

International Workshop

# Perceptions of the Cultural Other Japanese Images of Korea – Korean Images of Japan

**Programme and Abstracts**

Friday, 16 February, and Saturday, 17 February, 2018

Conference Venue:

Forum Scientiarum, Doblerstraße 33, 72074 Tübingen

The workshop is supported by the Institutional Strategy of the University of Tübingen (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, ZUK 63)



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# Programme

Friday, 16 February

- 10:00            *Registration*
- 10:30–12:00    Introduction and Keynote
- 10:30            Greeting and Explanations
- 10:40            Klaus Antoni: Stereotypes: Images of the Self and the Other
- 11:00            Reinhard Zöllner: Divided by Rough Waters: An Outline of the  
Japanese-Korean Community of Fate
- 12:00–14:00    *Lunch*
- 14:00–15:30    Historical Roots (Chair: Klaus Antoni)
- 14:00            Bernhard Scheid: Hachiman, Jingū, and the Mythical Conquest of  
Korea
- 14:45            David Weiß: Japan, Korea, and the Central Civilization: National  
Appropriations of the Confucian World Order, 1600–1700
- 15:30–16:00    *Coffee Break*
- 16:00–17:30    Nationalism and Anarchism (Chair: Reinhard Zöllner)
- 16:00            Hirafuji Kikuko: The Beginning of Comparative Study between  
Japanese Myth and Korean Myth: In the Case of Mishina Shoei
- 16:45            Robert Kramm: Anarchism and the Other in Imperial Japan
- 18:30            Dinner (Restaurant Neckarmüller, Gartenstraße 4, 72074 Tübingen)

## Saturday, 17 February

- 9:30–11:00 Religion and Colonialism (Chair: Bernhard Scheid)
- 9:30 Juljan Biontino: Shintō and Assimilation Policy in Colonial Korea as Seen on Namsan Mountain, 1892–1945
- 10:15 Kim Hwansoo: Buddhist Identity Politics: A Third Buddhist Community in Colonial Korea, 1925–1945
- 11:00–11:30 *Coffee Break*
- 11:30–13:00 Identity Politics (Chair: Kim Hwansoo)
- 11:30 Tobias Scholl: Ch'oe Namsŏn and Identity Construction through Negotiation with the Colonizer
- 12:15 Jackie Kim-Wachutka: Images and Perceptions of the Other: Discourse Construction, Historical Implications, and Memory
- 13:00–14:30 *Lunch*
- 14:30–15:30 *Discussion*

# Abstracts

## **Stereotypes: Images of the Self and the Other**

*Klaus Antoni, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen*

It can be said without exaggeration that stereotypes about East Asian cultures outnumber those attached to almost any other part of the world. While in earlier times Western imaginations of Japan for example were captivated by concepts such as geisha and cherry blossoms, today the ideas have changed and seem to be based more on economic terms, brand names and popular culture, which is true for Japan as well as for Korea. When looking more closely at such widespread views, it becomes apparent that they often present generalizing and globalizing cultural images providing a holistic understanding of the respective culture. As to a definition of the word »stereotype«, Hans Werner Bierhoff for example states: »Opinions about the personal attributes of a group of people. When these opinions are widely shared, they are called cultural stereotypes. The stereotype as a sociological concept was first posited by [Walter] Lippmann [in: Public Opinion, 1922], who defined stereotypes as ‘images in our minds,’ as opposed to the ‘world outside.’«<sup>1</sup> The importance of this insight cannot be overestimated: it states no less than that our ability to understand the outside world – in this case Japanese or Korean cultures – is deeply influenced by »images in our minds« preshaping our view of the other. But the theory of stereotypes takes an important further step. It differentiates between two fundamentally different yet interdependent and complimentary categories of cultural stereotypes called »hetero-stereotypes« and »auto-stereotypes«, both of which refer to our images of the outside world as well as of ourselves. Hetero-stereotypes and auto-stereotypes apply to individuals as well as groups, societies and nations. This demonstrates the fact that not only our outside, *etic*, views of the other is influenced by prejudices, clichés and stereotypes, but that our own, *emic*, views of the self also are dominated to a much greater degree by »images in our minds« than we might be aware of. The essay will discuss the tension between those two concepts of cultural stereotypes in relation to the cultural images of Korea and Japan.

