

**DRESSING DIFFERENCE: GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND SUBJECTIVITY  
IN REPRESENTATIONS OF CHIMA CHOGORI IN JAPAN**

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Suhyun Choi

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**Examining Committee:**

Ignacio Adriasola

Supervisor

Christina Yi

Supervisory Committee Member

## Abstract

This thesis investigates the works of contemporary artists from Japan, Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji, who have incorporated into their practice *chima chogori*, or Korean ethnic dress for women. Highlighting the continued presence and significance of *chima chogori* within Japanese art and visual culture from the early twentieth century, this thesis examines how their works address and respond to a long history of representations of women in ethnic dress in Japan.

During Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula (1910-1945), representations of Korean women in *chima chogori* were actively produced and circulated in the metropole, where such images played a crucial role in demarcating the boundaries between Japan and Korea. Inseparable from Japan's ongoing imperial aggressions, they further manifest the changing role of colonial Korea within the empire. In postwar Japan, *chima chogori* reemerged, most notably in the form of school uniforms at Korean schools: taking up *chima chogori*, a sign of ethnic difference, was a strategic stance taken by Zainichi Koreans in their response to and resistance against the legacies of imperialism that continued to exclude them from the borders of the nation. While drawing attention to the issues of women's subjectivity and gender difference in the practice and representation of *chima chogori* uniforms, I also point out how women's negotiations of their identities through the practice of *chima chogori* are often obscured in media representations.

Intervening in this history of representations of *chima chogori* in Japanese visual culture, Shimada and Oh reveal a shared concern for the encounter with the other in their approach to *chima chogori*. Their works, I argue, speak to and open up an ethics of alterity and, in doing so, critique the imperialist systems that constructed difference for the domination of the other and continue to condition the lives of Koreans in Japan. At the same time, their works challenge the representational and discursive practices of *chima chogori* that have been largely dominated by men.

## Lay Summary

This thesis examines the works of two contemporary artists from Japan, Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji, who in their practice have incorporated *chima chogori*, or Korean ethnic dress for women. Japanese artist Shimada has juxtaposed a *chima chogori* with a wedding dress in her installation *Look at Me / Look at You* (1995), while Zainichi Korean artist Oh has printed photographed images of herself in three different *chima chogori* onto a fabric in *Three Generations of Time* (2004). Through a close analysis of visual art, literature, and cinema, this thesis addresses how Shimada and Oh intervene in a long history of representations of women in *chima chogori* in Japanese art and visual culture that extends to the early part of the twentieth century.

## **Preface**

This thesis is original, independent, unpublished work by the author, Suhyun Choi.

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## Notes on Romanization and Translation

Both Korean and Japanese names are rendered family name first. Korean names and words have been romanized according to the McCune–Reischauer system, and Japanese names and words according to the modified Hepburn system. Exceptions include names of individuals and organizations with preferred romanization, as well as words whose alternative romanization has become standard in the English language. In the cases where the issue of romanization is more complicated (e.g., *chima chogori*), I have made clarification in footnotes in the very first instance of such terms.

Unless otherwise noted, translations from Korean and Japanese are my own.

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## Introduction

Artist Oh Haji's *Three Generations of Time* (*Mitsu no jikan*, 2004) is a long, narrow scroll of brown fabric onto which a series of photographic images is printed (Figure 1). Each of these images is a self-portrait of the artist in three different dresses, walking along a road in Jeju Island, South Korea—a place from which her grandmother migrated to Japan. Born and raised in Osaka, Japan, artist Oh Haji is a third-generation Zainichi Korean—a term that refers to ethnic Koreans who came to Japan during its colonization of the Korean peninsula (1910-1945), and their descendants.<sup>1</sup> The dresses that Oh is wearing are called *chima chogori*, or Korean ethnic dress for women, that consists of a billowy skirt (*chima*) and an upper garment (*chogori*) tied with a long ribbon (*korŭm*).<sup>2</sup> If we take into account that *chima chogori* is considered to be a

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term “Zainichi Korean” to refer to Koreans in Japan who or whose family moved to Japan during the colonial period and stayed (or were forced to stay) in Japan after the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty rendered them stateless. I use “Koreans in Japan” to refer to the population of Koreans in Japan during the colonial period and in the early postwar period before the formation of their resident status in 1952. In my usage of the term “Zainichi Korean,” the word “Korean” here is essentially fissured: it can be translated to Japanese as *Chōsenjin* (used by those who identify themselves affiliated with North Korea; also used by those who do not necessarily side with North Korea but affiliate themselves with a unified Korea before the division), *Kankokujin* (used by those who align themselves with South Korea), or *Korian* (denoting neutrality and avoiding specific political affiliations). The word “Korean,” as I use it, includes all these and other possibilities and encompasses now highly diversified populations in terms of citizenship and one’s own perceived ties to Korea. My use of the word “Zainichi” (lit: “residing in Japan”), not the English word “resident,” is also a conscious attempt to leave the term’s malleability and ambiguity in order to highlight multifold positions and stances that individuals can take toward the notions of nationality, ethnicity, and homeland.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this thesis, I use *chima chogori* (romanized from Japanese *katakana*) to refer to Korean ethnic dress for women, instead of other possible options: *ch’ima chōgori* (romanized from Korean), *hanbok* (as used in South Korea), or *Chosōnot* (as used in North Korea). I have chosen to use *chima chogori*, the most frequently used term in present-day Japan, in order to make clear the geographic context that this thesis is mainly concerned with. I do so also with a hope that *chima chogori*, a neither fully Japanese nor Korean word, would serve as a useful reminder of its shared history between Japan and Korea. It should be noted, however, that during the colonial period, Korean dress was called *Chōsen-fuku* (lit: Korean dress). While acknowledging an anachronism in my use of *chima chogori* to refer to the dress of this time, I use *chima chogori* throughout the thesis in favor of consistency. In my discussion of “*chima chogori* cutting incidents” (*chima chogori kirisaki jiken*) in Chapter 2, I make a note on how *chima chogori* became the most common name for the dress in contemporary Japan.

marker of Korean ethnicity and often associated with Zainichi Korean communities in Japan, then the artist seems to be exploring her identity as a Zainichi Korean through navigating her relationship with the dress. Yet, the *chima chogori* in this work are imbued with an even more profound sense of intimacy: each of the dresses belongs to her grandmother, mother, and herself respectively. Through a series of photographs of herself in her grandmother's, mother's, and her own *chima chogori*, Oh creates an intimate genealogy of three generations of women articulated through the dresses.

Earlier in 1995, Japanese artist Shimada Yoshiko also incorporated *chima chogori* in one of her works. In her installation titled *Look at Me / Look at You*, Shimada has placed, on the one side, a white *chima chogori* worn with a *yukata* (Japanese garment) on top; on the other side is a white wedding dress overlaid with an apron (Figure 2). When compared to Oh's *chima chogori* that are more intimate and personal, the *chima chogori* in Shimada's work appears strikingly different, with a sense of violence: the skirt is ripped apart, and the cuts on the skirt reveal red fabrics that appear like blood, heightening a sense of disturbance and unease. Through this torn *chima chogori*, Shimada is able to reference and visualize the history of violence on Korean women's body: the dress evokes at once a series of assaults on Zainichi Korean schoolgirls' *chima chogori* in the 1990s and sexual violence inflicted upon so-called military "comfort women" of the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>3</sup>

These two heterogeneous versions of *chima chogori* inform us of different ways in which

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<sup>3</sup> The word "comfort women" is a translation of the Japanese term *ianfu* that has already been contested by many, mainly because of its euphemistic implications; yet, in scholarly, media, and popular discourse, it is now the most commonly used term that refers to the systematic exploitation of women's sexual labor overseen by the Japanese military in the 1930s and 1940s (it is more specific than the all-inclusive term "sexual slavery"). Throughout this thesis, I use the term "comfort women" for its wide currency and specificity, but with quotation marks in every instance of the term, in an attempt to avoid unquestioning acceptance of the word and keep mindful of its limitations.

*chima chogori* can be mobilized by artists to navigate, negotiate, and create a complex of different meanings. This held true as well for artists and publishers in the imperial metropole who produced representations of women in *chima chogori* during Japan's colonial rule in Korea: it was through the *chima chogori* that they could articulate manifold definitions of the other, "Korea." While representations during this period were not separable from the changing ideologies and policies of Japanese imperialism, the very capacity of *chima chogori* to accommodate different ideas of the colony in the Japanese empire also implied that its meanings could be contested and reworked in the postwar period. Thus, when Zainichi Koreans took up the dress and made it into their symbol in the 1960s, they were also able to work with possibilities for constructing a new vision of their own identity and difference in relation to the Japanese through *chima chogori* during a time of tumultuous change. Highlighting various iterations of *chima chogori* in visual representations and artworks from the early twentieth century in Japan, this thesis examines how two contemporary artists from Japan—Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji—address, respond to, and intervene in this long history of representations of women in *chima chogori* while exploring the interrelated issues of gender, ethnicity, and subjectivity in their works.

