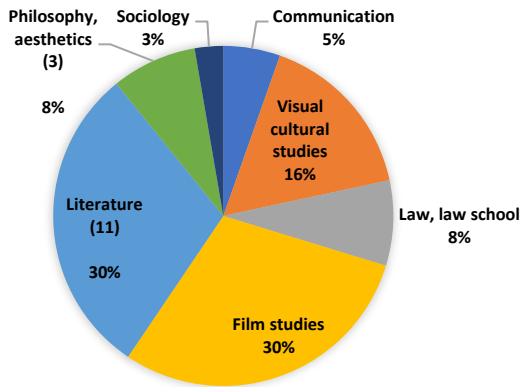
⁴ According to OECD data, 69.80% of 25–34-year-old South Koreans had a tertiary degree in 2019. See OECD, 2021, Population with tertiary Education (indicator). <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm> (accessed December 1, 2021)

⁵ For the variable of degree, the English designations are used since the university systems in South Korea are comparable to those in the United States. The “JD (Juris Doctor)” degree has been isolated because of its elitist property in the social field, which is awarded by a law school for the legal professions. In terms of academic fields, Korean and English literature, as well as creative writing, are listed under “literature”. “Visual culture” includes visual cultural studies and visual arts. “Philosophy” and “aesthetics” are categorized together, taking into account their common philosophical root.

PhD	2	5.3	2	0
N/R	1	2.5	0	1
Total	38	100	19	19

Source: Author’s own compilation.

Figure 1. The majors of the laureates (N=37)⁶



Source: Author’s own compilation

Higher education is linked to another social condition: the geographical factor of university education. While the laureates’ places of birth are relatively scattered over the South Korean territory—there is nevertheless a concentration in the Korean capital—the majority studied for their higher education degrees in Seoul (see Table 2). First, this attests to the academic profile of film critics as quality cultural capital. Higher education institutions exist in a geographical hierarchy, between Seoul and the provinces, at the top of which are institutes in Seoul in most subject areas, except for a few specialized institutes for science and technology and a small number of national universities in the major provincial cities. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that those who study in Seoul are in closer proximity to a milieu of intellectual elites. Second, given the cultural centralization in Seoul, it is likely that those studying in Seoul have access to a greater range of cultural offerings, particularly in film, art,

⁶ This figure excludes the non-response (n=1).

and the performing arts, compared to the provinces. Thus, the geographical constraint affects the accumulation of cultural capital in these two ways.

Table 2. Geographic concentration of aspiring critics in large cities during their university education⁷.

Geographical distribution	Place of birth	Place of higher education
Seoul	6	24
Busan	3	5
Province	9	1
NR	19	8
Total	38	38

Source: Author's own compilation.

Meanwhile, a parity between women and men is observed in the social recruitment of film critics between 2010 and 2020 (Table 3). In terms of age, more than half of the laureates whose ages were released (n=26) are in their thirties. There are also three awardees in their forties. Those with a master's degree or a doctorate account for half of the total number of laureates; thus, it cannot be said that the relatively late age of beginning their career is unrelated to the accumulation of cultural capital.

Table 3. The age and gender of the laureates of the Film Critics Contest of *Cine 21*, *Donga-ilbo*, and *Busan-ilbo* between 2010 and 2020.

Age	Total	Female	Male
20s	9	4	5
30s	14	6	8
40s	3	3	0
NR	12	6	6
Total	38	19	19

Source: Author's own compilation.

⁷ This information is not systematically provided in award acceptance speeches and interviews. For the grouping, I separated 'Busan' from 'Province' because of its representativeness as a city of film. Indeed, it is in this city, the second largest in terms of population in South Korea, that the Busan International Film Festival has been held every year since 1996. Public institutions concerning the cinema have been concentrated there since the 2010s in order to develop a national balance.

The affinity among the laureates as to the possession of cultural capital is not arbitrary. The need for this capital can be seen in the juries' comments. First, juries value “knowledge” of history of cinema and film theory.

To do film criticism, one must have the knowledge of film theories and aesthetics first of all. One must also have knowledge of the humanities. One must have objective and reasonable judgment. Given that the critic communicates through a text, the skill of writing is essential⁸ (*Donga-ilbo*, 2018)

This critic points out in detail the cinematic context of the work *Roma* in the face of the changing media environment, as well as deeply analyzes the aesthetic significance of its own (film) text.⁹ (*Donga-ilbo*, 2020)

His/her intellectual journey into the nature of film as a medium is a bit rough, but very fascinating. The fact that this text is rich in film history also drew attention.¹⁰ (*Busan-ilbo*, 2020)

In addition, one must clearly understand the specific values of film: new entrants to the subfield of film criticism should be able to perceive film as a unique art form that is distinct from other arts.

The award-winning work shows that the laureate has a good understanding of cinema as a composite art of camera, light, editing, and breathing¹¹ (*Donga-ilbo*, 2014).

⁸ “영화평론을 하기 위해서는 우선 영화이론 및 미학에 대한 지식이 선행되어야 한다. 인문학적 지식도 겸비해야 한다. 객관적이고 합리적 판단력도 있어야 한다. 평론가는 글로 말하는 사람이기 때문에 문장력은 기본이다.” (*동아일보*, 2018). All translations from Korean into English are by Author, unless stated otherwise.

⁹ “평자는 매체 환경의 변화에 직면하여 ‘로마’라는 작품이 갖는 영화사적 맥락을 상세하게 지적하는 한편으로 텍스트 자체의 미학적 의미까지 심도 깊게 분석하고 있다” (*동아일보*, 2020).

¹⁰ “[...] 영화라는 매체 자체의 본성에까지 이르는 지적 여정이 다소 거칠긴 하지만 무척 매혹적이었기 때문이다. 영화사적 교양이 풍부한 글이라는 점도 마음을 끌었다” (*부산일보*, 2020).

¹¹ “당선작은 영화가 카메라와 빛, 편집과 호흡으로 이루어진 종합적 예술임을 이해하고 있었다.” (*동아일보*, 2014).

(This awardee) is very aware that his/her object of analysis is not a novel, but a film¹² (*Busan-ilbo*, 2017)

It is a pity that he/she only went into the details of the narrative and interpretation, never mentioning the sound and visual that are the signifiants of cinema¹³ (*Donga-ilbo*, 2013)

Third, one must already be able to “write well”: “writing ability is an indispensable element”¹⁴ (*Donga-ilbo*, 2017); “the winner’s writing style is certainly incomparable”¹⁵ (*Cine 21*, 2011); “the strength of this critic lies in his/her stable writing in addition to his/her solid theoretical foundation”¹⁶ (*Busan-ilbo*, 2011); “his/her critical text has neat sentences and precise terms, and it is well structured”¹⁷ (*Busan-ilbo*, 2010).

If these three qualifications are articulated with social conditions in terms of academic capital, the emphasis on both subjective characters in relation to ethos and creativity is observed in the judges’ comments. First, the stress on sincerity and consistency is most noticeable among the comments in *Cine 21*: “we chose him/her thinking that his/her pertinaciousness would be the foundation of creativity”¹⁸ (*Cine 21*, 2010); “we can trust his/her text that shows meticulousness and sincerity in structuring his/her thought and, above all, his/her text shows his/her laborious reflection on film criticism”¹⁹ (*Cine 21*, 2012); “we discovered his/her potentiality in his/her

¹² “첫째, 자신의 분석 대상이 소설이 아닌 영화라는 점을 가장 깊이 의식하고 있다” (*부산일보*, 2017).

¹³ “영화의 기표인 비주얼과 사운드에 대해서는 일절 언급하지 않으면서 ‘피에타’의 내러티브 및 의미 속으로만 파고든 것도 유감이다” (*동아일보*, 2013).

¹⁴ “문장력은 좋은 평론가의 필수 요소다” (*동아일보*, 2017).

¹⁵ “[익명] 씨는 눈과 마음을 사로잡는 유려한 문장력이 단연 발군이였다” (*씨네 21*, 2011).

¹⁶ “이 글이 가지는 강점은 탄탄한 이론적 내공에 더한 안정적인 글쓰기에 있다” (*부산일보*, 2011).

¹⁷ “[익명]의 [제목]은 문장이 단정하고 용어가 정교하며 전체적인 짜임새에서 안정감을 주었다” (*부산일보*, 2010).

¹⁸ “[익명]씨의 치열함을 창의성의 밑거름이라 믿고 선택했다” (*씨네 21*, 2010).

¹⁹ “[익명]씨의 글은 자신의 사유를 조직하는 과정의 꼼꼼함과 성실함이 믿음직스러웠고, 다른 무엇보다도 영화적인 글쓰기에 대한 고심의 흔적이 돋보였다” (*씨네 21*, 2012).

particular sincerity and accuracy”²⁰ (*Cine 21*, 2014); “his/her text secured the support of all the jury members in the sense that he/she deepens the question thrown at the beginning in a sincere and dense way until the end”²¹ (*Cine 21*, 2020).

Creativity or originality is also valued, especially by *Cine 21* juries: “while it is unfortunate that his text has a logical discontinuity, the essay topic is remarkably well established”²² (*Cine 21*, 2020); “while it is an adventurous endeavor not to be based on any theory, his/her eye mediating the film and the audience is original and clear”²³ (*Cine 21*, 2015); “we noted logical discontinuity that appears here and there, but we value his future more than his present given his originality and insight”²⁴ (*Cine 21*, 2011).

5. Gatekeepers: reproduction of the game, reproduction of conditions of access²⁵

It is worth noting the composition of the judges for the three contests. The judges, composed of film critics and the chief editors of the film magazine, contribute to the reproduction of the social conditions of

²⁰ “특유의 성실함과 명징함에서 가능성을 발견하기로 했다” (씨네 21, 2014).

²¹ “서두에 던진 질문을 마지막 순간까지 성실하고 밀도 있게 탐구해나간다는 점에서 심사위원 모두의 지지를 얻었다” (씨네 21, 2020).

²² “독특한 문체와 분석틀을 갖췄으나 다른 후보작들과 비교했을 때 글의 완결성이 떨어지고 다소 산만하다는 명확한 결점이 있었기 때문이다” (씨네 21, 2020).

²³ “특정한 이론에 기대지 않고 서 있다는 것이 상당한 모험적 시도였으나, 영화와 관객을 매개하는 그 시선이 명쾌하고 독창적이었다” (씨네 21, 2015).

²⁴ “간간이 보이는 논리의 비약이 단점으로 지적됐지만 독창성과 직관력이 돋보여 현재보다는 미래가 더 기대된다는 평가를 얻었다” (씨네 21, 2011).

²⁵ This formula is borrowed from Bourdieu (1998: 51): « (Re)produire le jeu et les enjeux, c'est (re)produire les conditions d'accès à la reproduction sociale qui est assurée par un échange agonistique visant à accumuler des statuts généalogiques, des noms de lignées ou d'ancêtres, c'est-à-dire du capital symbolique, donc des pouvoirs et des droits durables sur des personnes (“(Re)producing the game and the stakes is (re)producing the conditions of access to social reproduction, which is ensured by an agonistic exchange aiming to accumulate genealogical status, the names of lineages or ancestors, that is to say, symbolic capital, and therefore lasting powers and rights over people”) ». Translated from French by Author.

film critics through the contests. The jury for the contest of *Cine 21* is composed of three or four members each year, including a chief editor and a film critic who was also a laureate of a previous contest²⁶. For the contest of *Donga-ilbo*, the submitted texts are judged by the single member of the panel. The *Busan-ilbo* contest also has only one judge although in 2010 and 2011 there were two members. The difference in the number of judges on each panel is related to the differences in the number of texts submitted. For example, the number of critiques submitted to the contest of *Cine 21* in 2019 was 82, and 110 in 2018, while the contest of *Donga-ilbo* in 2019 featured only 33 critiques, and that of *Busan-ilbo* in the same year, 22 critiques.

This gatekeeping power, to control access to film critic profession, is granted to some critics or journalists for a longer period of time. Four out of ten (9 out of 23) jury members in all three contests between 2010 and 2020 were a member of a jury panel more than twice. In particular, three examiners of the *Cine 21* contest played this role more than five times. Moreover, this power of professional and symbolic recognition is concentrated in men: one out of four members is female. While the social recruitment of film critics is not gender-biased, the structure of male dominance in the subfield of criticism is confirmed by this analysis.

Box 1. Social Characteristics of members of FCA

The analysis of the social characteristics of FCA members provides an indirect understanding of the resources and dispositions of active agents in the subfield of film criticism, rather than those necessary for entering this subfield.

Data were collected from 59 profiles among 82 members on the website of FCA in January 2021, supplemented by other sources such as journals and university websites. Not all profiles are available, and the types of data available to the public are different: for some, their gender, education, and professional careers are all listed, while others display only their academic degree or professional experience. Therefore, it is possible that data biased in favor of the highest level of education have been collected.

Despite this, the quantitative analysis clearly shows that film critics who have joined FCA hold higher educational capital. Of 59 individuals, 47 hold a doctorate, at least 57% of the total membership. Nearly half of the sample majored in film studies (n=31). This result provides evidence of the

²⁶ There is missing data regarding the *Cine 21* juries for 2010, 2011 and 2013.

importance of legitimate scholastic capital not only for accessing the profession of film critic but also for maintaining one's position in the subfield of film criticism.

Table 4. Educational level and gender of FCA members.

Degree	Total	Female	Male
BA	7	1	6
MA/MFA	5	2	3
PhD	47	25	22
Total	59	28	31

Source: compiled by the Author, raw data obtained from FCA website

Table 5. The majors of FCA members.

Major	Number
Film studies	31
Literature	14
Theatre studies	3
(Visual) cultural studies	3
Political sciences	2
History	2
Business	1
Psychology	1
Sociology	1
Theology	1
Total	59

Source: compiled by the Author, raw data obtained from FCA website

6. Conclusion

This study has examined the social conditions of film critics in South Korea by analyzing the objective and subjective characteristics of the laureates who participated in contests for film criticism from 2000 to 2020. Those who dream of becoming a film critic accumulate cultural capital through their higher education and use it as a critical resource in the field of cinema and in the film criticism subfield of film criticism. They also learn the specific rules for the world of cinema. Normative dispositions as a critic and originality make access to the space more probable and more legitimate. Yet these values are not defined. The definition of good criticism is itself an issue related to symbolic power in the game of film criticism. Although the lack of data makes it difficult to generalize the analysis, age does not appear

to be a decisive factor in accessing the profession, knowing that the laureates in their forties demonstrate their belief in film criticism. Indeed, some of them have participated in contests from two to four times, and already held high social status positions such as university professor or journalist. One had changed her career to become a film critic after 21 years of professional experience in another domain. These people attest to the existence of *illusio*, or the initial formation of vocation as a film critic.

For a better understanding of the operation of this (sub)field, an additional analysis of the socio-cultural characteristics of the gatekeepers–judges of contests could be conducted. The analysis of critics’ texts, both laureates and established critics, will help further elucidate how their aesthetic judgments are shared, reproduced, or contradicted²⁷.

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²⁷ I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for these valuable suggestions and comments.

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HOST-PARASITE COEVOLUTION: BONG JOON-HO'S URBAN SMELLSCAPES AND CONTAGIOUS TOUCH¹

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Abstract: This paper is an exploration of some of the modes of haptic visuality, smell, touching, being touched and contagious contact in contemporary South-Korean cinema through Bong Joon-ho's (봉준호) Oscar-awarded *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) (2019) and his earlier film *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) (2006), films that, I would argue, are the most prominent examples and a culmination of the embodied visuality within the contemporary South-Korean cinema. Both films operate as the studies of the internalized forms of capitalism, a phenomenon that, according to Bong Joon-ho (봉준호), "before it's a massive, sociological term, is just our lives". This paper looks into the manifestations of internalized capitalism in the everyday lives of Bong

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Joon-ho's (봉준호) characters, as well as spatio-temporal structures that, I would argue, best reflect the process of internalization.

Keywords: smellscape; contagious touch; filmic space; embodied visuality.

괴물-기생충의 공진화: 봉준호가 말하는 도시의 향과 전염적 촉각

국문초록: 본 논문에서는 아카데미상을 수상한 봉준호 감독의 영화 <기생충, 2019>과 그의 전작 <괴물, 2006>을 통해 현대 한국 영화의 촉각적 시각, 후각, 감동 및 전염적 촉각의 몇 가지 유형을 탐구하는데, 여기에서 저자는 두 작품이 이러한 요소를 가장 두드러지게 나타낸 현대 한국 영화에서 대표적인 예이며 그것이 구현된 시각의 정점이라 말한다. 두 작품 모두 자본주의의 내면화된 형태에 대한 연구임을 보여주며, 이는 봉준호가 말한 "거대하고 사회적인 개념이 아닌 평범한 우리의 모습"이라는 대목에서도 확인할 수 있다. 본 논문에서는 봉준호의 성격이 고스란히 전해지는 일상에서 나타난 내면화된 자본주의의 모습과 내면화 과정을 가장 잘 반영한 시공간적 구조를 살펴본다.

주제어: 도시의 향; 전염적 촉각; 영화적 공간; 구현된 시각성.

HOST-PARASITE KOEVOLUCIJA: BONG JOON-HO, OLFAKTORNI PEJZAŽI I ZAZRAZNI DODIR

Abstract: U ovom se radu istražuju modaliteti haptičke vizualnosti, mirisa, dodira, dodirivanja i međuljudskog kontakta kao izvora zaraze u suvremenoj južnokorejskoj kinematografiji na primjeru Bong Joon-hoova (봉준호) Oscarom nagrađena *기생충 (Gisaengchung, Parazita)* (2019) kao i filma *괴물 (Gwoemul, Domačín)* (2006) istog redatelja. Riječ je o filmovima koji se u radu razmatraju kao najrepzentabilniji primjeri, ako ne i sama kulminacija haptičke vizualnosti te kao studija internaliziranog kapitalizma, ali i vremensko-prostornih struktura koje ponajbolje odražavaju navedene procese.

Ključni pojmovi: olfaktorni pejzaži; dodir; filmska arhitektura; haptička vizualnost.