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Werner Bierhoff: *Sozialpsychologie: Ein Lehrbuch*. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer, 1984: 199.

## **Divided by Rough Waters: An Outline of the Japanese-Korean Community of Fate**

*Reinhard Zöllner, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms Universität Bonn*

Since times immemorial, contacts between the Korean peninsula and the islands of Japan have existed. In most cases, contrary to common perception, these contacts have been peaceful and, more often than not, even mutually beneficial. The sea separating both, being the necessary means of communication, can also be seen as the mutual and necessary link between both, constituting the center of what recently has been understood as a (North) East Asian ecumene. I will therefore apply the concept of the ecumene to outline a general history of the interactions between Japan and Korea. On the other hand, these ecumenical interactions have also shaped mutual perceptions that, in some cases, have been astonishingly stable for many centuries and form part of the creation of antagonistic collective identities. The nationalistic mindsets of today can only be explained by taking their discourse histories into account, which in turn date back to events and mentalities developed centuries ago. I will also outline the most persistent of these biases and stereotypes that overshadow the ecumenical experience.

## **Hachiman, Jingū, and the Mythical Conquest of Korea**

*Bernhard Scheid, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*

The conquest of Korea by the mythological empress Jingū Kōgō is an important episode in the classical mytho-historical chronicles of Japan. It culminates in the submission of Korean kings to Japan, a topos which served as a pretext for various forms of military aggression by the Japanese against their closest continental neighbors from the antiquity to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While Jingū and her son, the future Ōjin Tennō deified as Hachiman, are worshiped in Hachiman Shrines all over the country, such shrines are particularly important along the natural passage between Japan and Korea from North-Western Kyūshū to the islands of Iki and Tsushima. Foundation legends of these shrines are invariably referring to Jingū's campaign. This suggests that the myth played an important role not only on a national level but also as a source of self-empowerment for local seafaring communities in a potentially dangerous geopolitical environment.

It is certainly no coincidence that one of the most extensive versions of the story, the *Hachiman gudōkun*, dates from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was drafted shortly after the Mongol Invasions of 1274 and 1281, which had heightened Japanese feelings of fear and revenge regarding the

continent. In my talk, I will sketch out the evolution of the Korean conquest myth from the classical sources to the medieval period focusing on the changes in the depictions of the Korean enemies subdued by Jingū.

## **Japan, Korea, and the Central Civilization: National Appropriations of the Confucian World Order, 1600–1700**

*David Weiß, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen*

For centuries, China regarded itself as the central civilization (*zhong-hua* 中華) in East Asia. This conception relegated the inhabitants of the surrounding countries to the status of barbarians that could be ranked according to their adherence to Chinese cultural ideals. Although there were challenges to this concept both among Japanese and Korean scholars from early on, there was a strong perception in both countries of being situated on the periphery of the Buddhist or Confucian cosmos. However, the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by Manchus in 1644 cast serious doubt on the identification of China with ‘civilization’. How was it possible that a people who according to the sinocentric worldview belonged to the northern barbarians could usurp the throne in the Middle Kingdom? Confucian scholars in Korea and Japan started to grapple with this question in the second half of the seventeenth century. While there were differences between the Japanese and Korean discourses, scholars emerged on both sides of the Korea Straits who claimed the title of central civilization in the Confucian world order for themselves. Confucian thinkers in both Korea and Japan regarded their own countries as the last guardians of the Confucian way that had been lost in China. The present paper will compare Korean and Japanese discourses dealing with the emancipation from a sinocentric world view and look for possible interconnections. It will also address the question of how these national appropriations of the Confucian world order relate to the emergence of national consciousness in Japan and Korea.