This study is informed by and aligns with the body of literature on the history of representation of women in ethnic dress in Japanese art and visual culture. Over the past two decades, art historians in Japan and South Korea have emphasized the significant roles that such representations played in the construction of the self and the other in the Japanese empire. Through her analysis of paintings of women in different ethnic dresses in the 1920s and early 1930s, Kojima Kaoru has shown the ways in which Japanese artists were able to partake in the

imperial project aimed at establishing Japan's cultural superiority through their paintings.<sup>4</sup> While Kojima has looked at a rather broad range of ethnic dress, including Japanese, Chinese, and Korean garments, Ikeda Shinobu has focused more specifically on representations of women in Chinese dress in the prewar period. In such representations, she identifies ambiguous feelings of anxiety and desire that Japanese male artists and intellectuals had toward China.<sup>5</sup> In the case of paintings of Korean *kisaeng* (professional female entertainer), Kim Hyeslin's analysis has revealed that for Japanese artists and viewers, the figure of exoticized and eroticized *kisaeng* stood in as a metaphor for the alluring land of colonial Korea.<sup>6</sup> Kim's findings on paintings of *kisaeng* can be expanded to a larger realm of visual culture, when brought together with studies by Kwŏn Haengga and Yi Kyŏngmin, who have examined the (re)production of the imperial gaze in and through images of *kisaeng* in postcards and travel brochures in the colonial period.<sup>7</sup>

Altogether these scholars in Japan and South Korea have critically interrogated the ways in which Japanese imperialism rested upon ideas about cultural difference and hierarchy reproduced through images of Asian women whose otherness was marked by ethnic dress. If we follow Kota Inoue's definition of imperialism as a "condition in the homeland that facilitates, justifies, and maintains colonialism," then their studies underscore the significance of

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<sup>4</sup> Kojima Kaoru, "Japanese Images of Asian Women in 'Traditional' Clothes in the Age of Empire," in *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*, ed. Aida Yuen Wong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 101-111.

<sup>5</sup> Ikeda Shinobu, "Imperial Desire and Female Subjectivity: Umehara Ryūzaburō's Kunyan Series," trans. Ignacio Adriasola, *Ars Orientalis* 47 (2017): 240-265; and "The Allure of a 'Woman in Chinese Dress': Representation of the Other in Imperial Japan," in *Performing 'Nation': Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880-1940*, eds. Doris Croissant et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347-381.

<sup>6</sup> Kim Hyeslin, "Discourse and Representations on the Kisaeng (Courtesan): An Analysis in Relation to the Cultural Policies of Colonial Korea," *Journal of Asian Arts & Aesthetics* 2 (June 2009): 15-21. Also, Ikeda Shinobu and Kim Hyeslin, "Shokuminchi 'Chōsen' to teikoku 'Nihon' no jōsei hyōshō," in *Iwanami kōza kindai Nihon no bunkashi 6: kakudai suru modaniti 1920-30 nendai* 2, eds. Komori Yōichi et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 255-307.

<sup>7</sup> Kwŏn Haengga, "Kūndae sigak munhwa wa kisaeng imiji," in *Kyŏnggye ūi yŏsŏngdŭl: Han'guk kūndae yŏsŏngsa*, ed. Sŏuldae Yŏsŏng Yŏn'guso (P'aju: Hanul Ak'ademi, 2013), 199-234. Yi Kyŏng-min, *Kisaeng ūn ōttŏk'e mandŭro chyŏnnŭn'ga: kūndae kisaeng ūi t'ansaeng kwa p'yosang konggan* (Seoul: Archive Books, 2005).

representing women in ethnic dress as an imperialist practice that served to justify, maintain, and expand the Japanese empire.<sup>8</sup> In so doing, they point us to the intimate relationship between empire and its other, between metropole and colonies. Further, if we juxtapose their findings with sociologist Han Tong-hyŏn's extensive study on the emergence of *chima chogori* uniforms in the early years of Korean schools (*Chōsen gakkō*) in Japan in the 1960s, then we are able to see the prolonged presence of Korean ethnic dress—both real and represented—in Japan.<sup>9</sup>

Building on existing scholarship, this thesis aims to highlight the continued presence of *chima chogori* in Japanese visual culture and extend its relevance to contemporary art by considering *chima chogori* in more recent works by artists from Japan. Through an analysis of Shimada Yoshiko's and Oh Haji's artworks, I emphasize the significant role that *chima chogori* continues to play in contemporary art in Japan as a persisting yet multivalent, malleable sign of alterity. As such, this thesis is divided in two parts. First, I provide background on representations of *chima chogori* in the history of modern Japan, drawing attention to different ways in which such representations were mobilized to construct and articulate difference during the colonial and postwar periods. Then, I investigate the works of contemporary artists from Japan, with a focus on how the artists create divergent images of *chima chogori*, while addressing and challenging earlier representations and discourses on dress. Rather than tracing an entire genealogy of *chima chogori* in Japan, this thesis aims to demonstrate the multivalent nature of ethnic dress and the significant role that *chima chogori* has played in Japanese art and visual culture in the construction and contestation of cultural difference.

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<sup>8</sup> Kota Inoue, "A Little Story of Settler Colonialism: Imperialist Consciousness and Children's Literature in the 1920s," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, eds. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 190.

<sup>9</sup> Han Tong-hyŏn, *Chima chogori seifuku no minzokushi (esunoguraŕi): sono tanjō to Chōsen gakkō no joseitachi* (Tokyo: Sōfūsha, 2006).

Chapter 1 examines visual representations of women in *chima chogori* and their role in discursive formations of “Korea” and its counterpart, “Japan,” in the imperial metropole of the 1930s and 1940s. Attending to the configuration of the category of woman in representation and how women’s differing roles were articulated through their different forms of *chima chogori*, I not only consider images of *kisaeng* in “traditional” *chima chogori*, but also point out the presence of “modern” *chima chogori* in representations, which has received little critical attention. In doing so, I demonstrate how these images of Korean women with their marked ethnicity enabled the reproduction of essentialized difference and the policing of boundaries between Korea and Japan, while underscoring how the heterogeneity of such images exposes the instability of the boundaries and reveals Korea’s changing role within the empire.

Chapter 2 concerns the reemergence of *chima chogori* as a form of resistance by Zainichi Koreans against the enduring legacies of imperialism in the postwar period and onwards. Drawing particular attention to *chima chogori* uniforms that were institutionalized in Korean schools (*Chōsen gakkō*) in the 1960s, I juxtapose two competing images of Zainichi Korean schoolgirls in *chima chogori* from the films *Ao – Chong* (2000, dir. Lee Sang-il) and *Go* (2001, dir. Yukisada Isao) in order to suggest the ambivalent nature of *chima chogori* that at once enables and delimits women’s subjectivity. Further illuminating the issues of subjectivity and gender difference in the practice and representation of the *chima chogori* uniform, I propose that the practice be seen as a strategic yet gendered stance taken by Zainichi Korean women in negotiations of their own position within Japanese society and Zainichi Korean communities; yet, my analysis of the films will also demonstrate how the complexity of women’s negotiations is often obscured in media representations.

Chapter 3 turns toward *chima chogori* in the works of Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji.

While highlighting their differing approaches to *chima chogori* as they evoke and address different layers of history and memory, I discuss how the works of both artists depart from earlier representations of *chima chogori*. Through their exploration of an encounter with the other, Shimada and Oh speak to and open up an ethics of alterity in their practice. Their ethics, I argue, critique the imperialist systems that constructed difference for the domination of the other and continue to condition the lives of Koreans in Japan. At the same time, their works intervene in the representational and discursive space of *chima chogori* that has been largely occupied by men.

Throughout this thesis, I repeatedly use the terms “ethnicity” and “ethnic dress.” I use ethnicity, not race, to refer to the way in which the Japanese empire positioned itself vis-à-vis its Asian colonies. Robert Tierney describes Japanese imperialism as “interstitial” in essence: Japan, the only Asian empire at that time, held an ambivalent position as a colonizer in relation to its Asian colonies but also as a racialized other in relation to Europe and the United States.<sup>10</sup> As such, Japan simultaneously identified with and distanced itself from its colonies while it positioned itself both in line with and in opposition to Europe and the United States. This Janus-faced nature of the Japanese empire was manifested in how Japan defined itself in relation to its others: while Japan differentiated itself from Asian neighbors in terms of ethnicity (*minzoku*), the perceived affinity in terms of race (*jinshu*) enabled Japan to imagine and produce the Pan-Asian rhetoric to confront the racial other, Euro-America.<sup>11</sup> As this thesis is concerned with how Japan conceived of its difference from Korea, I use “ethnicity” and “ethnic” as a way to describe Japan’s own positioning of itself in relation to Korea. At the same time, the core of my argument

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

lies in the assertion that the boundaries of ethnic categories and identities were neither absolute nor fixed, but could always be constructed, contested, and redrawn.

## Chapter 1.

### ‘Korean Dress’ (*Chōsen-fuku*) in the Metropole, 1930s-1940s

*Chōsen manga* (Cartoons of Korea, 1909), published by Nikkan Shobō, consists of 50 illustrations by Torigoe Seiki, accompanied by satiric commentaries written by Usuda Zan'un.<sup>12</sup> Published a year before Japan's official annexation of the Korean peninsula, it was aimed at introducing to Japanese audiences a wide range of then soon-to-be-colony Korea's customs. Under one of the titles, “Exposure of Breasts” (*Chibusa no roshutsu*), is Torigoe's illustration that depicts a woman in *chima chogori* (Figure 3). Occupying the very center of the image are the woman's breasts, which, in Usuda's words, are “shamelessly exposed” due to the short length of her upper garment.<sup>13</sup> While such representations of Korean women by foreign observers were not uncommon during this period, what I find interesting is how the female dress and body were deployed by Torigoe and Usuda to construct difference and thus an ethnic boundary between the Japanese and Koreans, during a time when a major political transition was soon to take place that demanded such a boundary be demarcated. Usuda's commentary highlights how Korean dress is different from Japanese dress, and the inscription within Torigoe's illustration reads “most barbaric” (*mottomo banteki*), setting “Korea” apart from an implicit counterpart, “Japan.”