KOEWOLUCJA HOST-PARASITE: BONG JOON-HO A MIEJSKI KRAJOBRAZ ZAPACHU I ZARAŻLIWY DOTYK

Abstrakt: Niniejszy tekst opisuje badanie niektórych rodzajów widzenia haptycznego, zapachu, kontaktu, bycia dotykanym i zaraźliwego dotyku we współczesnym południowokoreańskim kinie na przykładzie filmów Bong Joon-ho – wcześniejszego *The Host* (2006) i oskarowego *The Parasite* (2019). Filmy te, zdaniem Autorki, stanowią najbardziej znaczące przykłady

kumulacji ucieleśnionej wizualności współczesnego południowokoreańskiego kina. Obydwa filmy służą za studium uwewnętrznionych form kapitalizmu, zjawiska, które, zdaniem Bong Joon-ho, “nim stanie się uogólnionym terminem socjologicznym, stanowi po prostu nasze życie”. Artykuł przygląda się zatem manifestacjom uwewnętrznionego kapitalizmu w codziennym życiu bohaterów Bong Joon-ho, jak i strukturom przestrzenno-czasowym, które, zdaniem Autorki, najlepiej odzwierciedlają proces uwewnętrzniania.

Słowa kluczowe: krajobraz zapachu; zaraźliwy dotyk; przestrzeń filmowa; ucieleśniona wizualność.

1. Damps, sewers and staircases

“As soon as we renounce fiction and illusion, we lose reality itself; the moment we subtract fictions from reality, reality itself loses its discursive-logical consistency”

— Slavoj Žižek et. al, *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology* (1993: 47)

The first part of this paper focuses on the movie settings, and Bong Joon-ho (봉준호) has, intriguingly or predictably, opted for similar spaces in films discussed here. The spaces at work in the films of one of the most prominent Korean directors are mostly low-level apartments, damp, sewers, and symbolically loaded staircases that allow for the vertical exchange of meaning to take place between Bong Joon-ho’s vertically superimposed characters. Logan Baker points out to similarities between Hitchcock’s *Psycho* (1960) and Bong Joon-ho’s *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) use of stairs (Baker 2021), and it’s rather obvious that Hitchcock was a great influence on the South Korean director in the treatment of filmic space, which, in *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*), operates as a host inhabited by vertically arranged sets of parasites, representatives of different social classes who, on the other hand, display more similarities than it appears at a first glance. South Korean director’s outstandingly depicted spaces further emphasize the impossibility of advancement within a rigid system.

I called *Parasite* 'a staircase movie' [...] So even in pre-production, my set directors and I held a staircase team contest, where we each selected a staircase scene from our favourite movies. I told Kang-ho Song, who plays the father of the Kim family, that if I were to summarize the story of one guy, especially from his character's perspective, I would call it a story about a man that wants to go up the stairs, but ultimately ended up going down the stairs (Bong Joon-ho qtd. in Caicoya 2019),

said Bong Joon-ho during Q&A at the Toronto International Film Festival Lightbox in 2019 and he was, obviously, referring to the Kim family, to the financially underprivileged individuals who have already undergone a form of symbolic death and what looks like an opportunity for them to be symbolically born again slowly deviates into a panic attempt to avoid the absolute and actual death as well. Analysing Hitchcock's *Birds* (1963), Žižek points out how

the attack of the birds can be viewed as embodying Hitchcock's vision of the universe, of the (human) cosmos as system—peaceful on the surface, ordinary in its course—that can be upset at any time, that can be thrown into chaos by the intervention of pure chance. Its order is always deceiving; at any moment some ineffable terror can emerge, some traumatic real erupt to disturb the symbolic circuit (Žižek 1992: 77),

and the same (Žižek would call it “cosmological”) reading is applicable to both of Bong Joon-ho's films discussed here. The monster from *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) and an “illegal immigrant” from the *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) might as well be perceived as manifestations of the traumatic real disrupting the symbolic circuit, and the traumatic real usually disrupts or erupts from the depths, it is a vertical process, just like Bong Joon-ho's narrative structure and spatial organization. At the very first hint of the dismantlement of a play that the Kim family has staged for the Parks, the reality loses its logical consistency and the anticipation of a complete collapse raises the sense of unease, provoking laughter at the same time. Bong's filmic space cannot sustain what's inside and what's inside, consequently, expands beyond the frame itself.

Thus, the basement is a space in which dirty and ugly masses of contradiction cohere, not revealed on the surface but hidden away in the depths. It is in the basement that the kidnapped dogs are butchered and boiled for stew in *Barking Dogs Never Bite*; it is in the drain pipe, buried away under the surface, that the gruesomely butchered corpses of

women are laid out in *Memories of Murder*; and it is in an underground sewer next to the Han River that the bodies of victims kidnapped by the monster decompose in *The Host*. In *Incoherence*, the apartment basement is already a metaphorical place where excretion and appetite (the rice dish) are merged into one objet, and where that junction leads the viewer not to feel seriousness but to explode with laughter (Jung Ji-young 2011: 21)

Jung Ji-young delivers an apt commentary on South Korean director's filmic spaces. Architecture indeed seems to be the fundamental site of Bong Joon-ho's film practice. Space, frequently viewed as dead and static comes to life and conscious expression. Reflecting on film and Scheffauer's "sixth sense of man", his feeling for space or room, Vidler speaks of a filmic space that is "no longer an inert background, architecture now participated in the very emotions of the film; the surroundings no longer surrounded but entered the experience as presence" (Vidler 1993: 47). Bong Joon-ho's spaces come alive, host a whole range of "parasites", devour them and spit them out, just to devour them again. Keen on real monsters and monster metaphors as he is, I would argue that Bong Joon-ho's architectural designs, even those that appear calming and comforting, display a high degree of monstrosity, and act as an embodiment of a system that Bong's characters are desperately trying to inhabit, only to become inhabited in turn. South Korean director's filmic spaces make a noise, and noise is what makes Bong Joon-ho's filmic spaces. Moreover, not only do they make a noise, but they smell too.

1.1 The Introduction of discomfort: Bong Joon-ho's Smell-o-Vision

Meglio puzzà di merda che di povero.
(Better to reek of shit than of poor)
 — Italian proverb

In his foundational work entitled *Le parasite* (*Parasite*, 1980), French philosopher Michel Serres explores human relations reducing them to the concepts of the parasite and the host body to rethink the basic categories in social science. Bong Joon-ho's 기생충 (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) takes place in deeply personal spaces, whereas public spaces

are not as represented. Referring to private property and its genesis, Serres points out:

Those who see only public space have no sense of smell. As soon as you soil it, however, it is yours. Thus, the dirty is one's own [propre]. The first one who, having shit on a terrain, then decided to say, this is mine, immediately found people who were disgusted enough to believe him. They distanced themselves from his territory, without war or treaty (Serres 2007: 144).

The Kim family slowly possesses the Parks' family home, their "parasitic" invasion takes place smoothly and none of the Park family members is aware of it, except for their youngest child who is the first to notice that all of their household helpers smell alike. This, in my view, is the precise moment of the introduction of discomfort into a seemingly calm environment and the viewer is the first one to feel it because the youngest member of the Park family expresses his observation to his mother who does not take them seriously, but the viewer does and the mood is irrevocably changed. The introduction of smell signifies a significant change in tone and a breaking point in the cinematic event as a whole. Park family aseptic home is suddenly filled with an unfamiliar smell and a sense of anxiety. It is, all of a sudden, making a noise, so to speak, but, at the same time, it's the noise that makes the house.

The parasite doesn't stop. It doesn't stop eating or drinking or yelling or burping or making thousands of noises or filling space with its swarming and din. The parasite is an expansion; it runs and grows. It invades and occupies. It overflows, all of a sudden, from these pages. Inundation, swelling waters. Noises, din, clamour, fury, and noncomprehension. Asymmetry, violence, murder and carnage, arrow and axe (Serres 2007: 144).

Bong Joon-ho's treatment of a very Alien-like monster from the 괴물 (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) corresponds to French philosopher's take on the nature of a parasite. South Korean director's monster is an expansion, running and growing, invading and occupying. The process, however, extends beyond the body of the monster itself. It overflows and inundates the city in the form of a deadly virus that is, out of a sudden, feared more than the monster itself. The virus, as the extension of Bong Joon ho's monster, provokes fear of proximity and touch in the residents. In 기생충 (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*), the parasitic invasion

takes place on a micro-level, and a very intimate one. Parks' family home is being invaded by a parasitic expansion that runs and grows, instilling fear and uncertainty into Bong's film fabric and the viewer's mind. However, the Park family themselves don't seem to be aware of the parasite and this is mostly because of the fact that they, in a sense, parasitise whatever is parasitising them.

And it's not just the poor family that are the parasites, it's also the rich family as well," Bong observed. "Because they leech off the labour that the poor family provides: They can't drive for themselves, they need to hire a housekeeper, so everyone is our parasites, including the third family (Bong Joon-ho qtd. in Caicoya 2019).

As the director himself states, everyone is our parasite in the film and it is, arguably, the architectural element that acts as a host, a backdrop of a class struggle that exposes the deeply flawed vertically designed system. The monster from the *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) is a direct result of parasite-host-like evolution of a relationship of two nations, parasitising and harassing a city from the depths. What Bong Joon-ho is so brilliant at is demystifying both the poor and the rich. Poverty does not make a character noble, and abundance only makes a character naïve. Compared to the Kim family, the Parks seem to be the nicer ones but it is only because they can afford to be nice, whereas the Kim family is forced to constantly be coming up with ways to make a living. Just like the family from the *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*). Inundation and swelling waters that fill up their basement apartment are nothing but a metaphor of hardship they face on a daily basis, a metaphor of a struggle to remain floating. It is not the poor that parasitise the rich or the other way around. Man, according to Serres, is a universal parasite and

everything and everyone around him is a hospitable space. Plants and animals are always his hosts; man is always necessarily their guest. Always taking, never giving. He bends the logic of exchange and of giving in his favour when he is dealing with nature as a whole. When he is dealing with his kind, he continues to do so; he wants to be the parasite of man as well. And his kind want to be so too (Serres 2007: 24).

So why do the observations of the youngest member of the Park family pass unnoticed, why aren't they taken seriously? Is it the narrowmindedness of the adult Parks who simply attribute Ki-taek

smell to his class and think of it as, simply, the smell of poor, a smell they are to be exposed to to keep their household in a functioning state? Smell is, I would argue, a pivotal force, in Bong's *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*). Not only does it instill discomfort into filmic space, but it has the potential to, haptically, introduce discomfort into the viewer's mind as well, if not even invoke a slight change in the spectator's perception of the Park's beautiful family home. But what kind of function do *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*'s) constant references to smell perform in the cinematic event as such?

To provide at least a partial answer to a similar question I will touch upon Chion's reflections on the era of silent films that led to cinema which "enabled spectators to hear with their eyes" (Stam 2020: 37). French film theorist takes Stam's argument a step further claiming that

The very absence of smell should allow spectators to smell with their eyes and ears, as well. While it may be tempting to base the plausibility of an olfactory cinema solely on one's ability to accurately experience the physicality of smells, I argue on the contrary that it is this inability to physically smell in films which welcomes an effective olfactory response to cinema (Chion 1999: 27).

On the other hand, Marguerite Duras, for instance, was rather sceptical when it came to the new form of cinema because, in her view, the talkies closed off the imaginary. The spectator was no longer allowed to imagine the voice of Greta Garbo. The talkie, according to the French novelist, limited this silver screen icon to one single voice. However, when the youngest member of the Park family exclaims that their driver, their chef, and their tutor all smell alike, or when his father complains to his wife about the smell of his driver, the spectator's imagination is allowed to run wild. Bong Joon-ho brilliantly uses dialogues to open up the haptic.

Addressing the lack that was taken away from cinema with the introduction of sound, Chion talks about how, from the moment they became heard, the voice and synch sound brought a certain degree of disappointment to film, the disappointment that comes from "the "oral" filling of an absence or lack over which desire has built its nest", claiming how, "once heard in reality, even the most divine voice had something trivial about it" (Chion 1999: 13). However, I would argue that the lack Chion is referring to is still there and the viewers are allowed to fill it imagining smells, odors, etc. The audio-enforced image

has the potential to stimulate an even stronger haptic response. The “new lack” is haptically induced, the viewer is still given black spaces that are to be filled with her/his imagination. However, when it comes to contemporary Korean cinema, the haptic forms of contact seem to be rather strong but they are, by no means, pleasurable.

This paper looks into less pleasurable aspects of the haptic form of contact between the film and the viewer. The American academic Steven Shaviro reflects on proximity as a source of disgust, disease, and infected perception (Shaviro 1993), and in Bong Joon-ho’s films proximity is perceived as such: highly contagious, and results in the infected perception: the viewer’s perception of filmic space and, as is the case with *Ki-taek*, a change in auto-image. Furthermore, smell often parasites both the sound and the image in the Korean director’s intense sensory landscape. His films do not seem to lack a lack, but in this case, the lack is not a cozy space for the spectator’s desire to nest in but rather a damp, cold, and dark place that turns out to be the source of discomfort and disgust.

What takes place inside Bong’s filmic spaces is a sort of a primal hide-and-seek game. Human vision, just like that of cinema, Chion points out, is partial and directional (Chion 1999: 17). Bong’s characters are either hiding or seeking, sending Morse code signals to make their location known or working on a perfect cover. Korean director’s characters align with Serres’ views of blocked communication. We are, “buried within ourselves”, states French philosopher, “we send out signals, gestures, and sounds indefinitely and uselessly. No one listens to anyone else. Everyone speaks; no one hears; direct or reciprocal communication is blocked” (Serres 2007: 121). This seems to be the case in Bong’s movies as well. Violence turns out to be the only way to communicate. The Kim family has to convince the Parks that their housekeeper is contagious in order to overtake the house. It’s only when the father of the abducted girl from *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) threatens the medical staff with contact and infection that he manages to do what he has been struggling to do all the time: to get out of the hospital and continue looking for his daughter, and it’s only when violence escalates in Park family home that everyone comes to understand or at least to begin to understand the severity of the situation.

Bong Joon-ho’s *기생충* (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) and *괴물* (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) brilliantly address the communication block, partial vision, and partial visibility – and fill it with a smell, a stench

that is the only thing that the Park family seems to notice, because, unlike seeing, smelling is omnidirectional. It creates a mental tension that stifles the image. Body smell in 기생충 (*Gisaengchung*, *Parasite*) and the institutionalized fear of proximity in 괴물 (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*) slowly take over the image and the sound and, arguably, over the whole cinematic event, turning it into an intimate experience, establishing a close connection with the viewer as well. The linguistically euphemized and psychologically repressed erupts in the form of body smell or the threat of being touched/infected that (first slowly, then suddenly) fills out Bong's filmic spaces. Parks' remarks on the way he smells, act as a form of an olfactory mirror for the father of the Kim family, whose humiliation is further amplified by the fact that his children could hear their remarks as well. He is not ashamed of encouraging his children to deceive others, just like he is not ashamed of his deception because that's, in a way, his *seo-ri*² right. However, it's only when he sees his image in the olfactory mirror that the Parks have linguistically painted for him that he starts feeling shame because of what he is and how he is.

Discussing urban smellscape, Henshaw dwells on the difference between our visual landscape as separate from our bodies, which makes it controllable, and our olfactory landscape, which is more immediate, less controllable, and, since we are immersed into it, also an integral part of our bodies (Henshaw 2013: 13). When Park Dong-ik complains about his chauffeur's smell it is because he feels that his employee is crossing the boundary: Kim Ki-taek's body odor invades the interior of his car, his posh family home, and ultimately his body and there's nothing he can do about it, except maybe fire him, just like they fired their former housemaid due to fear of infection. Mr. Park can either put up with it or look for another driver and the latter is not really an option since the Park family is struggling with finding adequate household staff.

Furthermore, the father of the rich family does not even approach his driver directly and complains to Mrs. Park instead, performing what Pallasmaa would term suppression by the code of

² According to *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*, the term, used in Bong Joon-ho's 괴물 (*Gwoemul*, *The Host*), refers to the stealing of grain, fruit, and poultry for fun among children to satiate their hunger when there was food shortage during the agricultural off-seasons.

culture. “Vision and hearing are now the privileged sociable senses”, claims the Finnish architect and former professor of architecture,

remnants with a merely private function, and they are usually suppressed by the code of culture. Only sensations such as the olfactory enjoyment of a meal, fragrance of flowers and responses to temperature are allowed to draw collective awareness in our ocularcentric and obsessively hygienic code of culture (Pallasmaa 2005: 10).

If there was such a thing as an anti-ocularcentric director, Bong Joon-ho would make a great example of one. *괴물* (*Gwoemul, The Host*) is a monster movie, but the alien-like monster is rarely shown both in the intradiegetic and the hypodiegetic part of the narrative structure. After its appearance, the characters seem to be more afraid of each other than the monster itself. It literally causes a war between its potential victims. *기생충* (*Gisaengchung, Parasite's*) basement dweller who took refuge there not to be seen is what moves and directs the plot and disturbs the balance between the superimposed set of characters.

Vision, according to Pallasmaa, displays a very strong tendency to

grasp and fixate, to reify and totalize: a tendency to dominate, secure and control, which eventually, because it was so extensively promoted, assumed a certain uncontested hegemony over our culture and its philosophical discourse (Pallasmaa 2005: 10-11).

Bong Joon-ho challenges vision in a visual medium and reverts the order of senses, and with it the entire philosophical discourse of vision, which disorients both characters and the viewers. The very architectural design of the Park family home enables each family member to enjoy full privacy and isolation (should they wish to isolate themselves from the others, as is the case with the youngest member of the Park family who camps in the front yard) but it also enables its owners to have full visual control over the interior and exterior which ultimately makes them feel safe. However, the body odor of the Kim family member challenges their ultimate power over their personal space. It crosses the boundary, as Mr. Park puts it, and the cultural code forbids him to confront his driver on the matter.

2. 괴물(*Gwoemul, The Host*), 기생충 (*Gisaengchung, Parasite*) and the Impossible Climb

“Today’s history comes deodorized”

— Roy Porter, Preface to Alain Corbin’s *The Foul and the Fragrant, Odour and the French Social Imagination* (1986: v).