## **The Beginning of Comparative Study between Japanese Myth and Korean Myth: In the Case of Mishina Shoei**

*Hirafuji Kikuko, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo*

In this presentation, my aim is to explore the relationship between nationalistic studies of Japanese mythology and Japanese colonialism. It is said that myth accounts for a variety of phenomena such as the creation of the world, including not only the origin of humankind, the formation of earth, the birth of mountains, rocks, trees, fire and other natural objects, but also the origin of the nation and the royal house. Therefore we can say that myth has an aspect of nationalism or ethnocentrism, and the study of mythology sometimes supports this connection scientifically. Nationalistic studies of mythology appeared frequently in the history of Japanese mythology. In particular, I will take a closer look at the work of Mishina Shōei (三品彰英, 1902–1971).

Mishina has been considered a pioneer of the study of Korean mythology and history. Mishina adhered primarily to empirical historical methods, but also applied the concept of “culture areas,” which he had encountered in his studies with Robert H. Lowie (1883–1957). He used this concept, for instance, in his comparison of Japanese and Korean myths, a comparison that was highly praised by other mythologist after World War 2.

Mishina conducted his comparative studies of Japanese and Korean myths at the time of Japan’s colonization of Korea. We must therefore ask whether the power relations between ruling Japan and ruled Korea had an impact on his research and whether his conception of Korean myths was related to the act of colonization.

## **Anarchism and the Other in Imperial Japan**

*Robert Kramm, The University of Hong Kong*

Anarchism is a global phenomenon – and anarchist theory and practice have global aims of liberation. Basically, anarchist thought focuses on overcoming any kind of (state) authority and hierarchy, allowing human beings to govern themselves autonomously. Yet, how does anarchism play out in an imperial formation, in which anarchists are in a double bind situation of being simultaneously subjugated to and discriminated against by Western hegemony but positioned themselves within an imperial center? On the one hand, forming a prominent movement in the early twentieth century, Japanese anarchists mediated intellectual knowledge from



abroad and transferred it to the East Asian context. In doing so, they were not passive recipients of European, Russian and American knowledge, but actively contributed to its appropriation. Yet despite the libertarian appeal of anarchist thought, Japanese anarchists nevertheless faced not only repression by the imperial state, but also the strong effects of a Western epistemological matrix in which European thought claims universality as the only point of reference to give authority to any kind of progressive, rational thinking. Moreover, this epistemic hierarchization was embedded into and correlated with racial hierarchies between the West and the non-Western world. On the other hand, navigating through the powerful epistemes of Western thought, Japanese intellectuals were also faced with the situation of colonials in the Japanese empire. In particular, what role played Korea and the Korean colonial other in the imagination and practice of Japanese anarchists? And, can we detect any entanglements between colonial Korean and imperial Japan – a relationship also strongly racialized – within anarchist thought and activism in the early twentieth century? Along the issues of race, power and knowledge, this paper will discuss the construction – or absence? – of cultural differences in spite of a body of thought that perceives itself as internationalist and seeks to deconstruct the very mechanisms of hierarchy and power.

### **Shintō and Assimilation Policy in Colonial Korea as Seen on Namsan Mountain, 1892–1945**

*Juljan Biontino, Chiba University*

During the Chosŏn period, Namsan mountain served as guardian over Seoul and remained untouched by lumbermen and those seeking auspicious grave sites. During the Taehan Empire, Changch'ungdan, an altar to commemorate those who died serving the country was erected on the eastern foot of Namsan, and thus the mountain became linked to anti-Japanese sentiment. Even before the onset of Japanese rule, Japanese settlers built a first Shintō shrine on Namsan to accommodate for their religious needs. In the wake of Japanese colonial rule, Namsan was turned into a prototypical testing ground for the employment of State Shintō in Korea. Subsequently, the whole area of Namsan was turned into a cultural park whose representations were used so Japanese citizens could reassure themselves as citizens of the empire, while Koreans were steadily drawn into taking part in Shintō rituals and learning about Japanese culture by visiting shrines and taking part in their events. Two Buddhist shrines finally added to complete Namsan as a stage for assimilation policy and loyalty education.