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<sup>12</sup> Nikkan Shobō was one of the largest Japanese publishing houses based in Seoul. Helen J. S. Lee, “Out of *Sōdesuka-shi*, Creating *Yobo-san*: Cartooning the Korean Other in Japan's Colonial Discourse,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 45, no. 1 (April 2011): 65.

<sup>13</sup> Usuda Zan'un and Torigoe Seiki, *Chosŏn manhwa: 100-yŏn chŏn Chosŏn, manhwa ka toeda*, trans. Han-Il pigyo munhwa semina (Seoul: Ōmunhaksa, 2012), 142.

As many scholars have shown, this was not the only time when the boundaries between “Japanese” and “Koreans” were in question. Throughout the history of Japan’s colonization of the Korean peninsula, the line between the “Japanese” and “Koreans” remained ever contested and precarious, with the expanding empire and the unstable borders of the nation. Especially, a series of assimilation policies implemented in the 1930s and 1940s, namely *dōka* (assimilation) of the early 1930s and subsequent *kōminka* (imperialization) of the late 1930s and early 1940s, further complicated and intensified the situation: the empire’s assimilation efforts in essence necessitated that the border of Japan be expanded to include the colonies, and yet the boundary of “Japan proper” became more subtly maintained. Such a demand was also imposed onto artists, writers, and publishers in the metropole: as Miriam Silverberg points out, they were now tasked with presenting Korea as part of Japan and yet simultaneously as the other.<sup>14</sup>

This chapter examines visual representations of women in *chima chogori* produced and circulated in the imperial metropole in the 1930s and 1940s. While previous studies have primarily focused on images of *kisaeng* in particular and largely looked at *chima chogori* as “traditional” garments, more diverse configurations of Korean woman, along with different forms of *chima chogori*—even the ones that were considered “modern”—appeared in popular magazines of the metropole since the late 1930s. I juxtapose early to mid-1930s paintings with illustrations in popular magazine *Modan Nihon*’s two special editions on Korea that were published in 1939 and 1940. In doing so, I demonstrate how such representations of *chima chogori* played a crucial role in demarcating the boundaries between Japan and Korea and further reveal the changing role and position of colonial Korea within the empire.

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<sup>14</sup> Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 86-87.

### ***Kisaeng* in Early to Mid-1930s Paintings**

Noda Kyūho's *Chōsen fūzoku* (Korean customs, 1936) presents two *kisaeng* (professional female entertainers in Korea) dressed in *chima chogori* looking out a window (Figure 4).<sup>15</sup> Painted in the neotraditional “national painting” style (Nihonga), *Chōsen fūzoku* juxtaposes two *kisaeng* with items that were considered to be part of Korean customs, such as a light, hanging scrolls, or porcelains of different forms and color. The bodies of the *kisaeng*, as well, seem to be the objects onto which the customs of Korea are displayed: their *chima chogori* dresses and ornamental hairpin *pinyō* not only function as integral elements that indicate their ethnicity, but also turn the conjoined bodies into cultural objects. The use of the female body and the juxtaposition of cultural objects were not unfamiliar in the European tradition of Orientalist paintings, where such visual idioms were deployed by artists to demarcate the racialized foreign other. Himself no stranger to European paintings, Noda would have drawn from the ethnographic modes in European Orientalist paintings, particularly in this one where he depicts the colonized ethnic other.

Indeed, the active production of images of *kisaeng* in the imperial metropole indicates how Japan adopted and redirected toward its own colonized subjects the Orientalist gaze through which Europe looked upon Japan. When Japanese artists and photographers in the early twentieth century began to produce genre pictures that portrayed everyday lives and customs of

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<sup>15</sup> Earlier in his life, Noda Kyūho (1879-1971) studied under Nihonga painter and printmaker Terasaki Kōgyō and spent a year studying at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896. Interestingly, he also received training under Kuroda Seiki, a prominent oil painter, in 1898. Noda visited Korea in 1935 to participate as a juror at the 14th Chōsen Fine Art Exhibition, and *Chōsen fūzoku* was drawn based on his preliminary sketches at a restaurant (O Maki no Chaya) in Pyongyang during his visit. The painting was exhibited in 1936 at a private academy called Kōdosha in Musashino, Tokyo, that he established in 1924. At the time of submission, it was originally titled *Kawa kasumu* (Misty river). Fukuoka Ajia Bijutsukan et al., *Nikkan kindai bijutsuka no manazashi: “Chōsen” de egaku* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2015), 288, 329.

colonial Korea, subject matter ranged widely from young children to the elderly, and from laborers and farmers to aristocrats; yet, the most frequently portrayed and sought after image was that of *kisaeng*, professional female entertainers who were commonly thought of as a sign of erotic Korean femininity in the popular imagination in the metropole, as were Japanese *geisha* in Europe. One of the reasons for such active production of *kisaeng* images, as suggested by art historian Kwŏn Haengga, was the high commodity value of such pictures, which Japan had experienced through the intense popularity of pictures of *geisha* in Europe.<sup>16</sup> Artists were able to draw more directly from the ethnographic modes in European Orientalist paintings and adopt in their representations of colonial Korea.

Another artist Tsuchida Bakusen created a painting titled *Heishō* (Korean bench) that he submitted to the 14<sup>th</sup> Imperial Art Exhibition of 1933 (Figure 5).<sup>17</sup> Painted based on his sketches during his visit to Korea in the same year, *Heishō* also features two *kisaeng* dressed in *chima chogori*, whose faces are almost identical but only differentiated by their posture and clothes. The standing *kisaeng* is wearing a white upper garment and a light green skirt wrapped around her body; this particular style of *chima chogori* that highlights the silhouette of the body was popular among *kisaeng* of this period. The other *kisaeng* sitting on the bench is dressed in a

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<sup>16</sup> Kwŏn Haengga, “Kūndae sigak munhwa wa kisaeng imiji,” 210. Also, Yi Kyōng-min, *Kisaeng ūn ōttōk'e mandŭro chyōnnŭn'ga*, 109-110, 143.

<sup>17</sup> Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) is one of the artists most frequently associated with the emergence of the new style of Nihonga (Shin-Nihonga). Earlier in his life, Bakusen established, with other four artists, Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōgai (Society for the Creation of a National Painting) in Kyoto in 1918. The members of the Kokuga Society proclaimed that they would pursue individuality and creative freedom by distancing themselves from government-sponsored exhibitions, while also devoting themselves to the development of national art (Nihonga). As art historian John D. Szostak observes, their text reveals their reception of the ideas of European modernist art movement that declared the autonomy of art, and in doing so, Bakusen and his collective shaped a new vision for Nihonga that sought for traditionalism and modernity in a mutually compatible way. Bakusen himself considered European oil paintings as a viable source of inspiration for his neotraditional paintings and studied in Europe from 1921 to 1923. John D. Szostak, *Painting Circles: Tsuchida Bakusen and Nihonga Collectives in Early 20th-Century Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 234-235.

white *chima chogori* in a more traditional style.<sup>18</sup> Surrounding these figures are, again, items that would add the local color of the colony: a mirror, shoes, and a bench, which was drawn based on the one that the artist saw in the Korean Art Museum (Chōsen Minzoku Bijutsukan).<sup>19</sup> A geometrical ordering of space and the almost identical round, passive faces and seemingly lifeless bodies of the *kisaeng* create a geometric balance but also add a static atmosphere to the picture, especially when compared to lively *kisaeng* in *Chōsen fūzoku* who are actively looking out the window.

Scholars have pointed out that such images of *kisaeng* in the metropole not only came to stand as representative images of Korean women, but also became conflated with the idea of colonial Korea and its land to Japanese viewers. Through an examination of writings by Japanese critics, art historian Kim Hyeshin suggests that they would often associate paintings of *kisaeng* with “Korea” or more specifically with “the old Korea,” which they were concerned would gradually fade away as Korea became more “Japanized.”<sup>20</sup> Indeed, both *Chōsen fūzoku* and *Heishō* reveal certain tropes of tradition in their representation of Korea. For instance, the landscape from the window in *Chōsen fūzoku* constructs an image of the colonial land as untainted by modernity. The overall muted color scheme in *Heishō*, especially the dominant color white, bespeaks the notion of whiteness that was frequently associated with the idea of Koreanness and Korean traditions in the colonial period. What is more, the *chima chogori* that

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<sup>18</sup> Because of the way she is seated on the bench, some scholars including Nishihara Daisuke and Chōng Hami have posited that Bakusen drew inspiration from French painter Edouard Manet’s *Olympia* (1863). Yet, I would like to point out that this specific way of sitting with one knee raised was perceived as a Korean custom by Japanese viewers during this period. Nishihara Daisuke, “Kindai Nihon kaiga no Ajia hyōshō,” *Nihon kenkyū: kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū senta kiyō* 26 (December 2002): 194. Chōng Hami, “Orient'allijūm hoehwa wa kŭ Ilbonjōk pyōnyong: Mane ūi ‘Ollaengp'ia’ wa kŭ omaju,” *Ilbon kŭndaehak yŏn'gu* 56 (2017): 280.