괴물 (*Gwoemul, The Host*) reaches its culmination point plot-wise, violence explodes in horrifying ways but the calm after the storm is, according to the film critic Chung Sung-ill, realized in a form of a return to point zero:

When the monster is dead, the film does not actually end, but returns to zero. In the process, the vicious cycle returns once again to its starting point, and after the film is over, the first scene (of the sequel in real life as it starts again) can only be the moment in which the 8th Unit of United States Forces Korea once again empties its dusty bottles of formaldehyde (Jung Ji-youn 2011: 55).

By the same token, when the Park family basement dweller is chased out, the film does not end, it merely returns to zero. The basement dweller is simply being substituted because the system needs its ‘parasite’ and is completely and utterly unable to overcome the need for one. To put it in Serres’ words:

We parasite each other and live amidst parasites. Which is more or less a way of saying that they constitute our environment. We live in that black box called the collective; we live by it, on it, and in it. It so happens that this collective was given the form of an animal: Leviathan. We are certainly within something bestial; in more distinguished terms, we are speaking of an organic model for the members of a society. Our host? I don’t know. But I do know that we are within. And that it is dark in there (Serres 2007: 22).

What Bong’s characters, regardless of their social standing, have in common is their complete ignorance when it comes to the system they all inhabit, their ultimate host, a system in which, Serres would argue “we don’t know what belongs to the system, what makes it up, and what is against the system, interrupting and endangering it” (2007: 16).

According to Gabilondo:

기생충 (*Gisaengchung, Parasite*) is an overworked and convoluted narrative about the impossibility of overcoming, dismantling, or exiting neoliberal capitalism. Literally, the South Korean film is a cinematic version of Fredric Jameson's infamous dictum that "it is easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism" (Gabilondo 2020: 1).

Bong Joon-ho's characters naively try to overcome or dismantle whatever is making it impossible for them to climb the stairs that the director so frequently makes references to in the interviews, but that turns out to be a rather difficult, if not completely futile task since the system has internalized them and they have internalized the system in return. It's precisely what makes it hard to set an individual apart from the system, his/her host, and the ultimate parasite, it makes it hard to tell where one ends and the other begins, since, to go back to French philosopher, we do not know what we're within but what we do know is that it is something bestial, and it's rather dark inside.

South-Korean director's characters are the epitome of what Polish sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman termed "human waste or wasted humans" or, more precisely,

the population of those who either could not or not wished to be recognized or allowed to stay), an inevitable outcome of modernization, and an inseparable accompaniment of modernity (Bauman 2003: 10),

reduced to trash, a by-product of socio-political processes manifesting themselves both on macro and micro scale. And trash is something that is supposed to be hidden away from sight, thrown, or chased out. It is no coincidence that 기생충 (*Gisaengchung, Parasite*'s) privileged characters describe "the others" in terms of smell and avoid contact due to fear of contagion, as is also the case in 괴물 (*Gwoemul, The Host*). Corbin (1986: 143) points out, reflecting on the fetidity of the labouring classes and the danger of infection in their presence, that "[T]he absence of intrusive odor enabled the individual to distinguish himself from the putrid masses, stinking like death, like sin, and at the same time implicitly to justify the treatment meted out to them". However, Bong Joon-ho won't allow for "the trash" to simply be taken out and will not settle for a deodorized filmic space. Despite opting for an architecture of exclusion and separate spheres, the Park's family home is impregnated with smell. The trash belonging to damp or sewers explodes in the face of the South Korean director's characters and

viewers, and the cinematic event, turning systems taken for granted into systems that ought to be dismantled or at least questioned.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE KOREAN POETIC DRAMA AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POETIC DRAMA MOVEMENT

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Abstract: This paper deals with the definition and characteristics of poetic drama, and attempts to clarify the significance of poetic drama works during the time when the poetic drama movement took place. Unlike drama-poetry or plays, poetic drama is an independent art genre. It presents artistic vision through the conflict of poetics and dramas. The unity of poetic and dramatic things, which is facilitated through music, internal necessity, stage image, sound effect, and visual auditory indication, poetic drama is a part of complex art. The entire work functions as a poem and must be realized on the stage. For Choi Il-soo, in order to develop the characteristics of these poetry plays, the innatrhythm of the free verse should be embodied within these plays. He accepted Eliot's theory and tried to establish the position that

Western poetic drama works and theories are unique to Korea. This deepening perception of theory led to a poetic drama movement with the creators. In this paper, we classify its characteristics by focusing on approximately 18 poetic drama works. From 1920 to 1999, 18 representative works were classified, focusing on the completeness of the works and the remarkable artists. The characteristics of works can largely be divided into historical, narrative, reality, and philosophy. The meaning of this classification can serve as an opportunity for poetic dramas to advance into more diverse topics or forms. The poetic drama movement was dominated by critics and poets with the aim of pursuing independent Korean art works, and although it failed in performance and popularization, it was an achievement of the times to give a glimpse into the possibility of poetic drama. Poetic drama can act as a new element in the genre of poetry and drama that are losing original literary character, and there is a need to revive in Korean literature.

Keywords: Korean poetic drama; T.S.Eliot; Choi Il-soo; the poetic drama movement; the history of Korean poetic drama.

한국 시극의 전개양상과 시극운동의 의의

초록: 본고는 시극에 대한 정의와 특징을 다루며, 시극 운동이 전개되었던 시대 상황과 시극 작품의 의의를 규명하고자 한다. 시극은 극시나 희곡과 달리 독립된 하나의 예술장르이다. 시적인 것과 극적인 것의 충돌과 발생을 통해 예술적 비전을 제시한다. 시적인 것과 극적인 것의 합일에 더해 음악, 내적 필연성, 무대 이미지, 음향 효과, 시각적 청각적 지시등을 통해, 시극은 복합적인 예술의 한 부분이며, 작품 전체가 한편의 시로써 기능하며, 무대에서 실현되어야 한다는 것이다. 최일수는 이러한 시극의 특징을 발전시키기 위해 자유시의 내재율을 극속에 형상화해야 한다고 생각했다. 그는 엘리엇의 이론을 받아들이며 서양의 시극작품과 이론을 한국만의 것으로 정립하려고 애썼다. 이런 심화된 이론의 인식은 창작자들과 함께 시극 운동으로 이어졌다. 본고에서는 약 18 편의 시극 작품을 중심으로 그 성격을 분류하고자 한다. 1920년부터 시작해서 1999년까지 작품의 완성도와 주목할 만한 작가를 중심으로 대표적인 작품 18 편을 분류했다. 작품이 지닌 그 특징은 크게 역사성, 설화성, 현실성, 철학성으로 나눌 수 있다. 이런 분류의 의미는 시극이 좀 더 다양한 주제나 형식으로 나아가게 만드는 계기가 될 수 있다. 한국의 시극 운동은 독립된 한국의 예술 작품을 추구하자는 목적하에 평론가들과 시인들이 주를 이루었고, 공연화와 대중화에 있어서 실패를 거두었지만, 시극에 대한 가능성을 엿볼수 있는 시대적 성과였다. 시극은 독창적인 문학성을 상실해가는 시와 극의 장르에도 새로운 요소로 작용할 수 있으며, 한국 문학에서 다시 부활해야 할 필요성을 가지고 있다.

핵심어: 한국 시극; T.S.Eliot; 최일수; 시극운동; 한국시극사.

ROZWÓJ KOREAŃSKIEGO DRAMATU POETYCKIEGO ORAZ ZNACZENIE RUCHU DRAMATU POETYCKIEGO

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł mierzy się z próbą definicji i charakterystyki dramatu poetyckiego, jak i usiłuje ustalić znaczenie dzieł dramatycznych w czasie funkcjonowania ruchu dramatu poetyckiego. W przeciwieństwie do sztuk czy poezji dramatycznej, dramat poetycki jest odrębnym gatunkiem. Wizja artystyczna jest uwidaczniana w konflikcie poetyki i dramatu. Jedność poetyki i dramatu, osiągnana przez muzykę, wewnętrzny przymus, obraz sceniczny efekty dźwiękowe, wizualne odniesienia publiczności sprawiają, że dramat poetycki jest częścią sztuki ujmowanej kompleksowo. Całe dzieło funkcjonuje jak poemat i musi być realizowane na scenie. Zdaniem Choi Il-soo, by rozwinąć opis tych sztuk poetyckich należy zachować w nich wewnętrzne zasady wolnego wiersza. Przyjął on więc koncepcję Eliota i podjął próbę opracowania podstaw zakładających, że zachodnie dramaty poetyckie oraz teorie są atypowe dla Korei. Ten pogłębiający się odbiór teorii doprowadził do wykształcenia się ruchu dramatu poetyckiego, W artykule dokonana zostanie klasyfikacja cech charakterystycznych na podstawie około 18 dzieł dramatycznych. Wybrane osiemnaście dzieł, które powstałe w latach 1920-1999 sklasyfikowano według kryterium ukończenia i pełności pracy jak i ze względu na uznanie artysty. Opisy dzieł mogą być ogólnie podzielone na historyczne, narracyjne, realistyczne i filozoficzne. Klasyfikacja ta może stać się punktem wyjścia dla dramatów poetyckich do przekształcenia w bardziej zróżnicowane formy lub tematy. Ruch dramatu poetyckiego został zdominowany przez krytyków i poetów, których głównym celem było popularyzowanie niezależnych dzieł sztuki koreańskiej, i mimo, że nie zyskał on wielu odbiorców ani na popularności, to uznaje się go za znaczne osiągnięcie ówczesności, pozwalające na wgląd w możliwości dramatów poetyckich. Mogą one być traktowane jako nowy element w gatunkach lirycznych i dramatycznych, tracących swój pierwotny charakter literacki a które należy odzyskać w literaturze koreańskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: koreański dramat poetycki; T.S.Eliot; Choi Il-soo; ruch dramatu poetyckiego; historia koreańskiego dramatu poetyckiego.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the definition and characteristics of poetic drama, and attempts to clarify the significance of poetic drama works during the time when the poetic movement took place. Unlike drama-poetry or plays, poetic drama is an independent art genre. It presents artistic vision through the conflict of poetics and dramas. In addition, it becomes a work by combining various genres such as acting of the actors, conflict, directing, music, art, and dance. This paper examines the existing definition of poetic drama and the discussion on the poetic drama theory. Among them, I would like to criticize the differences and commonalities, focusing on the discussions that took place between Choi Il-soo and T.S. Eliot. Why did they continue their persistent exploration and creation of poetic dramas? The reason for this is that they thought of poetic drama as a genre that could complete the peak of art by maximizing the characteristics of poetry and play. For Choi Il-soo, in order to develop the characteristics of these poetry plays, the innatrhythm of the free verse should be embodied within these plays. He accepted Eliot's theory and tried to establish the position that Western poetic drama works and theories are unique to Korea. This is because, Choi Il-soo thought of the art of poetic drama as something that can be achieved through poetic necessity and dramatic necessity, and that it could become a genre based on the absolute spirit and globalization of art.

This deepening perception of theory led to a poetic drama movement with the creators. This paper aims to examine the development and meaning of the poetic drama movement in the late 1950s and the 1960s, the most active period in the history of poetic drama. Korean poetic drama began in 1920 with Kim Myung-soon's *朝露의 花夢* (*Morning Dew's Happy Dream*) (published in 창조 創造). This work deals with the jealousy, conflict, and love surrounding the relationship between the characters. Following this work, the creation of and research on poetic drama have had a history of about 100 years, continuing until the 2000s. While the creation of and research on poetic drama works have not gradually expanded, they have continued little by little. However, poetic drama theorists and researchers are rare to come across, and it is somewhat difficult to find literature data because poetic theaters are rarely staged. In this paper, we classify its characteristics by focusing on approximately 18 poetic

drama works. From 1920 to 1999, 18 representative works were classified, focusing on the completeness of the works and the remarkable artists. The characteristics of works can largely be divided into historical, narrative, reality, and philosophy. The meaning of this classification can serve as an opportunity for poetic dramas to advance into more diverse topics or forms. In addition, research on and creation of poetic dramas can function as a new path to the quiet world of modern art. With the development of science and technology, humans and the world have started to lose creativity and imagination. In Korea, where the individuality of poetry and play has seen a decline, the role of poetic drama as a comprehensive art (including music, art, and dance) is important.

Existing studies on these poetic dramas have often been published as academic papers, rather than as degree papers. While most of the academic papers on the subject have been studies on individual writers, there have been papers that were identified to bring out the perspective of poetic drama history and identified as being comparative studies that drew a comparison of poetic drama with other genres. Even though poetic drama works have a history of 100 years, there have been very few studies conducted on the subject. Researches centered on individual writers are being conducted, focusing on the content analysis corresponding to the situation of the times. The existing papers focus on domestic writers such as Park Ah-ji, Shin Dong-yeop, Kim Myung-soon, Park Se-young, and Jang Ho, who are known to be poetic drama writers. The study of poetic dramas is focused toward some writers because of the narrowness of poetic drama works. Studies analyzing the history of modern poetic drama in Korea include papers written by Park Jung-ho, Lee Sang-ho, and Lim Seung-bin.

Park Jung-ho studied the characteristics of poetic drama along with its formation process (박정호 Park Jung-ho 1997), and Lee Sang-ho studied the works of poetic drama in a chronological order and analyzed the historical situation and contents of the poetic drama movement, which had been insufficient (이상호 Lee Sang-ho 2013). Lim Seung-bin analyzed the verse and dramatic form of the work, focusing on the poetic dramas of the 1920s (임승빈 Lim Seung-bin 2002). Lee Hyun-won focused on the visualization of poetic dramas and analyzed their development. In particular, he identified the dialogue of poetry dramas by dividing it into poetry-centered dialogue and drama-centered dialogue. It is characterized by analyzing the

process of dramatization, by dividing it into dramatization by content and dramatization by visual media (이현원 Lee Hyun-won 2009). Kim Dong-hyun sought the genre characteristics of poetic dramas by focusing on the poetic dramas of Shin Dong-yeop and Choi In-hoon (김동현 Kim Dong-hyun 2013).

Specific theory books on poetic dramas include the books of Lee Seung-ha and Choi Il-soo. Lee Seung-ha's writings are very small, and his theory and work analysis of poetic dramas contain very popular content (이승하 Lee Seung-ha 2014). In this paper, the discussion is focused towards the theory of Choi Il-soo, who participated in the study of poetic dramas during the 1960s along with the writers. However, his theory contains content that analyzes and agrees/refutes the theory of poetry put forth by T.S. Eliot. However, in his attempt to refute Eliot's theory, Choi Il-soo failed to provide specific examples and evidences (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976). The discussion will be brought out in detail in this section.

2. Definition of poetic drama and the theory of poetic drama in Korea

2.1 Definition of poetic drama

Poetic drama is a completely new art form. It is distinct from poetry and drama. A poetic drama requires two things, namely poetic and dramatic, but focuses a little more on the dramatic things. A dramatic-poetry does not presuppose a performance, but more of poetic things. Raising awareness about the definition and value of poetic drama is key to visualizing a new future and grasping the various literary worlds. Poetic drama is a literary genre in which two different genres –poetry and play– swirl and collide with each other.

However, poetic drama is not a combination of poetry and plays, nor is it an attempt to seek novelty with the help of other genres of art, such as movies or plays. Poetic drama is a new genre of drama that is completely different from dramatic-poetry, which is characterized by the presence of dramatic elements in poetry (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 870). In addition, the difference between poetic drama and plays is that plays are characterized by the conflicts and

events of characters, while poetic dramas must have internal inevitability and dramatic inevitability in dialogues, characters, and situations in addition to possessing narrative conflict (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 370-371).

Through *Theory of Poetic Drama*, T.S. Eliot discussed the process of poetry appearing on the stage and the importance of the value of completing a performance. His works also critically embodied the “modern civilization breaking away from tradition and order”¹ through poetic dramas, such as *The Cocktail Party*, *The Confidential Clerk*, and *The Rock* (김재화 Kim Jae-hwa 2010: 214).

However, in *현실의 문학 The Literature of Reality*, Choi Il-soo argued that Eliot’s theory is far from that of the Koreans. Choi Il-soo’s statement about T.S. Eliot’s *Theory of Poetic Drama* is as follows: “His visionary view of poetic drama that led the poem to the stage can be accepted, but in the end, he couldn’t go beyond stageing the poem”² (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 368). However, it should not be considered that the concepts of poetry and play are simply a combination of poetry and play. Poetry is ultimately done in the pursuit of poetic lines and a dramatic composition.

According to Kim Dong-hyun, “In a modern society where totality is divided, ‘Poetic drama’, a genre in which individuals dream of restoring totality, was born”³. Poetic drama is a historical genre in which a play, a problematic style characterized by a sense of problem with the future and a will to the future, meets a lyrical genre containing ‘poetic vision’. This view is directly linked to the organic worldview. The definition of poetry plays differs slightly in this view (김동현 Kim Dong-hyeon 2019: 342-343).

In this paper, the standard for the theory and concept of poetic drama is Choi Il-soo’s “comprehensive artistry”. The content and form of a poetic drama cannot be simply distinguished by proses and verses, instructions and non-instructions, stage images, dramatic structures and character relationships, and performance results. While a poetic drama is a fusion of poetic and dramatic, its plot composition

1 “전통과 질서에서 이탈해가는 현대문명” (김재화 2010: 214).

2 “시를 무대로 길 안내한 선각적이고 기지력 있는 안내인으로써 그의 시극관은 수긍될 수 있지만 결국 그는 시를 무대화한 것(이다).” (최일수 1976: 368).