In this talk, it will be shown that State Shintō in the colonial context was hardly justifiable as non-religious ritual of state and that colonial authorities continually struggled to dissolve the contradictions of Shintō in terms of its religiosity. Still, State Shintō was heavily employed in an attempt to win over Koreans for the Japanese cause, thus it was used as a means of assimilation and of proposedly overcoming the “otherness” between Japanese and Koreans. However, the Japanese continued to be suspicious in what state of mind Koreans came to the shrines, and Koreans stayed skeptical whether something thoroughly Japanese such as Shintō could ever have a true appeal to them.

### **Buddhist Identity Politics: A Third Buddhist Community in Colonial Korea, 1925–1945**

*Kim Hwansoo, Duke University, Durham*

Why did Japanese Buddhism, despite its material and political advantages, fail to dominate Korean Buddhism during the colonial period? This paper offers a partial answer to this question by highlighting the politics of religious identity and representation that Korean and Japanese Buddhists were engaged in within colonial Korea. Since the late nineteenth century, Japanese Buddhists’ perceptions of Korean Buddhism went hand in hand with an image of Koreans as uncivilized, immature, and in desperate need of Japan’s tutelage. With a similar mindset, the Japanese Buddhist leaders who were living in colonial Korea presented their Buddhism as the modernized center of world Buddhism while defining Korean Buddhism as the outmoded periphery. Whenever opportunities arose, they attempted to undermine the legitimacy of Korean Buddhism and subsume it under the control of Japanese Buddhism. Korean Buddhists did not remain passive bystanders to this process, however, instead thwarting these attempts and keeping their institutional independence by othering and provincializing the Japanese Buddhism in colonial Korea as incompatible with Korean Buddhism. While accentuating the inherent historical and geographical differences between the two Buddhisms, Korean Buddhists also employed two additional strategies to fend off the Japanese Buddhist perspective. First, as a justification for keeping Japanese Buddhism at bay, they used the different legal frameworks applied to the two Buddhist communities in colonial Korea. Secondly, they turned the Japanese Buddhist rhetoric of creating a modern, global Buddhism on its head by presenting themselves as equal participants to Japanese Buddhists in the movement because of being subjects of the Japanese empire.

To illuminate these multifaceted identity politics, this paper focuses on a Japanese lay Buddhist organization, the Association of Korean Buddhism, that became an influential institution in striving to bridge the two Buddhist communities in colonial Korea. There were six consecutive events from 1925 to 1945 that accentuated the Association's emergence as a major player in the landscape of Buddhism, and the Korean Buddhist response further attests to the Association's importance. This period of extended influence began with the East Asian Buddhist conference of 1925 that was held in Tokyo, when the Association dispatched five delegates representing Buddhism in colonial Korea. In response, the Korean Buddhist Central Office sent three delegates to counter the Association's move. When the leaders of the Association, prompted by the conference, decided to hold a similar pan-East Asian Buddhist conference in colonial Korea in September 1929, Korean Buddhist leaders cut in by convening their own conference in January 1929, several months prior to the Association's conference. Later, in June 1930, Japanese Buddhists organized the Pan-Asia Pacific Buddhist Youth Conference in Honolulu, Hawaii, and the Central Office dispatched a delegate to represent Korean Buddhism. The contentious exchange between the Central Office and the Association culminated in a debate instigated by the key leader of the Association, Nakamura Kentarō (1883–?), who wrote an essay disparaging Korean monks that was quickly refuted by Korean Buddhist leaders. The poaching continued. Finally, the Association collaborated with Japanese Buddhists to launch a temple-building project in commemoration of Itō Hirobumi (1905–1909). The completion of the temple Hakubunji in 1932, with its towering presence on Namsan Mountain nestled in central Seoul, alarmed Korean Buddhists and prompted them to become more forceful about demanding that the colonial government construct their own great head temple, which materialized in 1938.

By analyzing a tit-for-tat interaction between this organization and the Korean Buddhist institution in colonial Korea from 1920 to 1945, this paper will bring to light the multiple positions on religious and political identity betwixt and between both parties in the context of colonialism, nationalism, and imperialism.