<sup>19</sup> Fukuoka Ajia Bijutsukan et al., *Nikkan kindai bijutsuka no manazashi: “Chōsen” de egaku* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2015), 288.

<sup>20</sup> Kim Hyeshin, “Discourse and Representations on the Kisaeng (Courtesan),” 18.

appear in both paintings are what were then considered to be in a traditional style, as opposed to modernized ones favored by so-called “New Women” (*sinyŏsŏng*).<sup>21</sup> Covering the whole body, the long, traditional *chima chogori* would have been considered more suitable for representations of colonial Korea, not the modified *chima chogori* with a shortened skirt that women with modern education often wore.<sup>22</sup>

Yet, in both paintings, a “traditional” Korea is represented and accessed precisely through a “modern” style of Nihonga. As art historian Alicia Volk has effectively shown, while Nihonga as a category and a set of styles draws from modes of painting predating the late nineteenth century, it was yet a modern invention—both categorical and stylistic—of the Meiji period, as much as its counterpart, Yōga (oil painting).<sup>23</sup> Moreover, from the late 1910s, Nihonga was further “modernized” by artists who attempted, through stylistic and thematic experiments and renovations, to redefine Nihonga as not merely limited to “tradition” but concerned with the “modern.”<sup>24</sup> Take, for example, Noda’s *Chōsen fūzoku*: if we take a closer look at two female figures, then we come to see the careful modulation of colors on their dress and hair, along with the delicate drawing of the folds on both upper garments and skirts. The way in which the bodies

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<sup>21</sup> My use of the terms “modern” and “traditional” in describing different forms of *chima chogori* is not a retrospective one but follows the distinction already made clear in an article published in 1940. In *Modan Nihon*’s second special edition on Korea in August 1940, an article titled “Chōsen-fuku no ikashikata” (How to make use of Korean dress) distinguishes two different forms of *chima chogori*: one is “from old times” (*korai no mono*), and the other is “in a modern style” (*gendaijū no mono*). According to the article, these two forms were differentiated through the length of skirt (shorter skirts for the latter), and the modified *chima chogori* were preferred by educated women (*interi josei*). See “Chōsen-fuku no ikashikata” in *Modan Nihon: Chōsen tokushū ban 1940*, ed. Han-II Pigyo Munhwa Yŏn’gu Sent’ō (Tokyo: Ōkura Jōhō Sābisu, 2009), 206-207.

<sup>22</sup> Art historian Ikeda Shinobu notes that at the very moment when Japanese artists were painting such images of Korean *kisaeng*, there was a heated debate concerning the idea of the “New Woman” in colonial Korea; yet, women of the colony with modern education were rarely mentioned or depicted in Japan (see Ikeda Shinobu, “The Allure of a ‘Woman in Chinese Dress,’” 377). Rather, it was images of *kisaeng* that were circulated as representative images of women in the colony; such images of “passive,” “submissive,” and “docile” *kisaeng* would have more conformed to the idea of colonial Korea in the popular imagination in the metropole.

<sup>23</sup> Alicia Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism: Yorozu Tetsugorō and Japanese Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 10.

<sup>24</sup> John D. Szostak, *Painting Circles*, 2.

are drawn, in terms of their shape and proportion, seems to reveal Noda's earlier training and interest in the European fine arts tradition. Indeed, in its careful rendering of colors, forms, lines, and silhouettes, the painting—and likewise Bakusen's *Heishō*—appears hardly traditional at all.

Then, what becomes evident in *Heishō* and *Chōsen fūzoku* is the temporal gap constructed between what is represented (matter) and how it is represented (style). These paintings of “traditional” Korea depicted through a “modern” mode of representation are manifestations of what Anne McClintock has described as the “temporal anomaly” of imperialism, further structured through a gendered difference. On the one hand, *kisaeng*, or colonial Korea that they stood for, are caught up in a “permanently anterior time” and embody “nostalgia for the past.”<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, “modernity” and “progressiveness” would be attributed to male painters of the metropole (and further extended to the viewers), who own a modern means of representation and at the same time have access to tradition.<sup>26</sup>

The rendering of spatial difference into temporal one (traditional/modern) in the paintings, however, sets up different modes of time from the barbaric/civilized binary constructed in the earlier representation of Korean woman by Torigoe Seiki in *Chōsen manga* (Figure 3). Such a change, along with the absence of an explicitly derogatory gaze, could be understood as how Korea occupied a different position—not merely as the other but also part of the empire—after more than two decades of the Japanese annexation. Indeed, there exist changes between the cartoon before the annexation and the paintings of the 1930s; yet, also evident is that the later images, as did Torigoe's illustration, demarcate the boundaries between Korea and Japan through the creation of a temporal hierarchy and thereby authorize Japan's own modernity.

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<sup>25</sup> Anne McClintock, “Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism, and the Family,” *Feminist Review* 44 (Summer 1993): 66-67.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

## Wartime Mobilization and the Reconfiguration of Korean Woman as Representation

One of the pages of *Modan Nihon*'s second special edition on Korea in August 1940 features a photographic image of a woman in *chima chogori* standing on the stairs (Figure 6).<sup>27</sup> With a smile on her face, she is standing upright and looking straight ahead. Though the image is not entirely clear, her *chima chogori*, however, is noticeably different from the ones featured in earlier paintings such as *Chōsen fūzoku* or *Heishō*. The skirt comes above her ankle—what was then considered to be a reformed and modernized form of *chima chogori*. Also, unlike earlier representations of *kisaeng* where Korean traditional objects would be placed in the background, there is nothing particularly Korean in this image, except the *chima chogori* dress. Even the very setting—judging from the column with an ionic volute—Sōkchojōn in Tōksu Palace, Seoul, does not seem point to Korean customs or tradition as in Noda's or Bakusen's paintings. Rather, its European-style architecture would have been more associated with and pointed to modernity.

What one sees in this image of a woman in a modified *chima chogori* is a departure from earlier representations of Korean women that mostly depicted a traditional Korea. Through her modern *chima chogori* and the very building she is standing on, the woman portrayed here

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<sup>27</sup> *Modan Nihon* (Modern Japan) was a monthly magazine in the metropole, initially launched by Kikuchi Kan of Bungei Shunjūsha in 1930 and continued to be published by Mondan Nihonsha from 1932 to 1940. Its first special edition on Korea was published in November 1939, and because of this first edition's remarkable success, a second edition came out in August of the following year. A strong link between the publication of *Modan Nihon*'s special editions on Korea and the demands of war is not difficult to find, as literary scholar Christina Yi notes, if one considers the circumstances surrounding the production of the special editions—including the increasingly strict censorship on publications, the “instruction and approval” given by the Government-General of Korea as written in the 1939 edition, and the editing process mostly dominated by Japanese elites. Yi, however, also points out that it was not a phenomenon driven solely by intellectuals and authorities; the huge success of the first special edition and the subsequent publication of another special edition on Korea inform us that “Korea” was a marketable commodity to audiences in the metropole. Christina Yi, *Fissured Languages of Empire: Gender, Ethnicity, and Literature in Japan and Korea, 1930s-1950s*, PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2013, 35-37.

embodies the “New Woman” that could stand for modernity of the colony.<sup>28</sup> As noted by art historian Ikeda Shinobu, the idea of the New Woman—woman with modern education—which sparked an intense debate in colonial Korea in the 1920s and 1930s, was rarely mentioned or depicted in the imperial metropole.<sup>29</sup> It is by the late 1930s that the New Woman began to appear in representations such as in this image. The emergence of the New Woman of Korea in Japanese visual culture, however, was contingent on the demands necessitated by the increasing importance of colonial Korea as a strategic base for the imperial expansion. This image of a Korean woman in a modern *chima chogori* is part of an advertisement for a lyric competition for Korean March Song, held by Modan Nihonsha and fully sponsored by the Government-General of Korea. The accompanied text writes that Modan Nihonsha is inviting proposals for lyrics for the Korean March that will “symbolize today’s powerfully advancing Korea” (*yakushin Chōsen*). The photographed woman in a modern form of *chima chogori*, standing in front of a European-style building, is constructed here as a suitable figure to embody an “advancing Korea.”

Such a new role of the colony was a change that coincided with the implementation of *kōminka* (imperialization) policies. With the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese empire began to enforce the *kōminka* policies in its colonies for the wartime mobilization. Under the slogan *naisen ittai* (mainland Japan and Korea as One Body), the official goal of *kōminka* in Korea was to make “Koreans” into “Japanese.” Yet, as literary scholar

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<sup>28</sup> Note that the discourse of the “New Woman” (*sin'yōsōng*) in the context of Korea is not the same as that of the “New Woman” (*atarashii onna*) in Japan: while the former emerged in the 1920s and sparked an intense debate throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the latter arose in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and was already out-of-date by the 1920s. While by the late 1930s, the New Woman seems to have no longer carried the connotation of being “new” in colonial Korea as well, the term itself continued to be used to describe women with modern education and appears several times in both 1939 and 1940 editions of *Modan Nihon*, where the term simply refers to educated women. In describing the female figure in the advertisement, I also use the word “New Woman” not necessarily with the connotation of being “new” or “radical,” but simply to refer to women who have received modern education.