3 “총체성이 분열된 근대 사회에서 변혁기에 적절한, 세계사적 개인이 총체성을 회복하기를 꿈꾸는 장르인 ‘시극’을 탄생시킨 것이다” (김동현 2019: 342-343).

must have an internal inevitability. Just because the sentence is a verse and has the form of a play, it does not constitute a poem. Even prose lines create a poetic path through internal inevitability, with there being an interaction between the acting of the actor, stage direction, visual image, music, and dance, making poetic drama a comprehensive art. Poetic drama as such is a comprehensive art, which is realized on the stage through text and actors, conflict events, stage installations, poetic situations, and the aesthetic effect process. Furthermore, a poetic drama is created by taking into consideration the the emotions the audience will feel after the performance and the changes in the quality of life after the performance. “It’s like a destiny to live in a community”⁴ and human life, along with all art, is established as a new “genre” (이상호 Lee Sang-ho 2016: 17-18). Critic Choi Il-soo accepted and criticized Eliot’s theory of poetic drama and sought to establish a Korean poetic drama theory.

2.2. Discussion on the poetic drama theory: focusing on Choi Il-soo and T. S. Eliot

Poetic drama is not a product of the conflict and harmony between the poetic and dramatic. Mere utterance of poetic lines on a stage does not mean that the performance becomes a poetic drama. As discussed above, poetic drama as a “comprehensive art” has complex characteristics such as actors, conflict structures, music, dance, and visual stage devices. Poetic dramas have a variety of artistic personalities or genres that deal with the conflicts that exist between history and reality. What distinguishes poetic drama from plays and reading of plays is the inevitability of the work. In other words, it depends on how much one has a poetic necessity and dramatic necessity.

At the limit of contradictions in which opposite heterogeneous elements such as justice and injustice of human society, existence and futility, freedom and dictatorship, peace and war are presented at the same time, this inevitable and special situation in which justice,

⁴ “그것은 마치 공동 생활하는 하나의 운명체처럼” (이상호 2016: 17-18).

existence, freedom, peace, and tomorrow are historically promised becomes a world of poetry⁵ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 414).

In other words, the contradiction between the characters and events in the work creates conflicts, overcomes problems, and has a dialectical attitude to live. Therefore, the inevitability of a poetic drama is not accidental; it must consist of a meticulous poetic composition and a dramatic composition.

As a result, poetic drama is a comprehensive art with this inevitability. Poetic drama is also an art of participation in the reality to the fullest.

Among the situations that caused this inevitability, the lyricism that sings the eternal present and the narrative that constitutes the historical flow are unified. This unification is a new dramatic reality that acts in today's most inevitable moment when tomorrow can be promised, and thus, becomes art⁶ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 415).

In poetic drama, the poem's lyric results in the shape of poetic lines. It is not just a line that represents the reality of the situation, it should implicitly bring out the feelings of characters and the situation of reality. In addition, lines with a good poetic shape can bring out the tension, rhyme, rhythm, and image phenomena that lead the work and the breathing of lines with other characters. The play's "narrative" inevitably creates the composition of the work and the structure of conflict, and has the function of directing history, mythology, tragedy, and imagination. In order to establish this concept of poetic drama as a comprehensive art, Choi Il-soo accepted Eliot's theory and criticized and discussed it.

⁵ “인간사회의 정의와 불의, 존재와 허무, 자유와 독재, 평화와 전쟁, 이러한 정반대의 이질적인 요소가 동시에 제시되고 있는 모순의 극한 점에서 정의와 존재와 자유와 평화가 그리고 내일을 역사적으로 약속받는 이러한 필연적이고 특수한 상황이 시극의 세계가 된다” (최일수 1976: 414).

⁶ “시극은 이러한 필연성을 떠난 종합적 상황 속에서 영원한 현재를 노래하는 서정성과 역사적인 흐름을 구가하는 서사성이 통일이 되어 내일을 약속받을 수 있는 오늘의 가장 필연적인 모우먼트에서 행동하는 하나의 새로운 극적 현실성에 고차원이 예술로써 나아가서는 이러한 요인을 총화적으로 포괄하는 상황성에 기초하고 있다는 점에서 철저하도록 현실참여의 예술이기도(하다.)” (최일수 1976: 415).

In 1959, when 시극연구회 *sigeug yeongu-hui* ‘The Poetic Drama Research Society’ was formed, the Korean poetic drama movement came into existence through creation and stage performances. However, the poetic drama movement did not achieve great results because of problems such as the completeness of the poetic drama work, the financial situation of the stage process, and the response of readers. At the time, Choi Il-soo actively published a paper on poetry drama as a researcher. His biggest critical work is to push forth that Korean poetic drama should be established as a comprehensive art that combines music, art, and dance production, not simply a unity of poetry and play. Subsequently, through the inevitability of poetic drama, it should become an important genre of art that allows spectators or readers to experience the historical problems or contradictions in life, overcome real-world situations, and move forward.

To do this, Choi Il-soo was of the position that Eliot’s theory of poetic drama, which emphasized only the verse and lyricism of poetry, should be revised. Poetic dramas do not only have the verse characteristics of poems, but also possess the narrative characteristics of plays, which should also be included. According to him, in order to achieve the narrative of plays, the prose nature of a poetic drama should affect the other areas of art, music, and dance, thus, resulting in it becoming a comprehensive art.

However, he repeatedly expresses that his outlook for comprehensive art is very new. This was also the goal of the poets who led the poetic drama movement alongside him. Choi Il-soo’s poetic drama theory also included a political character that actively defended their poetic drama. The question then is, what is the prospect? The first thing to read in the previous argument is that he is not criticizing Eliot’s “three sounds”. At first glance, it can be read as though he had to allocate sound to lyricism, narrative, and play, respectively, and integrate the three sounds. By reading in that specific fashion, he submits a different proposal from that of Eliot, who wanted to integrate lyricism and narrative into the play. However, that is not it. According to him, the three sounds in the question are “a voice directed to the poet himself, a voice directed to the audience, and a voice coming through the mouth of a fictional character”, which “must inevitably be integrated on the stage”, the same as that put forth by Eliot. If this is the case, the emphasis is laid on “a richer and more

dimensional world”⁷ (이현정 Lee Hyeon-jeong 2020: 23-24). This vague word can be analyzed in the following statements:

(1) Eliot’s theory, although it spoke about the inevitability of poetry appearing on the stage, never mentioned how poetry is expressed through dramaturgy in the complex and coherent sense of the stage, along with the “genre” of all other arts on the stage⁸ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 368).

(2) Until now, various arts participating in plays or movies, which have claimed to be comprehensive arts, have occupied only one effective position. However, this is not the case with poetry dramas. The various arts participating in poetry plays are synthesized on one stage with such an independent character that, even if they are separated under the one theme of poetry works, they can become an independent work. Therefore, it forms a situation as a complete comprehensive art, and under one theme, the “images” of “genre” engage with each other and combine to create a high world at a new level⁹ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 371).

(3) In a poetic drama, “poetry” is the beginning of the fundamental opportunity of creation, and “play” is a plaza of complex senses that forms the source of a comprehensive “image”¹⁰ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 37).

⁷ “보다 풍부하고 보다 차원 높은 세계” (이현정 2020: 23-24).

⁸ “(1) ‘엘리엇’의 이론은 시가 무대로 등장하게 되는 그 필연성을 이야기하기는 했어도 결코 시가 무대 위에서 다른 모든 예술의 ‘장르’와 더불어 종합적인 상황을 이루고 또 어떻게 해서 무대의 복합되고 교합되는 감각 속에 시가 ‘드라마·츄르기’를 통하여 표현되는가에 대해서는 언급하지 못하였다” (최일수 1976: 368).

⁹ “(2) 이제까지 종합예술로 자처하는 연극이나 영화에서는 여기에 참여하는 여러 예술은 하나의 효과적 위치 밖에는 차지하지 못하였다. / 그러나 극에서는 령지가 않다. 시극에 참여하는 여러 예술들은 시극 작품이 가지는 하나의 주제 밑에 각기 따로 떨어져 놓아도 그것이 하나의 독립된 작품이 될수 있는 그러한 독립된 성격을 완전히 갖추고 하나의 무대 위에 종합되는 것이다. / 때문에 그것은 완전한 형태의 종합 예술로서의 상황을 형성하며 하나의 주제 밑에 각기 ‘장르’의 ‘이미지’가 서로 교합되고 복합이 되어 새로운 차원의 높은 세계가 개시된다” (최일수 1976: 371).

¹⁰ “(3) 시극에 있어서 시는 창조의 근원적인 계기의 개시요, 극은 종합적인 ‘이미지’의 원천을 이루는 복합 감각의 광장이다” (최일수 1976: 37).

(4) This is because, the “image” is formed only by the integrated “tone” of the entire poem, and the language selected by the formed “image” becomes such a poem that has a fundamental creative opportunity. But what I want to add here is that, no matter how the poetry talks about the source of creation, if its language does not carry an inherent flow when it comes to the “image” it creates, it becomes a philosophical predicate to study the unified laws of creation¹¹ (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 378).

The above statements are his own definitions of the “high world in a new dimension”, which are aimed by the critic as indicated at the end of the quote above (2). First, the quote (1) reveals that, in a poetic drama, poetry is not an element of the stage, but a “what” of the entire stage. (2) presents a similar perspective. He once instructed that, “something” is a “situation as a comprehensive art”, and explained that this situation is the result of the “image” of “each genre” being “coupled” with each other. It is noteworthy that the word “image” was used here. This is because of the quote (3) redefining that “situation” as a “complex sensory plaza,” stating that it is a “source of creating a comprehensive ‘image’.”

As a result, images are perceived as a synthesis, not as the “images of each genre.” Finally, in the quote (4), “image” becomes the premise of a “fundamental creative opportunity”. This statement is cyclical. First of all, what was previously referred to as a “plaza of complex senses” is re-stated here as “an integrated tone of the whole poetry”. The integrated tone forms an image. In other words, Choi Il-soo shows that the poetic image contained in Korean poetic drama works has a comprehensive character. Comprehensive senses such as poetry, play, music, art, and dance can create a comprehensive image of the stage. His discussions indicate the significance of the Korean poetic drama movement.

In Korea, poetry plays discovered the possibility of being based on the intrinsic rate of free poetry rather than the verse theory claimed by

¹¹ “(4) 시어의 특성은 시전체가 지니는 통합된 ‘톤’에 의하여 비로소 ‘이미지’가 형성되고 그 형성되어진 ‘이미지’에 의하여 선택된 언어들이 근원적인 창조적 계기를 내재하고 있는 그러한 시어가 되기 때문이다. / 그런데 여기서 한마디 덧붙이고 싶은 것은 아무리 창조의 근원을 이야기한다 해도 그것이 ‘이미지’의 흐름이 내재되어 있지 않는 언어라면 그것은 창조의 통일적인 법칙을 연구하는 철학적 술어가 되고 만다는 사실이다” (최일수 1976: 378).

T.S. Eliot, and the experimental work of staging the intrinsic rate was set in the direction of the movement of Korean poetic drama¹² (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 436).

In other words, the prose he refers to is another name for free poetry. He also argues that the function of prose is “exercised freely in free poetry”¹³ in other places (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 400), and states that the intrinsic rate of free poetry should be staged. Through this work, the poetic drama movement led to there being a comprehensive art and a comprehensive sense. So, what did Eliot say about the verses of poetic dramas? We can summarize Eliot’s theory of poetic drama, which serves as a clue for this methodology, as follows:

- 1) The verses of poetic dramas are not a common function of poetry.
- 2) The verses of poetic dramas help the plays function.
- 3) The verses of poetic dramas pursue a change in daily life.

According to Eliot, when poetry rhymes are introduced into poetic dramas, the original unique function of poetry changes. A typical poetry expresses a landscape or psychology and embodies a rhythm or symbol. However, in a play, the poetic verse can lead to the anticipation of conversations with other characters or create unfamiliar scenes through unexpected conversations. In addition, the verse of a poetic drama presupposes the literary story that leads the play and can maximize the structure of conflict or the psychology of the actor. Simple general lines do not give the audience or readers a moment of thought or emotion. In addition, this verse can connect the situation in the play to the real situation.

The essence of poetry is to accurately capture one’s voice. Therefore, integrating the poetic verse and poetic form into the play can connect the situation of the play to a real problem. This is because, the lines written in poems impress the audience by arousing feelings, tension, and emotions. This influence of verses causes a change in the lives of the audience. Change in people through poetic

¹² “우리나라에 있어서 시극은 T.S. 엘리엇이 주장하는 운문론보다는 자유시의 내재율에 입각할 수 있는 가능성을 발견하였으며 그 내재율을 무대화시키는 실험적인 작업이 우리 시극의 운동방향으로 설정된 것이다” (최일수 1976: 436).

¹³ “자유시에서 마음껏 발휘” (최일수 1976: 400).

drama has become a positive factor in life. Choi Il-soo failed to bring out Eliot's argument in more detail.

He just states that Eliot laid emphasis on the verse of poetic drama and failed to expand its scope as a comprehensive art. While Choi Il-soo actively accepted Eliot's theory of poetry and imagery, at the same time, he pointed out the limitations of Western poetic drama theory. Choi Il-soo is interested in free poetry because he wants to pursue the theory of poetic drama as a comprehensive art. The reason for this is that the inevitability of poetic drama can be found more in the prose of free poetry.

This analysis served as an opportunity for Korean poetic dramas to deal with various topics. This was a common theme and the experimental topic for Korean poetic drama activists. Poetic drama is a common square where various 'genre' of arts are gathered at a comprehensive level. In addition, the combined sense becomes the core, and a new level of poetic drama can be achieved.

3. The history and personality of poetic drama

The history of Korean poetic dramas has a history of about 100 years to date, starting with Kim Myung-soon's 朝露의花夢 (*Morning Dew's Happy Dream*). Poetic drama was a field where the participation of citizens was passive when the creative, theoretical research, and performances were performed on the stage rather than other genres, but it has continued without completely losing its context. Among them, creating works and performing on the stage was the reason for neglecting the study of poetic drama. In particular, comprehensive research and analysis conducted on the "comprehensive artistry" of poetic drama were insignificant. Poetic drama is a genre that should also be noted in the fields of poetry and play that require individuality and artistry.

The place of poetry, which requires human history, war, and revolution, is creating a different path. Poetry that reproduces reality the way it is reflects and expresses the lessons directly. However, modern poetry, which deviates from these problems, is a personal generalization. In other words, poetry dealing with individual emotions and daily life is similar to an online text that handles and

sympathizes with the present without becoming art itself. In other words, poetry is complacent when it comes to the fear of experimentation and failure. What about plays? With the advent of the era of image imaging and the amplification of global virus problems, opportunities to see works performed in the actual stage have decreased. As the possibility of having stage performances has decreased, the creativity, imagination, and experimentation in plays have started to weaken. While foreign works or Korean classical works are performed sometimes, they are not close to the general audience. This is because, the subject or the content of the plays have not been diversified.

Therefore, the development of poetic drama can serve as an opportunity to overcome the limitations of neglected poetry and play and open them anew. Since Kim Myung-soon in 1920, most poets have created poetic dramas. However, this is because they focused only on poetic necessity, poetic lines, and symbols. It can be concluded that the success rate for the stageization of a poetic drama was low because it was not possible to think about the dramatic necessity.

In this paper, poetic drama works are not classified based on the passing of time, but classified based on the characteristics of the works. The characteristics of poetic drama works can be classified into historicity, narrative, reality, and philosophy. To understand Korean poetic dramas, it is necessary to consider and analyze the situations of the different times in Korea and the emotions of citizens together.

First, it is a poetic drama with historicity. Hwang Ji-woo's *오월의 신부* *Bride of May* (황지우, 2000, 오월의 신부, 서울, 문학과지성사), which deals with the 5.18 problem, and Park Ah-ji's *아버지와 딸* *Father and Daughter* (박아지, 2015, 박아지 작품선집, 서울, 글로벌 콘텐츠) are dialogue poetic dramas of the generations who inherited the pain of history. There are also Shin Dong-yeop's *그 입술에 파인 그늘* *Shade on Its Lips* (신동엽, 1975, 신동엽전집, 서울, 창작과비평사) or Kim Jung-hwan's *열려라, 미래의 나라* *Open, Future Country* (김정환, 1999, 김정환시집, 서울, 이론과실천), which are poetry dramas for children created on behalf of the KAPF literature during the colonial period.

Second, it is a poetic drama with narrative characteristics. These works were recreated based on the tales and legends appearing in the classical literature. He also paradoxically expressed the sad love

between men and women or the desire to escape the harsh reality and wait for the hero. It symbolically brings out the fear and wounds of the ruling class and the tragedy of our poor people. Moon Jung-hee's *나비의 탄생 Birth of Butterfly* (문정희, 1994, 구운몽, 서울, 도서출판 등지) and *도미 Domi* (문정희, 1994, 구운몽, 서울, 도서출판 등지), Choi In-hoon's *옛날 옛적에 휘어이 휘이 Long long Time Ago, Whai Whai* (최인훈, 1976, 옛날옛적에 휘어이 휘이, 서울, 문학과지성사), *어디서 무엇이 되어 다시 만나랴 Where, in what form, shall we meet again* (최인훈, 1976, 옛날옛적에 휘어이 휘이, 서울, 문학과지성사), *첫째야 자장자장 둘째야 자장자장 First Night Jajang Second Night Jajang Jajang* (최인훈, 1976, 옛날옛적에 휘어이 휘이, 서울, 문학과지성사), *등등 낙랑동 Dungdung Naknakdung* (최인훈, 1976, 옛날옛적에 휘어이 휘이, 서울, 문학과지성사), *달아 달아 밝은 달아 Oh, The Bright Moon* (최인훈, 1976, 옛날옛적에 휘어이 휘이, 서울, 문학과지성사), and Jeon Bong-gun's *무영탑 Muyeong Pagoda* (전봉건, 2013, 전봉건 문학선, 서울, 문학선).

Third, it was a practical poetic drama. There are Kim Myung-soon's *朝露의 花夢 Morning Dew's Happy Dream*, Hong Yoon-sook's *에덴, 그後の 都市 Eden, and the Subsequent Capital City* (1967), Jeon Bong-gun's radio poetic drama *꽃소라 Flower Sora* (1964), and Jangho's *사냥꾼의 일기 Diary of Hunters* (1960s). These works symbolize the love and jealousy that exist between men and women, the inner sense of futility, waiting, and real problems.