## **Ch'oe Nam-sŏn and Identity Construction through Negotiation with the Colonizer**

*Tobias Scholl, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen*

At least with the forced opening of Korea in 1875/76 Koreans were searching for a new identity as an independent people and emancipated nation within the international community. Many Korean intellectuals considered Japan and its way of modernization as a model for Korea. Also Ch'oe Nam-sŏn (1890–1957), one of the most famous and important Korean intellectuals during the colonial period, held this view and argued in favor of a Japanese guidance where it brings advantages for Korea. After the Korean youth will have achieved to build the new Korea, so his opinion, “Japan will be Korea’s oldest friend.” Not least because of the establishment of the Japanese protectorate over Korea in 1905, Ch'oe was nonetheless fully aware that “as rival, however, Japan will also be the biggest obstacle” (Ch'oe, Nam-sŏn: *Haesang Taehan-sa* (1908), p. 393). With the annexation 1910 the creation of “the new Korea” finally failed. Instead of becoming an independent modern nation, Korea found itself as a colony of Japan. Korean intellectuals, however, continued in constructing a Korean national identity with their work.

The paper for the forthcoming workshop intends to take a closer look on such an identity construction during the colonial period by examining the work of Ch'oe Nam-sŏn. Ch'oe Nam-sŏn is hereby an interesting and special example in several regards. After his conviction and imprisonment due to his role as the author of the Korean independence declaration 1919 he started to collaborate with the Japanese to influence the colonial knowledge production. In his „Treatise on the Purham culture“ (jap.: *Fukan bunkaron*; kor.: *Purham munhwaron*) (written 1925) Ch'oe saw Japan less as an Other for othering than as a same Other. Objects for his othering by contrast were the West and Japan. Since his theses and arguments were moreover based on Japanese research and written in Japanese, Ch'oe Nam-sŏn maintained a Korean identity within the colonial setting not by “negation” of the Japanese research but by “negotiation” through its reinterpretation (Bhabha, Homi K.: *Die Verortung der Kultur*, p. 38).

## Images and Perceptions of the Other: Discourse Construction, Historical Implications, and Memory

Jackie Kim-Wachutka, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto

The stereotypical images constructed by Japanese colonizers of the colonized *Chōsenjin* 朝鮮人 (Koreans) into the derogatory perception of “*Chōsen* チョーセン” have historical roots within a traditional hegemonic notion of the inferiority of the “other.” The dialectics of the notion of “superior Japanese” that was imposed upon the “inferior” other helped to establish a powerful national collectivity that fueled a sense of national and ethnic superiority. When written in Chinese characters, *Chōsen* 朝鮮 refers to the country and is not a derogatory reference. However, “*Chōsen* チョーセン” written in the Japanese katakana script signified defamatory images of filth, ignorance, poverty, underhandedness, distrust, danger, and violence (Harajiri 1998: 15–17). Inoue Atsushi (2002) sees the traditional view of *Chōsen* (*dentōteki Chōsen-kan* 伝統的朝鮮観) to have been recreated and reconstructed throughout Japanese history, not in a continuous and linear manner but rather in moments of conflict as well as self-reflection and differentiation from the “other.” This neighboring “other” (*tonari no tasha*) symbolized an existence that was far inferior in quality and capacity as people, thus legitimizing a colonial invasion in the name of bringing modernity, civilization, and enlightenment (Harajiri 1998; Weiner 2009). Under the policy of imperialization (*kōminka seisaku* 皇民化政策) during the colonial period (1910–1945), references to “non-Japanese” (*hi-Nihonjin* 非日本人) and “insolent Koreans” (*futei Sen-jin* 不逞鮮人) fueled the Japanese sense of “superiority” that exists in juxtaposition to the degradation of “*Chōsen-jin*”.

How were these colonial images transferred to the Japanese population? How were these images received by diasporic Koreans living in Japan? How do these images and perceptions continue to live on within the present? This paper first discusses the historical development of the derogatory locution “*Chōsen* チョーセン”. It then analyzes the ways in which this pejorative term has influenced the diasporic cultural identity of Zainichi Koreans in Japan. Finally, it argues that the subtle tradition of negative colonial images and stereotypes of the past persist within the present Japanese society, carrying on a precarious legacy that serves as the narrative framework of recent hate speech against Koreans in Japan.