<sup>29</sup> Ikeda Shinobu, “The Allure of a ‘Woman in Chinese Dress,’” 377.

Christina Yi argues, it was in effect about turning Koreans (colonial subjects) into useful “imperial subjects.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, *kōminka* required incorporating Koreans into imperial subjects and yet simultaneously excluding them from “Japan proper,” thus demanding a subtler division between Koreans and Japanese. The image of a Korean woman in a modern *chima chogori* standing on a modern building is mobilized here as a symbol that can stand for modernity; yet, it is precisely by being marked as “Korean” through her dress—a sign of inefaceable difference—that this Korean woman can enter the space of modernity. This simultaneous inclusion and exclusion relocates colonial Korea within the widened border of imperial Japan and yet outside of Japan proper. Likewise, *chima chogori* in the illustrations and photo montages firmly exist as a sign of alterity, whose prevalent presence may ensure that the ethnic boundaries be maintained, despite many reiterations of *naisen ittai* in *Modan Nihon*.

The New Woman was not the only one that became imbued with more importance in *Modan Nihon*; the housewife, as well, was mobilized as representation with their role reconfigured by the demands of war in the latter years of Japanese imperialism.<sup>31</sup> In Chŏn Hŭipok’s article titled “Chōsen katei fujin no seikatsuburi” (Life of Korean housewives) in *Modan Nihon*’s 1939 special edition, Korean female intellectual Chŏn describes Korean housewives as those who are burdened with domestic responsibilities and yet “complain not once

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<sup>30</sup> Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 34.

<sup>31</sup> While I differentiate the New Woman (woman with modern education) and the housewife in representations, I do not mean to suggest that they constituted separate or impermeable categories. As sociologist Kim Keong-il has pointed out, while women’s education gradually increased in colonial Korea, modern education for women focused on cultivating good mothers and wives (*ryōsai kenbo*). Similarly, historian Theodore Jun Yoo writes on how women’s education was reconfigured in 1920s as one that primarily aimed to prepare women as desirable brides and housewives, while domestic household was simultaneously reframed as one that requires training and “scientific management” for efficiency. This way, the potential threat imposed by educated women was minimized through containing them within traditional gender boundaries and within the space of domesticity. Kim Keong-il, *Sinyōsōng, kaenyōm kwa yōksa* (Seoul: P’urūn Yōksa, 2016), 49; Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 86-88.

and do their duties with all their heart.”<sup>32</sup> The author’s description of Korean housewives as self-sacrificing and docile is visually rendered in the accompanying illustrations (Figure 7). On the left side is a woman in *chima chogori* concentrating on her needlework in a winter night who embodies the virtue of submissive, hardworking Korean housewives as described by the author. On the right side is another figure of another Korean housewife in *chima chogori*, whose docility is implied through the eyes closed and the head facing downward.

Interestingly, differing roles of Korean woman in representation—the New Woman and the housewife—are articulated through different forms of *chima chogori*. Unlike the New Woman’s modified *chima chogori*, the housewife, more associated with traditional gender roles, appears in a traditional *chima chogori* with a long skirt. If the New Woman embodied an advancing Korea, then the housewife could stand for a traditional, timeless Korea on the other hand. Yet, while housewives appeared in traditional *chima chogori* in representations, rendered distinctly different from the figure in a modern *chima chogori* that embodies progress in the advertisement, they constituted another facet of womanhood needed by the empire in the wartime period.

The emphasis on women’s self-sacrifice in Chŏn Hŭipok’s article or the representations of housewives in *Modan Nihon* should be not be understood merely in the context of traditional gender roles. Rather, the housewife in traditional *chima chogori* represents yet another desirable femininity—respectable, docile, and self-sacrificing—that emerged out of and was necessitated by the demands of the war. In the early Meiji period, the institutionalization of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) as a national model of motherhood coincided with the nation-building

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<sup>32</sup> Chŏn Hŭipok, “Chōsen katei fujin no seikatsuburi,” in *Modan Nihon: Chōsen-ban 1939*, ed. Chōng Chi-ryōng (Tokyo: Ōkura Jōhō Sābisu, 2007), 153.

efforts, the establishment of a modern family system, and the beginning of women's education. In other words, the role and virtue of women as housewives was not merely a private or familial concern but emerged as a matter of the state, designed and regulated by the government. An intense increase in Japanese militarism in the 1930s, however, placed an even greater emphasis on the role of women in the expanding empire. As scholar Kate Taylor observes, housewives were turned into useful imperial subjects partaking the imperial expansion by producing and rearing children who would fight and die for the emperor.<sup>33</sup>

Then, what we see in these two different versions of womanhood as represented in *Modan Nihon* is a reconfiguration of the roles of women in the colony, as required by the wartime mobilization. Educated women of the colony, as represented by the New Woman, were needed for the promotion of the empire and its policies, just as intellectual Chōn Hūipok was able to take on the role of promoting morals and values of housewives to her fellow women through her writing. If the New Woman's place was in public spheres, it was housewives who could serve as useful imperial subjects in private spheres by producing and raising more imperial subjects.<sup>34</sup>

While *kisaeng* remained predominant in the illustrations and photo montages in *Modan Nihon*, there seems to have been ambivalence toward *kisaeng* who were not contained within public or private spheres but rather traversing in between. A photo montage titled "Kisen no ichinichi" [A day in the life of *kisaeng*] in the 1940 special edition of *Modan Nihon* features a

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<sup>33</sup> Kate Taylor, "From 'Wise Mother' to Prostitute: Women as Duality in Postwar Japan," in *War-tone Tales: Literature, Film and Gender in the Aftermath of World War II*, eds. Danielle Hipkins and Gill Plain (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 127.

<sup>34</sup> Yet, as I have suggested, the role of housewives was not merely confined within private spheres, as private spheres in wartime were never purely private but were rendered as an extension of the public, regulated by the empire.

day in the life of Yun Tansim, a *kisaeng* in Seoul (Figure 8). The photographs of Yun do not exhibit consistency but rather represent her as in between modern and traditional. On the middle of the left page, Yun is walking on the street, while her outfit is remarkably modern—her modernized *chima chogori* and high-heeled shoes—especially when compared to a more traditional *chima chogori* and shoes of the woman following her. Yet, on the bottom of the opposite page is an image of her standing in front of a traditional wardrobe and dressed in a long, traditional *chima chogori*. Such inconsistent images of *kisaeng* appear throughout illustrations and photo montages in *Modan Nihon*.

When the demands of war more strictly dictated the place to which women belonged, *kisaeng* do not seem to have been easily contained within categories of modernity/tradition or public/private. *Modan Nihon* reveals the desire and anxiety of male intellectuals in the metropole toward such women. For instance, in his open letter to a *kisaeng* named Pak Sölchungwöl, artist Tōgō Seiji complains how *kisaeng* have been losing their appeal by failing to exhibit the “old” culture of Korea (*furui bunka*)<sup>35</sup>; on the other hand, in his short essay titled “Kisen no bi” (The beauty of *kisaeng*), artist Yamakawa Shūhō praises upper-class *kisaeng* who do not lose their appeal as *kisaeng* even when they take advantage of modern things such as perms and irons.<sup>36</sup> These ambivalent attitudes demonstrate not only their intense interest in the *kisaeng*’s appearance but also their attempt to control and dictate women’s body and femininity.

In all, representations of Korean woman in *chima chogori* in *Modan Nihon* reveal the ways in which the place of women in the empire was redefined in the latter years of Japanese imperialism. Especially by the urgent demands of war, the category and roles of women were

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<sup>35</sup> “Pak Sölchungwöl kun e” in *Modan Nihon: Chōsen tokushū ban 1940*, 176.

<sup>36</sup> “Kisen no bi,” in *Modan Nihon: Chōsen-ban 1939*, 98-99.

also reconfigured, and it was different forms of *chima chogori* that enabled the articulation of women's differing roles in representation. At the same time, *chima chogori* in representations further functioned as an enduring sign of ethnic alterity, mobilized to maintain the boundaries of Japan/Korea and Japanese/Koreans that were contested and at times blurred with the implementation of the *kōminka* policies.

## Chapter 2.

### Schoolgirls in *Chima Chogori* and Women's Subjectivity

The film *Ao – Chong* (Blue – Chong, 2000), directed by third-generation Zainichi Korean filmmaker Lee Sang-il, centers around a protagonist named Taesŏng (also a third-generation Zainichi Korean) and is primarily set at a Korean school in Japan (*Chōsen gakkō*) that the protagonist goes to. The beginning of the film takes place in a classroom, where everything is seemingly “out of place”: portraits of former North Korean leaders Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il are hung above the blackboard, a female teacher in *chima chogori* is teaching Korean history while pointing to a map of the Korean peninsula, and everything is written in Korean language (Figure 9). This scene visually illustrates anthropologist Song Kichan's characterization of Korean schools as a culturally and linguistically separate space from the rest of Japanese society.<sup>37</sup> Established to provide ethnic education to Zainichi Korean children, Korean schools are places where students learn about Korean history, language, and culture and take classes in Korean, except Japanese language classes.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Song Kichan, “*Katararenai mono*” to *shite no Chōsen gakkō: Zainichi minzoku kyōiku to aidentiti poritikusu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2012), 213-219.