Fourth, it is a poetic drama that deals with philosophy. *한스와 그레텔 Hans and Gretel* (1981) is a highly completed work of Choi In-hoon. It is a work that embodies the consciousness of reinterpreting and rediscovering the concept of existentialism in the days when Korea accepted Western theory as a loss of individual existence and conflict. Although it has both historical and philosophical characteristics, it is classified as belonging to this category because of its development having more philosophical reasons and compositions.

In short, Korean poetic dramas have established various aspects in terms of form and content, despite the lack of creativity and research. However, when faced with the limitations of data collection or not applied to the standard form of poetic drama, it was not considered a poetic drama. In addition, the classification of research works was applied from 1920 to 1999. Among them, I will examine the era in which the most poetic drama works were actively created in the next chapter. Poetic drama works in Korea were actively created

and studied in the late 1950s and the 1960s through the poetic drama movement.

4. Development and significance of the poetic drama movement

In September 1959, the Poetic Drama Research Association (시극연구회) came to be founded by Gowon, Jangho, Hong Yoon-sook, Shin Dong-yeop, Han Jae-soo, and Choi Il-soo. However, on June 29, 1963, the Poetic Drama Society went on to be re-established as a more experimental and performable practical Poetic Drama movement. The members of this Poetry Society are Jang-ho, Choi Il-su, Go Won, Hong Yun-suk, Shin Dong-yeop, Oh Hak-young, Shin Bong-seung, Yoo Hyeon-mok, Park Yong-gu, Choi Jae-bok, Hwang Hwi, Kim Kyung-ok, Choi Myeong-su, Lee In-seok, Kim Won-tae, Kim Yo-seop, Choi Chang-bong, Cha Beom-seok, Kim Jong-sam, Lim Seong-nam, Park Hang-seop, Park Chang-don, Kim Yeol-gyu, Jang Gook-jin, and Kim Jeong-ok, a total of 33 members (이현원 Lee Hyeon-won 2000: 79).

The first poetry drama recorded in Korea is Kim Myung-soon's 朝露의 花夢 (*Morning Dew's Happy Dream*), tracing back to the Joseon Dynasty. Later, in 1923, Park Jong-hwa's work on poetic drama, namely 죽음보다 압하다 *Hurt Than Death* appeared. In 1937, Park Ah-ji's 어머니와 딸 *Mother and Daughter* were present for the drama. In the 1950s, a number of poetic drama works, including Jangho's 바다가 없는 항구 *Port without the Sea*, were published or staged. 1960 saw the creation of a number of poetic drama plays by writers, which was the most active period. In 1963, along with the active movement of the Poetic Drama Society, research on the poetic drama of critic Choi Il-soo, and writers such as Shin Dong-yeop, Hong Yoon-sook, Jang Ho, and Jeon Bong-gun created and staged many works. The activities of the Poetic Drama Society raised the level of poetic drama works and flexibly moved the exchanges with readers and audiences. I would like to examine in detail the background and value of the times in which the Poetic Drama Society was formed and the expansion of the realm of poetic drama.

First, there was an active sense of resistance from writers and a longing for novelty. In 1960, the April 19 Revolution and the May 16 incident occurred, with writers showing resistance to the world and revolutionary attitudes through their works. We attempted to create “newness” through various materials and forms. This attitude caused the spread of the genres of general stage poetic drama, opera poetic drama, and radio poetic drama, and created works that applied omnidirectional artistry.

Second, it represented the form of accepting the diversity of works and the influence of the stage theater. Jangho, who actively participated in the poetic drama movement, discussed the necessity and effectiveness of theaters in ancient Greece, citing Aristotle, Dionysus, and Max Reinhardt of Germany. He appreciated Shakespeare’s creation with the stage in mind. Shakespeare wanted the audience to watch the play on their own and enrich their imagination. Shakespeare’s consciousness can be said to have supervised the characteristics of the stage and theater considered when setting up works and performing plays. The limitations of stage play are that of time and place constraints. However, Jangho analyzed Shakespeare’s work and focused on the way he worked to make himself “free” from the audience (김장호 Kim Jang-ho 1983: 28), beyond the constraints of time and space. Therefore, the Korean poetic drama movement was not only carried out by activating the poetic drama works and performances, but by also analyzing the stage performance method, theater structure, theater place, and audience characteristics of the times.

In addition, Shin Dong-yeop mentions Shakespeare’s work in his lines in *그 입술에 파인 그늘* *Shade on its Lips* (1966). Choi Il-soo analyzed Hamlet in earnest in his review book. As such, the Western plot structure and materials had a great influence on Korean literature at the time.

It can be said that the full-fledged small theater movement began at the production theater that was founded in 1956. Prior to that, Seorabeol Theater and Experimental Stage Donginhoe were performed during its founding. Since the establishment of the Production Theater, many research groups have been established, but they were canceled because of one or two performances. However, the “Production Theater” continued to conduct performances and research activities despite difficult conditions, becoming a sample of small

theater movement groups that emerged in 1960¹⁴ (정호순 Jung Ho-soon 2002: 41).

The full-fledged activities of the Poetic Drama Society began on September 28, 1963, with a research presentation and a joint review meeting held at the Central Public Relations Center. At this time, Jangho announced the broadcasting poetic drama play "The Key Longevity." Soon after, the first performance was held at the National Theater for two days from 21st October to 22nd October, 1963, less than a month later. The contents of the performance were largely categorized into three types: *부활 Revival* (written by Kim Won-tae and directed by Kim Jung-ok), *Original Color of Love* (produced by Shin Ki-seon and directed by Choi Jae-bok), dance poetry: Choi Il-jak (directed by Choi Jae-bok), and poetic drama: *Port without Sea* (directed by Jang Ho-jak and Park Yong-gu). All three forms are characterized by visualization based on poetic things in accordance to the stage performance. It was the first performance of the Poetic Drama Society and was the first work centered on poetry in Korea. However, it did not achieve great results¹⁵ (이상호 Lee Sang-ho 2016: 184).

Third, it led to the establishment of the theory of poetic drama in Korea and the development of poetic drama creation. Choi Il-soo's theory and practice, who performed the most in the the Poetic Drama Society, influenced the development of the poetic drama. He analyzed and studied Korean poetic dramas through Western theories and

¹⁴ “본격적인 소극장 운동은 1956 년 창립한 ‘제작극회’에서 시작된다고 할 수 있다. 그 이전에도 ‘서라벌극회’와 ‘실험무대동인회’가 창립공연을 했으며, ‘제작극회’창립 이후 많은 연구극 단체가 발족되었으나 한두 편의 공연으로 무산되었다. 그러나 ‘제작극회’는 어려운 여건 속에서도 지속적인 공연과 연구 활동을 전개함으로써 결성 이후 1960 년에 이르기까지 생겨난 소극장 운동 단체들의 표본이 되었다” (정호순 2002: 41).

¹⁵ “‘시극동인회’의 본격적인 활동은 1963 년 9 월 28 일에 중앙공보관에서 연구발표회와 합평회를 여는 것으로 시작되었다. 이때 장호가 방송 시극 「열쇠장수」를 발표하였다. 곧이어 한 달이 채 안 된 1963 년 10 월 21~2 일, 이틀간 국립극장에서 제 1 회 공연이 이루어진다. 공연 내용은 연출 있는 시: 「부활」(김원태 작·김정옥 연출), 「사랑의 원색」(신기선 작·최재복 연출), 「凝結」(송혁 작·최재복 연출), 무용시: <分身>(최일수 작·최재복 연출), 시극: <바다가 없는 항구>(장호작·박용구 연출) 등 크게 3 개의 형식으로 이루어졌다. 세 형식 모두 무대 공연에 맞추어 시적인 것을 토대로 시각화한 것이라는 특징이 있다. ‘시극동인회’의 첫 공연이자 우리나라에서 처음으로 시를 중심으로 한(다)” (이상호 2016: 184).

works such as Eliot and Shakespeare. The article below shows that Choi Il-soo used Eliot's theory as an example to establish his theory of poetic drama. In addition to Eliot's argument about poetic drama, Choi Il-soo is unfolding his own theory, claiming that poetry is a comprehensive art.

Unlike T.S. Eliot, for Choi Il-soo, poetry is inevitably accompanied by all arts and comprehensive situations, and all arts, as well as modern poetry, are already heading toward higher and new dimensions through this comprehensive situation. This historical road is the theater, and this theater is the only comprehensive square that forms a new dimension of poetic drama and theater. At the same time, it is also the source of opportunity. However, the inevitable reason for the city's unity with the play is that there is no territory except for the play that can be properly recognized in the heterogeneous "genre" as a city. Therefore, poetry, which is the most important factor in the formation of the comprehensive dimension, cannot help but be united with the play in which the parent body of the comprehensive dimension is made up of language (최일수 Choi Il-soo 1976: 380).

In addition to the unity of poetic and dramatic things, which is facilitated through music, internal necessity, stage image, sound effect, and visual auditory indication, poetic drama is a part of complex art. The entire work functions as a poem and must be realized on the stage. Despite these activities, poetic drama activities have become increasingly difficult to conduct.

After many twists and turns, the Poetic Drama Society lasted for about four years (from June 1963 to July 1968), except for a six-year hiatus in the middle, marking a major milestone in the development of Korean poetic dramas. A comprehensive summary of the achievements of the Poetic Drama Society, which has been active for about four years, is as follows: research presentations and joint reviews – eight times (seven theoretical presentations and 11 work reviews); topics – prospects of the poetic drama movement, the personality and rhyme of the poetic drama, the relationship between the poetic drama and the play (line), the dialogue of the poetic drama, the intonation of the Korean language, etc.; forms of the work assumed – poetic drama (eight pieces), Cine forum (one piece), and monodrama (play, two pieces); number of presenters for the work – eight people (three presentations in two works and five presentations in one work); and distribution by presenter field – five poets and three playwrights. Among the 11 poetic dramas presented at the Happyeonghoe, there are three confirmed texts currently (the 2nd

performance): Shin Dong-yeop's "Shade on its Lips," Lee In-seok's "Doll on the Ladder," and Hong Yoon-sook's "Park." Despite these achievements, poetic drama activities have been left with regret¹⁶ (이상호 Lee Sang-ho 2016: 191-192).

Considering that the creator was almost a poet, there was a lack of understanding of the play, and the actors did not complete their understanding of the poetic drama. Further, the audience did not highly enjoy the poetic drama or had awareness. The poetic drama slowed down for a while because the specific measures were not strategically presented in the poetic drama performance technique.

However, in the 1970s, poetic dramas by Jang Ho, Moon Jeong-hee, Lee In-seok, and Lee Seung-hoon appeared. The subject matter of poetic drama works became more diverse. In the 1980s, Moon Jeong-hee actively worked on the work, and the works of Kang Woo-sik and Ha Jong-oh appeared. In the 1990s, Hwang Ji-woo's work and poems of Jin Dong-gyu and Lee Yoon-taek appeared. As such, the value of the poetic drama movement of the Poetic Drama Association, re-established in 1963, continued with the history of poetic dramas such as Kim Kyung-joo's *나비잠 Butterfly Sleep* in the 2000s, and developed new perceptions, subjects, and forms of poetic drama. We hope that the new perceptions and discoveries of poetic drama continue in the future. We also hope that the various studies on it will also continue.

¹⁶ “많은 우여곡절을 겪은 ‘시극동인회’는 1963년 6월부터 1968년 7월까지 했수로 6년, 중간에 2년 가까이의 공백기를 제외하면 약 4년 동안 존속하면서 우리나라 시극 발전에 큰 획을 그었다. 약 4년간 활동한 ‘시극동인회’의 업적을 종합적으로 간추리면 다음과 같다. 연구 발표회와 합평회: 8회(이론 발표 7건, 작품 검토 11편). 주제: 시극 운동의 전망, 시극의 성격과 운율, 시와 시극의 관계, 시극과 희곡의 관계(대사), 시극의 대사와 국어의 억양 관계, 낭독법 등. 상정된 작품의 형식: 시극(8편), 씨네 포임(1편), 모노드라마(희곡, 2편). 작품 발표자 수: 8명(2편 발표 3명, 1편 발표 5명. 발표자 분야별 분포: 시인 5명, 극작가 3명). 합평회에 상정된 시극 11편 가운데 현재 텍스트가 확인된 작품 3편(제 2회 공연작들): 신동엽의 「그 입술에 파인 그늘」, 이인석의 「사다리 위의 인형」, 홍윤숙의 「여자의 공원」(이 있다)”(이상호 2016: 191-192).

5. Conclusion

This paper has dealt with the definition of poetic drama and its distinction from other genres. There are more research papers on poetic drama than degree studies, and among them, the theory of Choi Il-soo (who participated in the 1960 poetic drama movement) deepened the definition and characteristics of poetic drama. By accepting Eliot's theory, he criticized the verse of poetic drama that Eliot claims to be important. It has been argued that Korean poetry plays should focus more on the intrinsic rate of prose-free poetry, than on verse, in order to imply poetic necessity and dramatic necessity. However, for Eliot, the verse of poetic drama does not simply mean poetic. In poetic drama, verse is different from verse, which functions in poetry. The role of the verse is more helpful for dramatic things than poetry. In addition, Eliot says that the verse of poetic drama should be centered on the "change" of human life. While Choi Il-soo accepted Eliot's views, he criticized Eliot's theory of poetic drama, which failed to secure the "comprehensive artistry" of poetic drama. In addition, poetic drama focuses on the conflict and occurrence of poetic and dramatic things, as well as the combination of genres such as music, art, directing, acting, and dance.

The perception of the theory of poetic drama led to the history and characteristics of poetic drama. It deals with the characteristics of *朝露의 花夢 (Morning Dew's Happy Dream)*, which began in 1920, and Hwang Ji-woo's *Father of May* (1999). Poetic drama works are difficult to find these days, and the research is insufficient as they are rarely staged. In this paper, the characteristics of poetic drama works were analyzed in content and classified into four categories. It can be divided into historicity, narrative, reality, and philosophy. Representative writers with outstanding historical characteristics include Shin Dong-yeop, Hwang Ji-woo, Park Ji-ji, and Kim Jeong-hwan. Choi In-hoon, Moon Jeong-hee, and Jeon Bong-gun are examples of writers with well-represented narratives. The works of Kim Myung-soon, Hong Yoon-sook, and Jang-ho can be distinguished from the works of poetic drama. Finally, the works of poetic drama that disseminated philosophy can be classified as the works of Choi In-hoon.

With the arrival of the results of such various poetic drama works, the influence of the poetic drama movement that began in the

late 1950s can be found. The poetic drama movement was dominated by critics and poets with the aim of pursuing independent Korean art works, and although it failed in performance and popularization, it was an achievement of the times to give a glimpse into the possibility of poetic drama. Poetic drama can act as a new element in the genre of poetry and drama that are losing original literary character, and there is a need to revive in Korean literature. Poetic drama does not have a limitation of simply putting the story on stage. Poetic embodiments composed of poetic dramas, Korean history, historical situations, tragic Korean inner psychology, and contradictory social phenomena are combined. In addition, comprehensive artistry with other art genres such as music and art dance can be maximized to the audience and readers.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN ACTIVISTS AND CITIZENS, THE INTERNAL DRIVING FORCE OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT AS A FESTIVAL: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2016 – 2017 CANDLELIGHT VIGILS¹

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Abstract: The 2016-2017 candlelight vigil was a very important event because it led to the impeachment of an incumbent president for the first time in South Korea's constitutional history. Above all, it was a remarkable phenomenon in that it unfolded peacefully and acted like a festival even though many citizens gathered on the streets to demand the president's impeachment, which is essentially an extreme argument under institutional democracy. Violence, which was common in previous mass movements, was impossible in the 2016-2017. Some emphasized the heightened sense of citizenship, while others

¹ This paper is based on part of the research result for my master's thesis. To see more, refer to Lee Doo Hyeong 2021: 95-106.

understand it in a historical context, but it does not see the dynamics of change that exist within the mass movement. Moreover, peaceful and festive gatherings have received a lot of attention, especially in the 2000s. And this is highlighted as a strategy for citizens who voluntarily come out on the street to keep their distance from activists. The existence of a movement dealing with various political agendas was seen as a risk of distorting the purpose of the manifestation. For citizens, distancing from them is an important strategy to preserve the purity of the movement. Therefore, the ‘flag’, which is a symbol of the movement, was excluded from the square. However, the so-called ‘Any Flag Festival’ that appeared at the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils bridges the gap between the movement represented by the flag and the general participants. The group play using flags relieved the tension between the movement’s organization and the citizens, which was an internal conflict factor in the manifestation, which coincidentally led them to be together. As a result, this formed an important social context for mass movements such as festivals, which became important in the 2000s, to be completed in 2016 and 2017.

Keywords: candlelight vigil; festival; violence; manifestation; activist; demonstrator; symbol; conflict; flag.

**운동 조직과 시민의 관계성, 사회운동 축제화의 내부 동력 :
2016 – 2017 촛불집회 중심으로²**

초록: 2016-2017 촛불집회는 헌정 사상 처음으로 현직 대통령을 탄핵으로 이끌었다는 점에서 매우 중요한 사건으로 기록됐다. 무엇보다 제도 민주주의 하에서 극단적인 주장이라 할 수 있는 대통령 탄핵을 요구하기 위해 수많은 시민들이 거리에 모였음에도 평화롭고 축제처럼 전개됐다는 점에서 한국 대중 운동사에서 눈에 띄는 현상이었다. 앞선 대중 운동에서 심심찮게 나타났던 폭력은 2016-2017 년 광장에서는 불가능했다. 이를 두고 일부에서는 높아진 시민의식을 강조하기도 하고, 또 역사적 맥락에서 이해하기도 한다. 하지만 이는 대중 운동 내부에 존재하는 변화의 동력을 보지 못한다는 점에서 한계가 있다. 평화롭고 축제로서의 집회는 특히 2000 년대 들어 크게 주목받았다. 그리고 이는 자발적으로 거리로 나온 시민들이 기존 운동권과의 거리 두기를 위한 전략으로서 부각된다. 다양한 정치적 의제를 다루는 운동권의 존재는 집회 자체의 목적을 왜곡할 위험이 있는 것으로 여겨졌기 때문이다. 시민들에게 있어 이들과 거리를 두는 것은 집회의 순수성을 지키기 위해서 중요한 전략이 된다. 그렇기 때문에 운동권의 상징과도 같은 ‘깃발’은 광장에서 배제의 대상이 되었다. 하지만 2016-2017 년 촛불집회에서 나타난 이른바 ‘아무 깃발 대잔치’는 깃발로 표상되는

² 이 글은 석사 논문의 일부 내용을 바탕으로 작성됐다. 더 자세한 것은: Lee Doo Hyeong 2021: 95-106.

운동권과 일반 참여자 사이의 간극을 해소한다. 깃발을 이용한 집단 유희는 집회 공간의 내부 갈등 요소이던 운동 조직과 시민 사이의 긴장을 해소하며 함께 할 수 있도록 이끌었다. 이는 2000년대 들어 중요하게 대두된 축제와 같은 대중 운동이 2016년과 2017년에 들어 완성되는데 있어 중요한 사회 맥락을 형성했다.

주제어: 촛불집회; 축제; 폭력; 집회; 운동권; 집회 참여자; 상징; 갈등; 깃발.

**RELACJE AKTYWISCI-OBYWATELE – WEWNĘTRZNA SIŁA
NAPĘDOWA RUCHÓW SPOŁECZNYCH W FORMIE FESTIWALI:
NA PRZYKŁADZIE ‘RUCHU CZUWANIA PRZY ŚWIECACH’ LAT
2016 – 2017**

Abstrakt: Ruch protestacyjny czuwania przy świecach lat 2016-2017 był znaczący dla Korei Południowej, gdyż po raz pierwszy w historii południowokoreańskiego państwa konstytucyjnego doprowadził do usunięcia z urzędu prezydenta. Był jednak przede wszystkim niezapomnianym zjawiskiem, które przebiegało w sposób pokojowy i w formie obchodów, mimo, że na ulice wyległy rzesze ludzi, domagających się usunięcia urzędującej ówczesnej prezydent i stanowiących poważny czynnik w warunkach demokracji instytucjonalnej. Przemoc, tak wszechobecna w poprzednich ruchach masowych, nie miała miejsca w latach 2016-2017. Niektórzy podkreślali zwiększone poczucie przynależności obywatelskiej, zaś inni skupiali się na kontekście historycznym, z pominięciem dynamik zmiany obecnych w ruchach powszechnych. Co więcej, szczególnie w latach 2000. pokojowe i radosne zgromadzenia przykuwały uwagę, stanowiąc element podkreślany jako rodzaj strategii dla obywateli, którzy wylegli na ulicę, zachowując jednocześnie dystans wobec aktywistów. Istnienie ruchów, powiązanych z różnymi agendami politycznymi, postrzegano jako zagrożenie dla wypaczenia celu demonstracji. Dla obywateli, zdystansowanie się względem tychże jest ważną strategią zachowania ‘czystości’ ruchu. Sprawilo to, że na placu manifestacji nie było flagi – symbolu ruchu. Jednakże tak zwany ‘Festiwal Każdej Flagi’, który zaobserwowano podczas czuwania przy świecach lat 2016-2017 wypełnił lukę między ruchami demonstrującymi się flagą, a uczestnikami pozostałych. Zbiorowe występy z flagami rozluźniły napięcie na linii organizatorzy ruchów – obywatele, co paradoksalnie stało się czynnikiem scalającym mimo, że było czynnikiem konfliktu wewnętrznego w demonstracjach. W efekcie ukształtował się ważny kontekst społeczny dla takich masowych demonstracji jak festiwale, które zyskiwały na uwadze w latach 2000., aż do ich zakończenia w latach 2016-2017.

Słowa kluczowe: czuwanie przy świecach; festiwal; przemoc; aktywista; demonstrant; symbol; konflikt; flaga.

1. Introduction

South Korea witnessed an amazing event where the people gathered in masses to silently protest through a candlelight vigil for the potential outcome of an impeachment for the former President Park Geun-hye (hereinafter referred to as ‘2016-2017 candlelight vigil’), which took place for nearly half a year from 2016 to 2017. Thus, this event became a milestone for Korean society in many aspects.

First, the collective power of the citizens led to the institutional impeachment of the incumbent president. This is the restoration of the power granted by citizens under the institutional democracy established after democratization in 1987 through the method of impeachment rather than elections. The impeachment of former President Park proved that sovereignty comes from the people, and therefore citizens’ judgments about power that have lost their legitimacy can intervene immediately. In other words, it reaffirmed the basic core of democracy: sovereign citizens. If democratization in 1987 solidified – institutionally – the position of citizens as a power-giver the social movements in 2016-2017 showed that citizens are the subjects who recover power in cases of an emergency. Also, although there are already countless analyses, the peaceful and festival-like assembly culture has been clearly established in 2016-2017. In general, the ‘Memorial Rally for Hyo-sun and Mi-seon’³, which took place in 2002, is mentioned as an important inflection point for the peaceful and festive assembly culture represented by the ‘candlelight vigil’ to take root in Korean society (Lee, Lee and Seo 2017). Citizens gathered on

³ The accident, which was caused on June 13, 2002, by an armored vehicle of U.S. troops stationed in South Korea since the Korean War (1950-1953), was the subject of a military trial in the U.S. court under the SOFA (Status of Forces Agreement). After an acquittal in November 2002, the anger of South Korean civil society exploded. Since late November 2002, candlelight vigils have been held to commemorate the victims. In addition, citizens have demanded a complete revision of the SOFA and the transfer of jurisdiction to the South Korean government. This has led to widespread awareness of the status issue between South Korea and the United States, and candlelight vigils have become a major mode of protest in South Korea (Lee, Lee and Seo 2017).

the street holding candles to commemorate the two middle school girls who were brutally killed by American armored vehicles. In a space where ordinary citizens gathered to commemorate the victims of violence, violence as an antithesis of violence was difficult to achieve. And in the 2000s, candlelight vigils became the mainstay of organizing mass rallies.

This does not mean that violence has disappeared from social movements in the 2000s. The so-called 명박산성 *Myeongbaksanseong* (Myung-bak Castle), which appeared at the 2008 protest against US mad cow diseased beef⁴, clearly shows the perspective of how the government and public authorities at the time looked at the crowd gathered in the square. Attempts to physically block the will of the crowd gathered in the square who went beyond the installation of the barricades showed that violent means such as the use of force to disband the crowds were used. Hence, violence against violence was advocated in the square, and the violence from the authorities trying to subdue it again was repeated. Violence itself, whether as a means of active political expression or as a response to the violence of power, has never completely disappeared in mass gatherings in the 2000s.

In contrast, during the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils, the most radical slogan under institutional democracy, the impeachment of the incumbent president, echoed in the streets, but there was no forced arrest by the police for violent acts. Of course, tensions between the two factions were heightened as the impeachment rallies and support rallies were held at the same time, but it did not lead to a major physical clash. There have also been cases of self-inflicted suicide or accidents. However, the slogan of the so-called ‘violence struggle’ was practically not heard at the candlelight vigil for the impeachment of the former President Park.

In that sense, the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil is viewed essentially as a complete form of the ‘candlelight vigil’, which is connected to the realization of the complete non-violence festival. Of course, as mentioned earlier, the police’s assembly management tactics are very important. During this time, the police had a conflict with the organizers of the rally over the march route and the access distance to

⁴ The South Korean government decided to import U.S. beef on April 14, 2008, even though it was considered a potential mediator of mad cow disease – bovine spongiform encephalopathy. The first demonstration against this decision took place on May 2, 2008, and other demonstrations followed until August 15, 2008 (Hong 2008).

the Blue House. However, the basic principle at the time was not to stimulate the assembly crowd as much as possible. The core of the police strategy at the time was not ‘repression’ but ‘management’. And this was an important variable for the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil to proceed peacefully.

However, if we simply understand the non-violence of the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils as a result of a variable called police response, we will miss the dynamism of the Korean mass movement. In the past, there was a camp for nonviolent struggles in the June protests in 1987, and in the 2000s, the principle began to be heard more clearly within the mass movement. That is why it is important to understand the changes in the Korean mass movement to see how the mass movement as a peace and festival has adopted and developed overtime.

Regarding the festive characteristics of the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils, some analyses see them as a social historical consequence of South Korea. They highlight the *난장 (Nan-Jang)* as a contextual cause that generates the festive social movements. The Nan-Jang is the traditional market irregularly organized in the cities. The market, which traditionally took place every 5 days, is regularly held 6 times a month, and it was open for one day – from morning to evening. On the contrary, Nan-Jang was organized irregularly, and the opening period was also irregular – from 10 days to 2 months⁵. Since the Nan-Jang provided an opportunity for unexpected meetings and gatherings amongst the people, the atmosphere in this market was livelier. In addition, many entertainments such as games and sports were also organized. This also brought a festive atmosphere. Considering this, some analyses find the origins of the festive characteristics of ‘candlelight vigils’ in the social context of South Korea as the traditional irregular market (Lee 2017).

This approach risks falling into the result-based hypothesis, as it cannot explain why this phenomenon appeared so prominently at that time. It is obvious that not all social movements or previous demonstrations were violent. However, serious clashes between demonstrators and law enforcement were frequent, at worst, it is not

⁵ <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=%EB%82%9C%EC%9E%A5&ridx=0&tot=5>, accessed November 11, 2021.

difficult to find some cases of death during the demonstrations⁶. Since Nan-jang already existed throughout the history of this country, this approach cannot explain why the festive atmosphere could particularly dominate the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils.

This paper seeks to understand the internal driving force that made the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils both peaceful and festive. For this work, we want to analyze not only the characteristics revealed at the candlelight vigil at the time, but also on the continuity with the protest against the import of US mad cow diseased beef in 2008. This paper was conducted by referring to video interviews in February 2021, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, via Facebook and KakaoTalk, which is the most popular messenger service in South Korea, with participants (n=3) who directly participated in the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils, media reports, and online data such as individual or group pages in social networking services such as Facebook and Twitter. All translations from Korean are mine.

2. ‘Put down the flag’

Charles Tilly insists that social movements are a social phenomenon, and he refines the notion of ‘repertoire’. According to him, it explains a set of practices available to organize social movements in order to achieve a collective goal. The repertoire thus consists of the selection of choices made by protesters during social movements. In other words, participants organize protests or petitions because the social context or environment provides the opportunity to organize these forms of engagement (Tilly and Tarrow 2007). From this perspective, it can be understood that social movements are affected by the existing social context.

Moreover, demonstrations help shape collective cultures and identities that in turn condition the way individuals behave (Neveu

⁶ For example, 백남기 (Baek Nam-ki), a peasant activist, was attacked by a police water cannon within a nationwide protest on November 14, 2015, which was organized by a grouping of activist organizations with the aim of fighting against the government’s industrial policy. For the activists, the government’s measures at that time were worsening working conditions, labor’s and peasant’s rights. Baek died on September 25, 2016 (Ko 2020).

2019). In relation to this, the demonstration is also seen as a moment where the concrete and symbolic interactions of different actors coexist (Fillieule and Tartakowsky 2008). To organize a demonstration, lots of actors must participate and interact with each other in order to achieve their political goals. The demonstration is both a social outcome and a space for social relations.

During the manifestations in 2008, individual participants asked us to put down union or organizational flags. In fact, there was a tension between the ordinary participants and the participants affiliated with an organization. The ordinary participants did not want it to look like there was someone behind of them⁷ (Park, interviewed by the author on February 17, 2021).

Park is a professional activist of *공공운수노동조합 Gonggongunsu nodongjohap* (Public Transport Unions) which is a subgroup of one of the largest unions in South Korea called *전국민주노동조합총연맹 Jeonguk minju nodongjohap chongyeonmaeng* (Korean Confederation of Trade Unions). He has been working in the unions for more than 20 years, so he participated in the protests in the 2000s as a union activist.

According to him, the existence of flags, including those of activists, in the protests at the time was seen as a potential risk of distorting the demands of citizens. In the 2008 protests, individual participants spontaneously mobilized to oppose the import of U.S. beef that posed a risk of mad cow disease. However, it is natural that unions or activist organizations would at the same time demand better working conditions and higher minimum wages, etc. The problem was apparent that individual participants were not united in making these demands. Thus, for the citizens, these different demands degraded the purity of the demonstrations.

The exclusion of activists or antipathy towards activism within protests was clearly presented in the slogan ‘Put down the flag’ during the commemorative manifestations in 2002 (Park 2016). Indeed, the flags present at the demonstrations were seen as a militant symbol,

⁷ “2008년도에는 노동조합이나 단체의 깃발을 들고 가면 개별로 참여한 시민들이 깃발 내리라고 했어요. 서로 이질감이 생길 수도 있고 무언가의 배후가 있는 것 같은 걸 드러내기 싫은 시민들이 깃발을 내리면 좋겠다고 하는, 소위 조직적 참여 대오와 일반 참여자들 사이에 충돌까지는 아닌 약간의 갈등이 있었어요” (박 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 17일).

because unions, university student councils, and even political groups hold their flags to show their collective identity and their political messages. For the ordinary participants, the flags could distort their goals and the general atmosphere of the demonstration. They spontaneously went down to oppose the decision of the American beef import and to pay tribute to the two victims killed by the American armored vehicle. They didn't come out on the streets because they sympathize with activist organizations. From this perspective, the flags stigmatize the activist and are a symbol of rupture between activists and ordinary participants (Kim 2005).

During the protests in 2008, I was a target of the police, because I was only holding a flag. At that time, the meaning of the flag was very negative⁸ (Sim, interviewed by the author on February 14, 2021).

Sim is a participant in the manifestations in 2008. Indeed, he never joined any activist organization or group. Despite this, he took to the streets to fight against the South Korean government's decision to import American beef. He thought that the decision was not made in a democratic way, even though it threatened the daily lives of citizens.

According to Park, people holding a flag were considered 'radical activists' not only to police, but also to ordinary participants.

During the protests in 2008, the participants asked us for help when the police cracked down on the demonstration. They told me "why don't you do something! You hold a flag, that means you have to fight the police in the lead, right?". They thought we should do something to break the violent repression of the police, because we were holding a flag. I didn't know what to do. They didn't want the flags in the demonstrations, but at the same time they needed them to fight the police⁹ (Park, interviewed by the author on February 17, 2021).

⁸ “진짜 광우병 집회 같은 경우에는 제가 깃발을 들고 있다는 사실만으로 경찰 연행의 표적이 된 적이 종종 있었요. 그때만 해도 깃발의 이미지가 좀 안 좋았어요” (심 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 14일).

⁹ “광우병 때 그런 게 있었는데, 예를 들어 경찰이 공권력을 쓸 때 시민들이 깃발을 찾아요. ‘왜 깃발이 앞에 가서 싸우지 않느냐?’, ‘제대로 안 하나’. 일부 시민들이 ‘왜 깃발이 물러서냐’. 넘어서지 못한다고 뭐라고 하고 정말 그때 당시 깃발을 끝까지 들고 있어야 하나 어려움이 있었어요. 누구는 깃발을 내리라고 하고 누구는 들고 앞에 가라고 하는 그런 거였죠” (박 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 17일).

Thus, people holding the flags, which is called the 깃발부대 *Gitbalbudae* (Flags unity) in South Korea, was practically and strategically necessary to resist the governmental authority during the protests in 2008. As Park explains, the tendency to push Flag unity to resist the suppression manifests a social image of flags within the protests. Specifically, the people holding the flags were seen as those who are used to reacting violently, and their role in the demonstrations is to fight in the front row.

In fact, on my flag was written ‘DP’, that means ‘DVD Prime’ to which I belonged. It’s an online community for people who watch DVDs. We needed a flag because there were too many people in the street. Since it was useful for us to find one, we did it using the logo of this community. When we travel abroad, we use a flag a lot to avoid losing people. That’s what it was. [...] Other demonstrators asked me like “what is your group? A political club?”. When I said “it’s just a club”, they asked me again “Democracy Propaganda?” Really, that was a very common question¹⁰ (Sim, interviewed by the author on February 14, 2021).

Regarding Sim’s case, he accompanied his friends in the online community called ‘DVD Prime’ during the protests in 2008. He explains that this community is a site for people who watch DVDs as a hobby, so it is not a political space. Because the protests were a large series of collective activities on a national scale, many of the members of this community paid attention to the events. Some users wrote a post proposing to participate in the mobilizations together.

The use of his flag was purely practical: to indicate his position. The flag was a sign of recognition for the members of the club. While there were many protesters, the flag painted with the online community’s logo could attract the attention of the site’s users.

On the contrary, to other demonstrators who were not familiar with this logo, it seemed to be the flag of an activist group. Indeed, the flag was the prerogative of activists during demonstrations. The existence of flags is synonymous with activism. From this point of

¹⁰ “사실 깃발에는 알파벳으로 ‘DP’라고 적혀 있었어요. DVD 동호회인 ‘DVD 프라임’이죠. 현장에는 사람들이 너무 많았고 동호회 로고 깃발을 들고 있으면 동호회 회원들끼리는 쉽게 알아볼 수 있으니까요. 해외여행 갈 때도 깃발을 많이 쓰잖아요. 그런 거였어요, [...] 깃발을 보고 ‘너희는 어느 조직이나’ 물어보곤 했어요. ‘동호회다’하면 ‘사상 동호회 쪽이냐?’ 그런 이야기도 있었고 ‘테모크라시 프로파간다?’ 그런 상황이 꽤 많이 있었어요”(심 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 14일).

view, the flag itself was a main factor that could cause conflicts between the simple participants and the organizational participants, because it is also a sign that clearly divided them.

3. Advent of the collective game of flags

While the conflict between the two groups became more or less a visible issue in South Korean society, it was not seen as a circumstance requiring immediate action. The protesters, whether activists or citizens, were confronted with a more important social issue, such as the importation of American beef. In this context, although the conflict between the activists and the simple participants indicates an internal gap between the demonstrators and the splitting of the protest movements, this was not a primary task.