<sup>38</sup> There are largely two types of Korean schools in Japan: Chongryon-affiliated *Chōsen gakkō* and Mindan-affiliated *Kankoku gakkō*. Chongryon (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan; *Chae-Ilbon Chosōnin Ch'ongryōnhaphoe* in Korean; *Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin Sōrengōkai* in Japanese; also abbreviated as Sōren) and Mindan (Korean Residents Union in Japan; *Chae-Ilbon Taehan Min'guk Mindan* in Korean; *Zai-Nihon Daikan Minkoku Mindan* in Japanese) are two main organizations for Zainichi Koreans. The political division of the Korean peninsula was reproduced in these organizations in Japan: Chongryon has close ties to North Korea, whereas Mindan sides with South Korea. Both organizations have operated Korean schools in Japan, yet with a much larger number of *Chōsen gakkō*. Throughout this chapter, the term “Korean school” refers specifically to *Chōsen gakkō*, as those Chongryon-affiliated schools are the ones that have adopted *chima chogori* uniforms for female students.

One of the prominent ways in which Korean schools create a visually distinct cultural space is through *chima chogori* dress that female students and teachers wear inside the school. Another classroom scene in *Ao – Chong* gives a good glimpse at *chima chogori* uniforms for female students at Korean schools (Figure 10). In this scene, female students are wearing school uniforms that consist of a black skirt and a white upper garment with a long ribbon. While retaining basic elements of *chima chogori*, the *chima chogori* uniforms that the students are wearing are the ones that have been modified (or “school-uniform-ified”) and made fit for everyday wear: skirts are shortened and come above the ankle, and colors are made extremely simple and plain. The *chima chogori* uniform, which has become a symbol of Korean schools, traces its history back to the early 1960s when female students and teachers began to wear *chima chogori* to school that later became institutionalized as the official uniform for female students.

Throughout the film *Ao – Chong*, a female character named Nami—Taesŏng’s childhood friend and now classmate—appears in a *chima chogori* uniform and plays an important role in intensifying yet eventually helping with the protagonist’s identity struggle. Experiencing an identity crisis where he has to ponder upon what it means to be a “Zainichi Korean,” Taesŏng quits his Korean school’s baseball team right before a regional competition against a Japanese team; he finds himself unsure of whether he truly belongs to the “Korean” team and what it means to compete against a “Japanese” team, when he identifies himself as both Korean and Japanese yet neither fully Korean nor Japanese. In her attempt to encourage Taesŏng to rejoin the team, Nami invites him to play ball with her. Dressed in her *chima chogori* uniform and holding a ball and a bat, Nami looks Taesŏng in the face and assertively tells him to return to the team—in other words, to embrace his Zainichi Korean identity (Figure 11). Her words are powerful and compelling, even more so because she herself is in her *chima chogori*, embodying and embracing

her own identity as a Zainichi Korean. Furthermore, in the continuing scene, Nami moves her arms to hit the ball, swings the bat, stretches her legs in order to find a good batting stance, and runs to catch the ball (Figure 12). It is the very shape and form of her *chima chogori* uniform that enables her to move so freely: the wide skirt that comes above her ankle, along with the upper garment that has wide sleeves, allows her to run, spread her arms and legs, and move as she would like. The functionality of *chima chogori*, which often appeared in colonial discourses that attempted to define and dictate femininity through the regulation of dress, is manifested here in Nami's movement and action made possible by the *chima chogori* dress.<sup>39</sup>

This powerful and active figure of the Zainichi Korean schoolgirl in *Ao – Chong* makes for an interesting juxtaposition with another schoolgirl figure in the film *Go* (2001), directed by Japanese filmmaker Yukisada Isao and based on a novel with the same title by third-generation Zainichi Korean writer Kaneshiro Kazuki (2000). A schoolgirl in a *chima chogori* uniform appears in a scene where a Japanese boy approaches her on a subway platform after having long admired her; yet, she misunderstands his intention and turns her head around in her attempt to signal for help, while her body and shoulders shrink back (Figure 13). Such movement and gesture of the schoolgirl acutely capture the heavy burdens imposed upon female students of Korean schools, whose *chima chogori* uniforms prevent any possibility of passing, and the heightened tensions of the 1990s and early 2000s in Japan, where female students in *chima chogori* became an easy, visible target for hate crimes against Zainichi Koreans by far-right Japanese nationalists.

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<sup>39</sup> The functionality of *chima chogori* was noted by colonial authorities such as Minami Jirō, who served as a Governor General of Korea from 1936 to 1942. Comparing *chima chogori* with Chinese and Japanese women's dresses that he found less functional, Minami saw Korean women's dress as most recommendable for its functionality and economic efficiency in an interview article titled "Minami sōtoku to no ichi mon ichi tōki" in *Yōsōng*, a women's magazine in colonial Korea (*Yōsōng*, November 1938, 21-22).

Both of these contrasting representations of the schoolgirls in the *chima chogori* uniform illustrate what Kaja Silverman describes as clothing's "profoundly determining" effects on living bodies: dress at once produces the body by shaping its contour, posture, and movement and creates the most rudimentary distinction between self and other—a necessary condition of subjectivity.<sup>40</sup> In other words, clothing is not simply external to one's identity, but fundamentally conjoined with embodied subjectivity and experience. Silverman's point is manifested in the ways in which subjectivity and movement of each schoolgirl figure in the *chima chogori* uniform, as well as their relationship to surroundings, are produced and conditioned by the very clothing that they are dressed in. At the same time, these schoolgirl figures show us two different ways in which *chima chogori* shape and condition the wearer's body, movement, and agency: when juxtaposed together, these competing representations point us to the ambivalent nature of *chima chogori* that at once enables and delimits the wearer's subjectivity.

This chapter further illuminates the issue of women's subjectivity in the reemergence and reconfiguration of *chima chogori* as a form of resistance for Zainichi Koreans in the postwar period and onwards. Drawing particular attention to *chima chogori* uniforms in Korean schools, I discuss how they emerged from and continue to manifest enduring legacies of imperialism, gender difference, and women's search for their place in society. The practice of *chima chogori* uniforms, I argue, should be understood not in the binary of agency and passivity, but as a process through which Zainichi Korean women have strategically negotiated their own position as the ethnic and gendered other in Japan and also within Zainichi Korean communities. At the same time, I point out how the uneven field of cultural production often leads to the absence and

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<sup>40</sup> Kaja Silverman, "Fragments of a Fashionable Discourse," in *On Fashion*, eds. Shari Benstock and Suzanne Ferriss (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 190-191.

erasure of such negotiations in representations of schoolgirls in *chima chogori*, most notably in the film *Go*.

### **Emergence of Zainichi Koreans and the *Chima Chogori* Uniform**

After Japan's defeat to the Allied Powers in World War II and the subsequent termination of its colonial rule in Korea in 1945, many Koreans in Japan were repatriated, while approximately 600,000 Koreans remained in Japan, with the unstable political climate on the peninsula—especially its division into North and South—hindering further repatriation. With the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952, Koreans in Japan were stripped of Japanese nationality and rendered stateless.<sup>41</sup> This is yet another manifestation of what Hannah Arendt has described as the “inadequacy of the Peace Treaties,” or the insufficiency of postwar reconstruction of nation-states to deal with legacies of imperialism: when imperialism operated through the continuous expansion of the borders of the empire, the postwar international treaties demanded that the border of a state be redrawn through the formation of a homogeneous nationality.<sup>42</sup> Such conflation of nation and state in the aftermath of imperialism resulted in the emergence of a

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<sup>41</sup> During Japan's colonial rule in Korea, Koreans in Japan were regarded as Japanese nationals, although they were considered as second-class citizens and not guaranteed same rights and services as citizens of Japan proper. During the Allied Occupation, though further deprived of significant rights including suffrage, Koreans in Japan remained largely as Japanese nationals. Yet, throughout the period of postwar reconstruction of the Japanese state, the Japanese government set up a series of legal foundations for the exclusion of Koreans from Japanese nationals. For instance, historian John W. Dower underscores the term *Nihon kokumin* in a revised draft of the Constitution in 1946. While it could be translated into English “the people of Japan,” yet in Japanese, it could more exclusively refer to “Japanese nationals”; eventually this nuanced term provided a constitutional base for eliminating equal protection under the law for resident aliens—Japan's former colonial subjects (see John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 393-394). A series of subsequent laws continued to create and assert an exclusive notion of nationality. The Alien Registration Law of 1947 stated that Koreans in Japan belong to “Korea” (*Chōsen*) based on their family registers (*koseki*), forced to register as aliens, and required to carry alien registration cards at all times (see Erin Aeran Chung, “The Politics of Contingent Citizenship,” 155). The Diet further passed the 1950 Nationality Act that perpetuated the principle of *jus sanguinis* that continued from the Meiji law of 1899; and it was the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952 that officially deprived Koreans of Japanese nationality and citizenship.