In addition, no institutional modality to mediate the conflict between the two actors, such as an organization or arbitration process, existed to resolve the conflict. Above all, one of the most important issues for the individual participants was their autonomy. Considering this, it is impossible to reach a consensus among the individual participants and to create an organization in order to find a solution with the activists. An institutional or official way to solve this internal conflict was not possible. This conflict has continued even though the demonstrations are no longer organized.

However, at the candlelight vigils in 2016 and 2017, a significant trend can be found. Participants proudly waved the flags even if they were not activists. The flags were used in a different way, in the name of 천하 제일 깃발 대회 *Cheonha jeil gitbal daehoe* (Best Flag Contest).

This was obviously not an official contest. It was considered a collective game created by the participants of the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil. According to press reports, a flag was at the origin of the collective game at that time. Indeed, some participants held a flag 장수풍뎅이 연구회 *Jangsupungdengi yeonguhoe* (Beetle Research Institute) at the manifestation on November 12, 2016. However, this institute never existed. Furthermore, the participants waving this flag had no connection to the study of the insect. This was just a friendship

group, and the members drew this flag so that individuals could easily participate in the protests (Ko 2016).

The photo of this flag was quickly spread on social networks. A lot of people responded to this image, as it was obviously different from the pre-existing flags within social movements. This flag was not the symbol of an activist group, and it also had no relation to the social issues at that time. The feature of ‘nonsense’ caught the attention of others.

I saw a tweet that said “Korean Confederation of Trade Unions” is also participating in the protest. “Should we participate by organizing the confederation of people who love the cat or the dog?”. I thought it would be fun to parody the logo of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions to make the logo of 민주묘총 *Minjunmyochong* (Korean Confederation of Cat Union). My first work was just a parody using Photoshop. When I posted it on Twitter, a lot of people liked it, a TV news contacted me to report about my work. [...] Actually, the flag of the “Beetle Research Institute” inspired me too much to create a flag. We thought it would be too much fun to hold a real flag printed my work¹¹ (Yoo, interviewed by the author on February 18, 2021).

Yoo is a university student, and he has never joined an activist organization or political group in his life. For him, the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil was his first participation in a demonstration. He parodied the logo of the largest national labor union to create his own flag. Yoo borrowed the symbol of an activist organization, so we can assume that he had some intentions regarding this confederation of trade unions.

¹¹ “트위터를 보다가 누가 ‘이거 민주묘총도 나왔으니 집사들끼리 묘총 만들어서 나가야 하는 거 아니냐. 견주끼리 전견련으로 나가야 하는 거 아니냐’는 트윗을 봤어요. 그거 보고 로고 만들면 재밌겠다고 생각했어요. 포토샵으로 민주묘총 패러디를 만들어서 트위터에 올렸더니 반응이 되게 좋았어요. YTN 기자가 연락 와서 써도 되겠냐고 해서 출처만 남겨주면 자유롭게 사용하시라고 했죠. [...] 깃발을 만들게 된 계기가 따로 있는데 ‘장수풍뎅이 연구회’ 깃발이에요. 그게 시발점이었는데 우리도 민주묘총 깃발 만들어서 나가면 되게 재밌지 않겠나 친구랑 지인들이랑 이야기가 맞았던 거죠” (유 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 18일).

4. Blurred boundaries among demonstrators: the ‘nonsense’ flags

Regarding the motif of individual flag holders at the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil, the characteristic of ‘nonsense’ found in the flags is a decisive element. This means that they were not related to the social issues of the time, as can be seen with the case of the flag of the ‘Beetle Research Institute’.

The demonstrations were filled with flags of which variations can be found. For example, some of them show the characteristics of ‘nonsense’ well. A flag was just written with an onomatopoeia 으어 (Oh). Another flag was only represented three times a Korean consonant ㄷㄷㄷ (DDD). The last one is a Korean Internet terminology that expresses the shivering of a body. Therefore, it can be inferred that it has allowed citizens to show their anger and express their emotions and feelings since they are shivering because of social problems.

Despite this, it is difficult to match the exact meaning of these flags with the social issues of the time. A flag best expresses this lack of legibility of claims since it contains just one drawn character.

A remarkable phenomenon is that the ‘nonsense’ presented on the flags functioned as the antithesis of the activists’ discourse. More concretely, activists generally use the flags to show their membership, identities, and specific demands on the street. Thus, they choose certain words that correspond to the expression of their objectives. In this way, people who agree with these words can only aggregate under one flag.

However, participants in the 2016-2017 candlelight vigil holding the ‘nonsense’ flags emphasized that anyone could participate in protests, as the flags do not necessarily express a specific goal. In other words, regardless of the objective or identity, the street is open to everyone. Moreover, it indicates that the demonstration is no longer the exclusive playground and priority of activists. Even if the flags apparently have no meaning, they form a very important and strong discourse at the demonstrations.

On the other hand, other flags show both a way of parodying the use of flags and making them more playful. First, they use the words ‘union’, ‘alliance’, ‘syndicate’, and ‘confederation’ which are usually applied to name traditional organizations. Yet these organizations do not exist. As a game, they borrow codes used by activists such as Yoo’s

‘Korean Confederation of Cat Unions’ flag which imitates the symbol of the ‘Korean Confederation of Trade Unions’.

However, we can say that a trend emerged and dominated the atmosphere of the manifestations in 2016 and 2017. Participants, especially individual participants, held the flags to show their own identities and waved them to enjoy a collective moment.

Actually, I chose this logo, because I thought it would be fun. [...] I had no prejudice against this union¹² (Yoo, interviewed by the author on February 18, 2021).

He insists that there was no particular intention in his parody – the Korean Confederation of Cat Unions. The joking motive was the only element he considered. Fun was an essential element that provoked this collective game. The flag written ‘Beetle Research Institute’ showed another way to use the flags and encourage people to create their own symbols.

5. Coexistence of militant and ‘nonsense’ flags

Even though ‘nonsense’ and activist flags were waved together in 2016 and 2017, this does not mean that a consensus was formed between individual and organizational participants. On the other hand, this trend could also cause tension between the two actors, as some participants parodied and distorted the flags of activist organizations. Flags have important meanings for their members as they allow them to express their identities, collective goals, and existences. From this point of view, some ‘nonsense’ flags can be seen in a negative way by activists.

The conflict between activists and individual participants was not visibly mentioned. On the contrary, positive views of the ‘nonsense’ flag can be found among traditional activists.

The reaction of the unions was very positive. When we held the flag of the “Korean Confederation of Cat Unions”, they said “you are a cat union? We are the confederation of unions! Let’s go together!”. It was

¹² “그냥 재미 삼아서 패러디했어요. [...] 노조에 대한 선입견은 없었어요”(유 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 18일).

a good atmosphere¹³ (Yoo, interviewed by the author on February 18, 2021).

Indeed, this way of playing using flags has had an impact on the way traditional organizations have behaved.

I saw many individual participants holding flags in parody of the unions. I was very interested in these flags. I thought “who are they?”. [...] It shows that a lot of people knew our union. It wasn't a criticism or a mockery. It is true that almost everyone has some prejudices about unions. For example, they are too serious or very heavy, etc. So I thought it would be great if we organized an event with these flags. It would help improve the image of unions¹⁴ (Park, interviewed by the author on February 17, 2021).

As a member of a professional union, he organized an event called 아무 깃발 대잔치 *Amu gitbal daejanchi* (Any Flag Festival). This event was held on behalf of his union and the purpose was to invite the ‘nonsense’ flags. To do this, the union sent a direct message on Twitter to individual accounts that held their own flags to ask them to participate, and this event took place on December 31, 2016. This festival is an interesting case, since the so-called ‘nonsense’ flags coexisted with the traditional flags in the same place.

The idea of this event was that “flags meet flags”. This means that the flags of traditional organizations, which are the symbol of unions, and the flags of individual participants, which are flags for fun, meet. I thought it would be important considering the antipathy towards the organizations’ flags in the 2008 demonstrations¹⁵ (Park, interviewed by the author on February 17, 2021).

¹³ “기억나는 것은 저희 깃발을 보고 민주노총 분들이 호응을 많이 해주셨어요. ‘반갑습니다! 저희는 노총인데 그쪽은 묘총이시네요’ 이라고 서로 ‘파이팅!’ 막 하고 그랬던 분위기였어요” (유 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 18일).

¹⁴ “어느 날부터 노조나 사회단체 깃발 외에 개인들이 들고 나온 깃발들이 보였어요. 그걸 흥미롭게 보면서 ‘저 사람들은 누굴까?’ 생각했었어요. [...] 이는 노조의 이미지, 우리 노조의 위상이 알려져 있다는 거고 비판이나 조롱으로 받아들여졌어요. 노조에 대한 선입견이 있잖아요. 어렵고 무겁고 비장하고 힘들 거 같은 이미지를 희석시킬 수 있는 좋은 기회라고 생각했어요” (박 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021년 2월 17일).

¹⁵ “‘깃발과 깃발이 만나다’는 것이 컨셉이었어요. 조직의 상징으로서의 깃발과 내 스스로가 주체가 되는 깃발, 이런 개인이 만든 깃발, 개인이 한편으로 재미로

Although this was a one-time event, it shows the changing relationship between activists and individual participants within the protest movements. Although the individual flags in this festival, organized by the traditional union, did not represent all individual participants, the fact that they accompanied the traditional unions to this event indicates that the conflict between the two actors is gradually diminishing. This means that the union officially admits flags of ‘nonsense’ that distort their symbol.

Moreover, this event was also an internal issue within the union, especially concerning the meaning of the ‘Any Flag Festival’.

It wasn't that we wanted to say that our union plays an important role in the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils, but I wanted to show an image of the union reaching out to citizens. [...] I heard some small discussions in the union about this event like “what is it? what is the meaning?”. Of course, they also understood the basic purpose, but for some, who think that the activity of the union must have some essential intentions, it was a little incomprehensible¹⁶ (Park, interviewed by the author on February 17, 2021).

While some activists have questioned this event, he points out that there has been no serious controversy among union members. Nonetheless, there is a ‘nonsense’ approach to flags among union members. Even if they were not suitable for their essential purpose – the union movement – unions saw the crowd of ‘nonsense’ flags as an opportunity to increase the social perception of the union. From this perspective, unions chose to coexist with or exploit the nonsense flags.

By articulating the characteristic of ‘nonsense’, the pleasure motif, the flags are no longer an object of exclusion and a target of attack. Moreover, by accepting the collective game that distorts their logos in the flags and by organizing a public space for the flags of

한편으로는 개인의 표상이 되는 깃발이 만난다는 게 의미 있다 생각했어요. 2008 년도 깃발에 대한 반감을 생각하면 이는 중요하다고 생각했죠” (박 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021 년 2 월 17 일).

¹⁶ “이 행사가 대단한 거창한 의미를 부여해서 ‘박근혜 퇴진 촛불’에 무슨 큰 역할을 공공운수노조가 하겠다는 것은 아니었어요. 시민들에게 다가가는 공공운수노조 딱 거기까지거든요. [...] 이 행사와 관련해 후일담으로 ‘이게 무슨 행사냐? 어떤 의미를 갖는 거냐?’ 약간의 항의가 조금 있긴 했어요. 그 분들도 기본 취지는 이해했지만 노조가 행사를 하면 뭔가 비장하고 의미 부여를 많이 해야 하는 분들 입장에서는 조금 이해가 안 되는 행사기는 했죠” (박 OO, 저자와 인터뷰, 2021 년 2 월 17 일).

‘nonsense’, the activists voluntarily recognize the transformation for the meaning of the flag.

6. Conclusion

The common threshold for protests has always been seen as violent and abrupt. However, the protesters in South Korea throughout notable events have spontaneously and unconsciously found an arbitration to resolve the conflict between individual and militant protesters: to trivialize the flags at the places of demonstrations and mutually recognize the existence of the other. Of course, it is also possible to take up the conflict between the two, as their alliance was a particular phenomenon that took place during the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils. Thus, if citizens still see the existence of activists as a risk of loss to autonomy and purity, the attempt to exclude them will return.

There are two main axes of violence in Korean mass movements. One is the clash between the police force and the protesters, and the clash amongst the protesters. Whereas the former corresponds to the police’s tactics of mass gathering management, the latter is due to the atmosphere and culture that is formed within the manifestation. However, the two are reciprocal, because the police’s management depends on the atmosphere of the manifestation, and conversely, the atmosphere of the manifestation also depends on the response from the police.

The collective playing of flags at the candlelight vigils contributed to resolving the conflicting elements of both sides. This intensified the festive atmosphere of the candlelight vigils, the tension between individual and militant participants, and also the tension between demonstrators and police, was then replaced by a celebration where both actors participated together enjoying an extraordinary moment.

The activists, who were previously excluded by general protesters with the image of violence and the extreme, were able to play an important role in the social movement again by sharing the flag, which was their symbol. On the other hand, general participants strengthened the common experience of assembly as a festival through collective play, completing the festival and peaceful assembly they

advocated. In the end, the 2016-2017 candlelight vigils was a diachronic and one-off event that appeared in response to the social background of the time in the flow of the Korean mass movement. This movement not only symbolized what true democracy represents but the voice of the people can overthrow a corrupt political leader with only candles and silence.

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THE SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE STUDY OF KOREAN HISTORY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract: The historic event of the Korean Youth Independent Movement during the Japanese colonial period in Indonesia, which involved soldiers from Korea, has become a point of interest for Indonesian people, especially Indonesian millennials and historians. Since Indonesia's independence from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945, Indonesia has gone through various difficulties and faced political crises, just as Korea has. This article discusses the social and cultural factors, particularly Indonesian millennials' activities and interests which influence the study of Korean history in Indonesia. At several points, this research shows that the millennials' mastery of the Korean language is important for the development of Korean historical studies in

Indonesia. Applying the desk review method, this research finds a great interest among Indonesian millennials to study Korean history. One of the encouraging factors is the role of Korean history reviewers who bring Korean historical sources closer to Indonesian audiences through seminars that are intended for not only scholars, but also other millennials and the general public. The growth of Korean language users should be an important instrument to further develop not only the study of Korean history, but also diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia.

Keywords: sociocultural factor; Korean history; Indonesia millennial generation; Korean studies; Korean language.

사회 및 문화 중심으로 인도네시아에서 한국사 연구

초록: 인도네시아에 2010 년 이후에야 널리 알려지게 된 일제강점기 한국 청년독립운동의 역사적 이야기가 한국과 인도네시아의 더욱 긴밀한 외교관계를 촉진시켰다. 한국에서 온 일본군 병사의 참여는 이 시기 인도네시아 국민들, 특히 인도네시아 역사학자들을 포함한 밀레니얼 세대들의 매력으로 자리 잡았다. 1945 년 일제로부터 독립한 이후 인도네시아와 한국은 양국 정부체제의 근간을 이루는 민주주의가 제대로 시행되지 못했기 때문에 여러 가지 어려움을 겪었고 정치적 위기에 직면했다. 이에 한국과 인도네시아의 수교 수십 년 동안 인도네시아인들이 한국의 문화와 역사에 대해 더 많이 알고자 마음을 연 것은 1990 년대 후반부터였다. 본 기사는 인도네시아 밀레니얼 세대의 관심과 활동의 맥락에서 한국사 연구에 대한 사회적 단의 문화적 차원을 논하고 있다. 이는 인도네시아에서 한국 역사학이 발전하기 위해서는 한국어 숙달의 중요성을 밀레니얼 세대들에게 인식시킬 필요가 있음을 보여주는 대목이다. 탁상공론 방식으로 분석한 결과는 전반적으로 인도네시아 밀레니얼 세대의 한국사 연구에 대한 관심이 상당히 크다는 결론을 내리고 있다. 캠퍼스 거주자뿐만 아니라 인도네시아의 밀레니얼 세대와 일반 대중을 대상으로 폭넓게 열리는 한국사 세미나를 개최하여 한국사 자료를 보다 가까이 가져가는 한국사 평론가들의 역할이 고무적인 요소 중 하나이다. 이러한 발견을 바탕으로 한국어 사용자들의 성장은 한국의 역사 연구 및 외교 관계를 더욱 발전시키는 중요한 수단이 되어야 할 것이다.

핵심어: 사회와 문화적 차원; 한국사; 인도네시아 밀레니엄 세대; 한국학; 한국어.

FAKTOR SOSIAL-BUDAYA DALAM KAJIAN SEJARAH KOREA DI INDONESIA

Abstract: Kisah sejarah Gerakan Kemerdekaan Pemuda Korea masa penjajahan Jepang di Indonesia, yang baru dikenal luas setelah tahun 2010, memupuk hubungan diplomatik lebih era antara Korea dan Indonesia. Keterlibatan tentara Jepang dari Korea menjadi daya tarik masyarakat Indonesia, khususnya kaum millennial, termasuk para sejarawan Indonesia. Sejak merdeka dari penjajahan Jepang tahun 1945, Indonesia dan Korea melalui berbagai kesulitan dan krisis. Oleh karena itu, sejak akhir tahun 1990-an masyarakat Indonesia membuka wawasannya untuk lebih mengenal budaya dan sejarah Korea. Artikel ini membahas tentang faktor sosial-budaya pada kajian sejarah Korea dalam konteks minat dan aktivitas kaum millennial di Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan metode desk-review, hasil analisis menyimpulkan bahwa secara umum minat kaum millennial Indonesia untuk mempelajari sejarah Korea cukup besar. Salah satu faktor pendorongnya adalah peran para pengulas sejarah Korea yang mendekatkan sumber-sumber sejarah Korea dengan mengadakan seminar sejarah Korea yang tidak hanya diadakan untuk warga kampus, tetapi juga terbuka lebar bagi millennial dan masyarakat umum Indonesia. Pengguna bahasa Korea seharusnya menjadi instrumen penting untuk lebih mengembangkan studi sejarah Korea, dan juga hubungan diplomatik.

Key words: dimensi sosial-budaya; sejarah Korea; kaum milenial Indonesia; program studi Korea; bahasa Korea.

CZYNNIKI SOCJOKULTUROWE WPŁYWAJĄCE NA NAUKĘ HISTORII KOREI W INDONEZJI

Abstrakt: Wydarzenia dotyczące Koreańskiego Niepodległościowego Ruchu Młodzieżowego, które miały miejsce podczas okupacji japońskiej w Indonezji i dotyczyły koreańskich żołnierzy, stały się obszarem zainteresowań Indonezyjczyków, a zwłaszcza historyków i pokolenia milenijnego. Od czasu wyzwolenia się spod okupacji japońskiej przez Indonezję w roku 1945, , Indonezja, tak, jak Korea, doświadczyła wielu trudności i kryzysów politycznych. Niniejszy artykuł skupia się na czynnikach społecznych i kulturowych, szczególnie na działaniach indonezyjskiego pokolenia milenijnego oraz ich zainteresowaniach, które wpływają na indonezyjską edukację w zakresie koreańskiej historii. Pod wieloma względami tekst ten ukazuje, jak ważne dla rozwoju koreanistycznych studiów historycznych w Indonezji jest pogłębienie umiejętności językowych w zakresie języka koreańskiego. Artykuł bazując na metodzie przeglądowej, wskazuje na duże zainteresowanie edukacją w zakresie koreańskiej historii wykazywane przez indonezyjskie pokolenie

milenijne. Jednym z czynników zachęcających do tego jest rola krytyków historii Korei, którzy przybliżają koreańskie źródła historyczne odbiorcy indonezyjskiemu w drodze seminariów nie tylko skierowanych do naukowców, ale i innych millenialsów i ogółu. Zwiększenie się liczby użytkowników języka koreańskiego stanowić będzie ważny element do dalszego rozwoju nie tylko edukacji historii koreańskiej, ale i relacji dyplomatycznych między Koreą a Indonezją.

Słowa klucze: czynnik socjokulturowy; historia Korei; indonezyjskie pokolenie milenijne; studia koreanistyczne; język koreański.

1. Background

This paper focuses on the social and cultural dimensions which influence the development of the study of Korean history in Indonesia. By applying the desk-review method, this paper focuses more on the influence of external factors on the study of Korean history in Indonesia, especially how these factors are generated by Indonesian people. Studies on Korean history that have been conducted in Indonesia have tended to focus on theoretical perspectives. However, how Indonesians perceive the study of Korean history still needs to be discussed more objectively using certain indicators.

As stated by Kartikasari (2018: 24), diplomatic relationships are tangled with cultural development. She mentioned that cultural development, especially information and communication technology affect the world of diplomacy in delivering the message. In relation to this case, the author views that it is important for diplomatic relations to not only synergize with the nation's foreign policy, but also include an agent (or some agents) who contributes to the dynamics of the diplomatic relationship. Applying a historical point of view on diplomatic relations, the work of 최광진 Choi Kwang-Jin (2019: 5-53) focuses on Korea's soft diplomacy, which is said to have been initiated since 1948.

2. Korea in the History of Indonesia

Despite being a country in the East Asian region, South Korea (hereinafter ‘Korea’) has never appeared in the history of Indonesia. Instead, the two prominent countries frequently mentioned in the history of Indonesia are the Netherlands and Japan. Both countries have made a very important impact on Indonesian people’s lives. Spanning over hundreds of years, the influence of Dutch colonization in Indonesia can be found in the world of automation, law, education, plantations, and trade (Kartodirdjo 2016; Iqbal 2012). Compared to the Dutch occupation, the Japanese colonization of Indonesia occurred only for a relatively short period of time (3.5 years, from 1942 to 1945). However, the aftermath of the Japanese colonization can be found in several aspects. For example, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in formal and informal settings started during the Japanese occupation (Rohman 2018; Permadi 2015). Meanwhile, during the Dutch colonial period, Bahasa Indonesia speakers were quite limited to the upper-middle class.

Different from the two countries above, the influence of Korea in the lives of Indonesian people can be found more recently, along with the worldwide popularity of Korean popular culture, otherwise known as *Hallyu* or the Korean wave. Even so, as third-world countries at the end of World War II, Indonesia and Korea shared the same experience, as both countries were colonized by Japan. More specifically, Korea was colonized for 35 years, while Indonesia was colonized for 3.5 years. Historical research that has been done in Korea shows that behind the similarities of experience as a country that was colonized by Japan, these two countries apparently had an encounter with each other during the independence movement from 1944 to the 1950s. The two countries’ first encounter occurred in early 1945, when *군속 gunsok* (army assistants) from Korea became *포로감시원 phorokamsiwon* (guardians of prisoners of war) in Indonesia. This encounter proved to have united them together to fight against the Japanese colonials. Although the two countries had separate post World War II political development, the two countries were able to establish diplomatic relations in 1966. However, the Korean language was not known by Indonesian people. Korean has only started to become a foreign language that is formally and not

formally studied since the first establishment of Korean studies in Indonesia in early 2000.

While addressing various issues related to the study of Korean history in Indonesia, this article focuses on the social and cultural factors and emphasizes the function of language in historical studies. The author intends to argue that the need to master a foreign language, in particular Korean, is important not only to produce a more comprehensive perspective on Korean historiography, but also to make a significant contribution toward the diplomatic relation between these two countries. In relation to the study of Korean history in Indonesia, the mastery of the Korean language, which is becoming popular among the Indonesian people (especially among millennials), will certainly support the growing intimacy in the relationship between Indonesia and Korea.

3. Discussion

3.1 An overview of Korean Studies in Indonesian Universities

An encounter between nations is always accompanied by historical stories which start the establishment of international relations. With the experience of being a Dutch colony for hundreds of years since the 17th century (Sudirman 2014; Kartodirdjo 1973), Indonesia recognized the Dutch in its education system. The department of Dutch Language and Literature, which was established on February 1, 1949 at *Universiteit* (emergency university) – *Universitas va Indonesie*, was the first foreign language department at the university level in Indonesia. Along with the political developments occurring between 1950 and 1954, Dutch officially became a foreign language department at the University of Indonesia, along with other foreign languages, such as English, Chinese, and French. In the early 1950s, the number of foreign language teachers in Indonesia was still very limited, so a few foreign language departments were established.

After the Dutch colonization, the Japanese colonization of Indonesia started in 1942. Japanese language education in Indonesia began in the 1960s, and Japanese Studies has been around since the

1980s. Based on historical records, Indonesian people spoke Japanese during the Japanese colonization. Despite the troubled past between Japan and Indonesia, the relationship between the two countries has been improving, especially in the field of education, thanks to the services of Prof. Dr. I Ketut Surajaya, a former Professor at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia. Prof. Dr. I Ketut Surajaya was awarded The Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon by the Japanese Embassy for Indonesia in 2016 (Dewi 2016).

Different from the historical traces of the establishment of foreign languages in Indonesia, the establishment of the Korean Studies Program in 2006 in Indonesia was prompted by the popularity of Korean popular culture, which has been growing since the late 1990s. However, the millennial generation's interest in becoming students of the Korean Studies Program at universities is prompted by not only the popularity of Korean culture in Indonesia, but also the presence of Korean companies, which have made their presence in Indonesia since the 1960s.

At the university level, Korean Studies in Indonesia focuses on Korean language, culture, literature, and history. As the Korean study program was founded in Indonesia in the early 2000s, its first students belong to the millennial generation. The term millennial generation has become popular since the American historian William Strauss and American writer Neil Howe (2000) introduced the term Millennials in their writings. Although experts have not reached a consensus on the millennial generation's birth period, the author understands that the millennials were born in the period between the 1980s and the early 2000s.

The term *millennials* is closely related to the concept of generational grouping initiated by Mannheim (1952), which was later developed by Ryder (1965). Both authors marked the millennial generation based on the same age and historical experience (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection 2018: 13). Some reference sources mention that the millennials are a digital generation born between 1976 and 2000 (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection 2018: 15; Putra 2016:125). As for the millennial generation in this paper, students of Korean Studies in Indonesia are classified as millennials due to not only their year of birth, but also the development of diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia.

With the establishment of the Korean language and culture study program in Indonesia, the cooperative relationship between Indonesia and Korea improves as the Korean language and culture study program expands Indonesian people's understanding of Korean language and culture. However, in each university, the Korean Studies Program in Indonesia has a notably distinct character and purpose. For instance, the Korean Studies Program at Universitas Indonesia (UI) uses the name 'Korean Language and Culture Study Program', which affects how the curriculum engenders courses with an orientation to Korean language and culture. In this regard, the courses offered by the Korean Language and Culture Study Program at Universitas Indonesia can be divided into 4 fields, namely language, literature, culture, and history. The department's courses would be different from that of other universities, such as Universitas Gadjah Mada's Korean Language and Literature Study Program. As the field of history is integral in external courses, it is very possible that Korean Studies Program students at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), and Universitas Nasional Indonesia (UNAS) do not receive specific Korean history materials. The names of the study program described above constitute a very important database for this research, especially when examining the relationship between the department names and the Korean Studies students' interests and motivations at Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Gadjah Mada, UPI, and UNAS.

After conducting a study tracer and interviews with the heads of Korean study programs at the aforementioned universities, it was found that the students had different motivations for studying Korean. The head of UNAS' Korean Studies Program stated that their students tend to focus on Korean language proficiency aimed at practical needs, namely getting a job in a Korean company. Meanwhile, 20-30% of Korean Studies Program alumni who graduated from UI and UGM continued their studies to master's degrees (either overseas or domestically). Their databases suggest that 20% of their alumni work in Korean companies, 30% work in non-Korean companies, and the remaining 10% choose to be self-employed. The similarity between all Korean Study Programs in each university is that there is far less interest in the field of history than literature and culture, with a ratio of about 2 to 10. This condition more or less reflects the conditions at UI and UNAS. In UGM, where historical studies are integral to other

subjects, writing in the field of Korean history is also said to be non-existent.

3.2 Indonesian Student's Interest in Korean Studies

The establishment of Korean study programs in Indonesia described above illustrates the existence of a cluster in Korean studies in Indonesia, where each university has a different educational focus. At Universitas Indonesia, the study of Korean history looks more comprehensive when compared to the study of Korean history at UPI, UGM, and also UNAS. In terms of publication, Korean Studies departments of Indonesian universities have produced academic writing with several topics, including *준군위안부 jungun wianbu* and problems during the Japanese colonization, the Korean War, Women and Confucianism in the Joseon period, Korean diplomatic relations, Christianity in Korea, and the student democracy movement in Korea. Japanese colonization is the most popular topic among students of Korean Studies, due to the shared feeling of being a nation that was once colonized by Japan. Among various specific issues prompted by the Japanese colonization in Korea, issues related to the life and fate of Japanese women, *Jungun wianbu*, has been a topic that sparked the research interest of many students.

The students of Korean Studies are interested in the historical life of Korean women in not only the Japanese colonization period, but also the Joseon era. Kisaeng's life and the feudal education system implemented in this era, for instance, are considered research-worthy by Indonesian students. Students are also interested in the lives of Korean women in more recent historical periods. The role of Korean women in the Korean War, *간소북 정책 gansobok jeongchaek* – the Gansobook Policy of Park Chung-Hee's era, and the lives of Korean women workers during the Park Chung-Hee's era are topics frequently researched by the students of Korean Studies. To map possible future trajectories of Korean Studies research in Indonesia, it is necessary to identify recurring topics researched by Indonesian students of Korean Studies.

Although Korean Studies can be considered a new academic discipline in the world of research in Indonesia, it seems to have attracted the attention of certain social institutions. In 2020, the think-

tank agency Habiebie Center, in collaboration with the Korea Foundation in Indonesia, succeeded in conducting research on the topic ‘Three Reasons Indonesia and South Korea Establish a Special Strategic Partnership’.

Another organization named Historika also actively introduces Korean history to Indonesian millennials. Historika has succeeded on several occasions in collaborating with the Korean embassy (Korean Culture Center – 한국문화원 *Hankuk Munhwawon*) and local governments in Indonesia to provide a space for historical discussions regarding the Indonesian national hero from Korea, Yang Chil-Sung. Korean history had a special place in the general Indonesian audience. There are various reasons for this circumstance, one of which is these events’ extensive yet casual method of describing Korean history, as the organization does not heavily rely on academic approaches in informing their audience. In other words, Historika’s presentation of Korean history with a more casual manner so that their audience could learn more about the topic in a way that they listened to a story.

In addition, a media institution called Han.Guk.Sa also holds free webinars and discusses various topics related to Korean history. Through this media institution, Korean history is also conveyed in a more casual manner so that it is easily accepted by the general public, especially the millennial generation, the majority of whom are fans of Korean culture. The audience of Han.Guk.Sa comes from different backgrounds, namely students, historical researchers, and the general public. The Korean institution KSIC Indonesia (Korean Sejong Institute Center Indonesia) similarly holds webinars on Korean history and culture for Indonesian KSIC participants. Mainly focusing on Korean culture, KSIC’s webinars are accompanied by historical insights.

The explanation above shows Indonesian millennials’ enthusiasm for Korean history study forums, and this opens up possibilities for the development of studies related to Korean history. Additionally, the interest of Indonesian millennials in the study of Korean history confirms the need to further support the development of Korean language skills in Indonesia. If the mastery of the Korean language is further expanded among Indonesian millennials, it will be easier for students and historical researchers to use Korean historical sources and compose Korean historiography, which will also enrich the repertoire of Indonesian historiography, especially from the Japanese colonial period to the independence movement.

In an interview with Johari (2018), a speaker in one of Historika events, he mentioned what he called ‘the universal value’ of the Indonesian independence movement, namely the participation of foreigners to join the Indonesian people in fighting for independence. This statement pertains to the history of the involvement of Koreans in Indonesia’s independence movement, which marked Korean people’s entrance across the boundaries of Indonesia’s historical space. Despite the increasingly massive currents of the Korean wave in Indonesia today, such historical reality is not easy to replicate, let alone document in the form of writing. Therefore, it is necessary to review the themes of Korean history (such as Korean Youth Independent Movement in Indonesia) and link these themes with Indonesia’s historic events. By pointing out the similarities and links between Indonesian and Korean history, writers and researchers can not only build a shared discourse for the younger generations of the two countries, but also contribute to improving the diplomatic relation between the two countries.

3.3 The Historical Development of Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Indonesia

From the point of view of diplomatic relations, both Korea and Indonesia in the 1960s period were in a complex condition. Many agents interacted with each other, thus giving rise to foreign policies that are different from previous periods. Through international negotiation with America and Japan, Park Chung-Hee outlined the policy of expanding diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian countries. The decision is considered a means to achieve Korea’s goal of becoming a politically and economically strong nation. Korea’s expansion of diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian countries in the 1960s eventually affected the social and cultural dimensions of Korean Studies in Indonesia.

During the reign of Rhee Syngman (1948-1960), diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia had not been established at all. Both Korea and Indonesia both faced a new situation where each country had to strengthen its ideology, with the goal of aligning with developed countries. Because of the new situation, even though Korea

and Indonesia had already had an encounter through the Korean Youth Independence Movement during Japan's colonial rule of Indonesia, Korea still viewed countries of the Global North as an important factor of the nation's diplomatic relations.

The early period of 1960 was a time when Korea needed an evaluation to reorganize its diplomatic strategy. The April Revolution that erupted in 1960, which resulted in the beginning of Park Chung-Hee's government in 1961, became a gateway to the diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia. Park Chung-Hee highlighted the important role of the Information and Culture Bureau in supporting the establishment of Korea's foreign policy, so the Bureau was put directly under the auspices of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Choi 2019: 9-10). Korea's trade field policy in the 1970s was to expand trade for all countries of the world. Therefore, it is no wonder that countries in the Southeast Asian region, including Indonesia, suddenly became important targets of Korea's expansion of export trade.

The diplomatic relationship between Korea and Indonesia has prompted cultural production in the academic space as well as the public space. For instance, as a response to globalization, the *segrehwa* policy should be recognized as a deciding factor in delivering the Korean wave. The ramifications of the policy have caused a mutualistic symbiosis in the diplomatic relations of Korea and Indonesia. In addition, historical records have shown the presence of a Korean youth figure named 양칠성 Yang Chil-Sung, who was involved in the Indonesian independence movement in the Garut region of West Java. His existence inspired many works in Korean and other cultural products created by Indonesian millennials. Beyond the historical research conducted by scholars of the Korean studies program in Indonesia, other Indonesian millennials have creatively made products resulting from the acculturation of the two countries' cultures. A notable example of this would be Hanboks with batik cloths and patterns, which have proven to be profitable commercial products.

From the above-mentioned cases, it is clear that Indonesia's current socio-cultural landscape allows its people to continuously nurture the diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia. In relation to this, Indonesian millennials occupy a strategic position for their fluency in Korean and their knowledge about Korean culture. As they hold an important role in nurturing future diplomatic relations

between the two countries, Indonesian millennials need to occupy strategic positions in documenting and maintaining Indonesia's diplomatic relations with Korea. Although Korean Studies in Indonesia has only been around since the early 2000s, there have been social agents who have made social and cultural contributions to the development of Korean history studies in Indonesia. Subsequently, their contributions to Korean studies affect how the two countries understand each other and maintain harmony in their diplomatic relations.

4. Conclusion

The development of Korean studies in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role and influence of at least two parties: Korean investor groups and Indonesian intellectuals. Further insights on this topic can be found in historical evidence beyond the diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. Consequently, in subsequent developments, since 2018 the study of Korean history in particular has transformed into a discipline that is studied by not only university scholars, but also the general public, especially the millennial generation.

Although initially, there was skepticism on whether the possibility for the study of Korean history could develop in Indonesia, several survey results and observable audience interest at every Korean history seminar organized by several non-academic parties have presented evidence that suggests otherwise. The study of Korean history, which is characterized by obstacles in mastering historical sources, needs to be reworked for the millennial generation, especially in the sense that the studies cover the development and expansion of Korean history in Indonesia. Due to shared historical experiences between Korea and Indonesia, Korea's position in Indonesia's history certainly engenders an outlook that is different from how Indonesia views the Netherlands and Japan in its history. Korea's presence during Indonesia's independence movement can be emphasized as the first historical point that initiated Korea's existence in Indonesia's historiography. Additionally, Indonesian millennials' mastery of Korean language is a valuable asset for not only developing the study

of Korean history in Indonesia but also improving the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

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