<sup>42</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1976), 270.

massive number of stateless persons who not only lost their citizenship but became further deprived of any solid protection of human rights.<sup>43</sup> Crucially, as Arendt asserts throughout her discussion of nation-states, while the stateless population has been described as constituting a “problem,” they are in effect only to be symptomatic of a larger problem inherent to the structure of the nation-state that solidifies its border through exclusion of non-nationals already residing in the territory.

Consequently, what became evident in the postwar reconstruction of the Japanese nation-state was the continuation of imperialist systems that constantly defined resident Koreans as falling outside of the borders of the nation. As literary scholar Christina Yi observes, the discursive and institutional methods of differentiation, such as blood-based affiliation or family register (*koseki*), that had been utilized to police the boundaries of the nation in the colonial period remained in place and were easily and swiftly mobilized by the Japanese government in redrawing the line of the Japanese nation.<sup>44</sup> When the Japanese government constantly pressured that Korean children in Japan be educated at Japanese schools and that Korean schools comply with the requirements and standard curriculum of Japanese compulsory education, it was also perceived to be yet another iteration of the colonial policies that aimed at assimilation of colonial

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<sup>43</sup> In the case of Zainichi Koreans, social anthropologist Sonia Ryang has pointed out that with the signing of the San Francisco Treaty, the Japanese government freed itself from any responsibility for Koreans in Japan, who were now denied the legal protection of their rights. While Ryang does mention that Koreans in Japan did receive “livelihood protection” (*seikatsuhogo*) provided by local municipalities, this livelihood protection was provided in the name of “benevolence,” not in a stable, secure form of protection. As noted by historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki, it was the most minimal form of assistance given to the very poor to prevent complete social chaos in impoverished Korean communities where a more than three-quarters of working-age Koreans were either unemployed or only making unreliable earnings. See Sonia Ryang, “The Denationalized Have No Class: The Banishment of Japan’s Korean Minority—A Polemic,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 170; and Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Freedom and Homecoming: Narratives of Migration in the Repatriation of Zainichi Koreans to North Korea,” in *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, eds. Sonia Ryang and John Lie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 49.

<sup>44</sup> Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language*, 80.

subjects and restricted their access to education of Korean language and culture.<sup>45</sup> Here, Japanese “nation” was defined as a much larger entity to encompass Koreans; yet, assimilation did not guarantee their access to “Japan proper,” and this logic of inclusion and exclusion during the colonial period continued to the postwar period.

It was within this context that *chima chogori* reemerged in postwar Japan. While *chima chogori* continued to function largely as a signifier of ethnic difference as in the colonial period, ethnic dress was now taken up by Zainichi Koreans who made it into their own symbol. Under the continued suppression of Korean ethnicity, proclaiming and embracing one’s own ethnic difference through the practice of wearing *chima chogori* was a strategic stance taken by Zainichi Koreans in their response to what they perceived to be the legacies of colonialism that continued to exclude them from the borders of the nation. *Chima chogori* became a powerful bodily enactment of resistance for Zainichi Koreans, by making visible one’s identity, resistance, and agency.

One of the most pronounced ways in which Zainichi Koreans took up *chima chogori* was in its use as uniform, as institutionalized in Chongryon-affiliated Korean schools across Japan in the 1960s. Sociologist Han Tong-hyŏn’s study on the emergence of the *chima chogori* uniform provides a detailed account of the active role played by female students and teachers of Korean schools in embodying resistance through dressing themselves in *chima chogori*.<sup>46</sup> Refuting the widespread assumption that the *chima chogori* was merely imposed onto young female students

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<sup>45</sup> On the struggle for ethnic education during the Allied Occupation of Japan, Inokuchi Hiromitsu provides an overview in his chapter titled “Korean Ethnic Schools in Occupied Japan, 1945-52,” in *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*, ed. Sonia Ryang (New York: Routledge, 2000), 140-156.

<sup>46</sup> For instance, one of her interlocuters describes how sailor suit uniforms (*sērā-fuku*, or ordinary female school uniforms in Japan) had little appeal for her, who then decided to wear *chima chogori* to school and became the first to do so in her first year of junior high school. Han Tong-hyŏn, *Chima chogori seifuku no minzokushi (esunoguraŭi)*, 118-119.

rather than they voluntarily chose to wear it, Han's study illustrates how the institutionalization of *chima chogori* uniforms was initiated by women who began to wear *chima chogori* to school in the early 1960s.

Despite Han's claims that the emergence of the *chima chogori* uniform should be seen as women's active expression of their ethnic identity and pride, however, some of the details that she provides hint at the more complicated nature of agency. For instance, she mentions how the *Chosŏn Sinbo*, a newspaper published by Chongryon, frequently featured articles that seem to recommend wearing *chima chogori* around the 1960s.<sup>47</sup> Han also notes that it was mostly men—teachers of Korean schools and authorities of Chongryon—who eventually made the decision on the institutionalization of the *chima chogori* uniform; moreover, the decision was prompted by favorable comments that North Korean government authorities made after seeing young Zainichi Korean students in *chima chogori*.<sup>48</sup> The adoption of *chima chogori* as uniforms was indeed in line with the stance taken by Chongryon that, according to Sonia Ryang, strategically defined itself as a North Korean—in other words, foreign—organization in Japan and claimed ethnonational autonomy in the late 1950s.<sup>49</sup>

Piecing these elements together, the emergence of *chima chogori* uniforms in the 1960s

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-112.

<sup>49</sup> Ryang points out that in the early postwar period, leftist Koreans in Japan located themselves within Japan by declaring themselves as Japan's ethnic minority and envisioning a transformation of Japanese society; this self-understanding, however, became radically altered when Chongryon was established and defined itself as strongly North Korean-affiliated in 1955. Such a stance taken by Chongryon was in ways that would emphasize and assert ethnic difference, including the strengthening of ethnic education (*minzoku kyōiku*); and *chima chogori* does symbolize this ethnonational autonomy that Chongryon claimed. As Song Kichan has pointed out, it should also be noted that Chongryon's essentialist stance became an effective resistance strategy to the pressures of assimilation into Japanese society, but also has often been in conflict with the demands of reality, as it distanced Zainichi Koreans from the rest of Japanese society. Sonia Ryang, "Visible and Vulnerable: The Predicament of Koreans in Japan," in *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, eds. Sonia Ryang and John Lie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 65; Song Kichan, "*Katararenai mono*" to *shite no Chōsen gakkō*, 120.

does not appear to be simply an expression of women's agency. Rather, I suggest considering its emergence as a process through which women negotiated their position within Zainichi Korean communities, where they were gendered, and Japanese society, in which they were also ethnically othered. The practice of wearing *chima chogori* could be seen as a strategic approach taken by women in their response to the legacies of imperialism and also in their attempt to participate in the largely male-dominated discourses of ethnonationalism and render their agency visible.<sup>50</sup>

### Gender Difference in the Practice of Dressing and Media Representations

In a documentary titled *Uri hakkyo* (Our school, 2006) that features the Hokkaido Korean School, director Kim Myōngjun asks female and male students about their thoughts on the *chima chogori* uniform. In his response, a male student keenly points out the significance of visually representing one's ethnic identity through *chima chogori* within Japan, which he observes is starkly different from the context of South Korea. Then, he asks himself, "why do male students wear blazers, not *paji chogori* [Korean ethnic dress for men]?" To this question he is not able to give an answer.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Viewed this way, the practice of dressing oneself in *chima chogori* bespeaks Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*: a series of everyday, repetitive practices is not merely a passive replica of an ideology, but rather a manifestation of internalized social scripts that, in turn, produces a socially recognizable identity. The practice of wearing *chima chogori*, as *habitus*, could be seen as an individually and collectively performed practice through which the wearer's internalized ideological position is manifested, and through which the body is turned into a culturally recognizable subject in public space. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 170.

<sup>51</sup> Han Tong-hyōn answers this question of gender difference in her book, where she points out the temporal gap between men's and women's dress. Han notes how men's clothes were quickly replaced by western-style dress (*yōfuku*) already by the 1910s. She suggests that when *chima chogori* reemerged in postwar, *paji chogori* on the other hand was not considered an option, with limited access to *paji chogori*—very few people were wearing it by the 1950s, compared to *chima chogori*. Han Tong-hyōn, *Chima chogori seifuku no minzokushi (esunogurafi)*, 215–216.

The issue of gender difference in the practice of dressing in Korean schools became pronounced with a series of incidents that came to be collectively called *chima chogori kirisaki jiken*, or *chima chogori* cutting incidents in the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>52</sup> Whenever the tensions between North Korea and Japan were heightened over the issues such as North Korea's nuclear program or abduction of Japanese citizens, a number of female students of Chongryon-affiliated Korean schools, who were easily identified by their uniforms, were harassed in public by far-right Japanese nationalists, most notably through the physical cutting of their *chima chogori* uniforms. Through the recurring assaults on female students in *chima chogori*, followed by repeated news reports, the word *chima chogori* became widely circulated in Japan. As literary scholar Oh Ŭnyōng speculates, the high-profile incidents and news reports eventually made *chima chogori* the most common name for Korean ethnic dress, replacing its previous name, *Chōsen-fuku* (Korean dress).<sup>53</sup>

The most fundamental problem in the *chima chogori* cutting incidents, of course, lies in the continued suppression of Korean ethnicity and the unacceptance of difference by far-right nationalists in Japan. Yet, the incidents also inform us of the disproportionate burden placed on female students to visually represent ethnic identity through their dress that precludes any possibility of passing, when male students have worn a set of blazer, shirt, and pants that are

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<sup>52</sup> A total of 124 cases of such assaults on Korean female students were reported just from April to June 1994. See Sonia Ryang, *North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 182. Yet, it is not that female students did not encounter any harassment in the earlier years. George Hicks's interview accounts even in the early 1960s female students often experienced sexual harassment and eroticized gaze in public spaces. It was in the 1990s that attacks on female students became more pronounced and more violent. George Hicks, *Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean Minority and the Japanese* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997) 64.

<sup>53</sup> Oh Ŭnyōng, "Zainichi Chōsenjin bungaku ni okeru 'chima·chogori' no hyōshō," *Hyōgen kenkyū* 90 (October 2009): 57. While the previous name, *Chōsen-fuku* (Korean dress), was predominantly used to refer to women's dress (in *Modan Nihon*, for instance), its meaning does not preclude the presence of men's dress; yet, the name *chima chogori* makes it clear that it refers exclusively to women's dress. The word *chogori* is sometimes used in order to avoid such a connotation and include both men's (*paji chogori*) and women's (*chima chogori*); yet, it seems undeniable that *chima chogori* is a more widely circulated term in Japan.

visually indistinguishable from ordinary Japanese school uniforms. Moreover, in addressing the issue of gender difference in the school uniforms, scholars such as Sonia Ryang and Song Kichan have acutely pointed out how the gendered practice of the school uniforms was not only maintained by, but also itself strengthened the male-centered structure and strict gender roles within the schools.<sup>54</sup> Their points resonate with director Kim Myōngjun's observation in *Uri hakkyo* that this uneven practice of dressing seems to intensify the gender division and conflict between female and male students.<sup>55</sup>

The gendered difference in the practice of dressing manifests, again, nationalism's "temporal anomaly" suggested by Anne McClintock: the embodiment of tradition and continuity by female students enables their counterparts, male students, to represent the progressive agent of modernity and discontinuity.<sup>56</sup> Such division of gender roles that seems to be already embedded in the school uniforms is also reproduced through the ways in which male and female characters are constructed differently in the aforementioned films. Both schoolgirl figures in *Ao* – *Chong* and *Go* exist as a vehicle for the growth of male characters, playing a significant role in developing and moving forward the coming-of-age plot.<sup>57</sup> The female characters are configured

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<sup>54</sup> It seems necessary to clarify here that Ryang and Song do not regard female students as passively conforming to given gender roles. Rather, Ryang rejects such a unidirectional understanding of female participation in nationalistic movements, and Song pays attention to the ways in which female students perform and negotiate their identity through their *chima chogori* uniform. Sonia Ryang, "Visible and Vulnerable," 72-75; Song Kichan, "*Katararenai mono*" to *shite no Chōsen gakkō*, 157-158.

<sup>55</sup> For instance, the documentary *Uri hakkyo* features female and male students having a small argument over wearing sweaters inside or on top of their school uniforms. While it is possible for male students to wear layers of clothes underneath their shirt and blazer, female students cannot do the same and are not allowed to wear sweaters on top of their *chima chogori*. Thus, in the scene, female students complain not only about the notorious cold in Hokkaido that they have to endure, but also about inequality that emerges from the strictly gendered practice of dressing.

<sup>56</sup> Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism, and the Family," 66.

<sup>57</sup> In *Go*, the death of Chōng-il—who dies in his attempt to help the schoolgirl—profoundly impacts the protagonist, Sugihara, who has deeply admired Chōng-il for his character and intellect. In a story where Sugihara experiences his identity crisis as a third-generation Zainichi Korean, Chōng-il's death signals a turning point of the plot, as protagonist Sugihara then decides to finally disclose to his girlfriend Sakurai that he is Zainichi Korean. This way,

always in relation to men, and their femininity, especially in the case of *Go*, seems to be crucial only in the sense that it enables the articulation of male subjectivity. For instance, the schoolgirl's restrained body and subjectivity in *Go* eventually necessitate intervention by a male subject, Chŏng-il, who comes to help her (but is stabbed with a knife by the terrified Japanese boy; see Figure 13). Here, Chŏng-il's hypermasculinity and heroic death are enabled by and starkly contrast with the schoolgirl's femininity that appears inherently vulnerable. In *Ao – Chong*, while Nami appears confident and assertive in the baseball scene, she is also unable to respond back to harassment from her male classmates, only to lament over it. It is Taesŏng that retaliates for her through physical violence, and this scene works to articulate his hypermasculinity in a way similar to how Chŏng-il's masculinity is constructed in *Go*.

The film *Go*, in particular, reproduces a highly stereotypical representation of the Zainichi Korean schoolgirl, who exists solely as a vulnerable victim in need of protection. As noted by scholar Mika Ko, when the film first came out, it not only achieved considerable commercial success and received various film awards in Japan unlike earlier films that feature Zainichi Koreans as main characters, but it was also seen as presenting a new, unconventional representation of Zainichi Koreans.<sup>58</sup> In its representation of the Zainichi Korean schoolgirl, however, *Go* ends up presenting her as a completely powerless, voiceless victim, and her vulnerability becomes a ground through which to construct the male character Chŏng-il's masculinity.

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the scene where the schoolgirl in *chima chogori* functions as a significant moment in the film's coming-of-age plot, and the schoolgirl figure, who remains unnamed and nearly voiceless and disappears right after the scene, seems to merely exist as a vehicle necessary for the articulation of masculinity, the protagonist's growth, and the development of the plot.

<sup>58</sup> For instance, the main character Sugihara is portrayed not as a vulnerable victim (stereotypical representation Zainichi Koreans) but as a good-looking, attractive, and strong protagonist. Mika Ko, *Japanese Cinema and Otherness: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 160-161.

In making an argument about the way in which the film *Go* portrays the schoolgirl, I do not mean to suggest that Kaneshiro Kazuki's original novel does the same. Rather, in its rendering of the original novel, the film ends up simplifying the context by taking out details provided in the novel that address larger issues at play. For one, the original novel lists reasons why the female student cannot help but feel intimidated by the Japanese boy's approach:

She jolted reflexively. The suspicions of terrorist activity and abductions of Japanese citizens by North Korea, those allegations of nuclear weapon development, all weighed heavily on the fragile shoulders from which her *chima chogori* hanged. There was one time when, on that very platform, a fiftyish-year-old salaryman had punched her in the shoulder.<sup>59</sup>

While I do not deny that the schoolgirl in the novel plays the role of a victim as well, the details provided in the text do address and problematize how her body in *chima chogori* becomes politicized with the aggravated tensions between North Korea and Japan, as well as how her past experience becomes a trauma that profoundly shapes her present experience and interaction with others. Other details in the novel that create further implications of the scene—such as the intention of the Japanese boy in approaching the schoolgirl, and his suicide due to his unbearable feeling of guilt following the incident—have also been deleted. Such difference between the novel and the film might have emerged from their differing conditions of production, including the particularity of the medium (for one, films are usually intended for a much larger audience than novels) and different positionalities of the director and the writer.

Crucially, the stereotypical representation of Zainichi Korean women in the film *Go* emerges out of and manifests the uneven field of cultural production, where the gendered ethnic other are often easily presented through a media image that conforms to and perpetuates, rather

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<sup>59</sup> Kaneshiro Kazuki, *Go* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), 147

than contests, the popular imagination for a wider audience. Seen this way, the film *Go* represents the schoolgirl through a stereotypical, yet carefully packaged image for public consumption in Japan, in a similar way that earlier representations of Korean women in *chima chogori* during the colonial period did for the audience in the metropole. And what becomes largely absent in such representations is women's own story—how women in *chima chogori* negotiate, resist, or cope with their position and place.<sup>60</sup>

### **Disappearance of the *Chima Chogori* Uniform?**

Due to the continued harassments of Zainichi Korean students and the proliferation of hate speech in Japan, Korean schools across the country adopted and enforced so-called “Number 2” uniforms for female students since the late 1990s. Visually indistinguishable from ordinary Japanese school uniforms, the “Number 2” uniforms were created in order to ensure safety of female students in a society where the articulation of Korean identity and ethnic difference could easily become a target of assaults by far-right nationalists. On their way to and from school, female students now wear the “Number 2” uniforms, while changing into *chima chogori* uniforms in school. Because most of the students wear their *chima chogori* uniform only inside the school or, if outside, on special occasions, *chima chogori* uniforms are hardly seen on the street in today's Japan. Such disappearance of *chima chogori* from the street is a manifestation of the enduring legacies of imperialism that continue to deny and suppress ethnic

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<sup>60</sup> By having female students speak about their own thoughts on the *chima chogori* uniform, the aforementioned documentary *Uri hakkyo* presents varied responses from the students that show their more complicated feelings and negotiations. For instance, many complain about the practicality of the dress, for it is not warm enough to protect them from the severe cold in Hokkaido; at the same time, they also express a feeling of affection toward the uniform (“it is cold but cute”) or articulate how *chima chogori* shapes their subjectivity and experience by giving them courage and raising their self-consciousness as a Korean person (*Chosŏn saram*).

difference within the nation.

While *chima chogori* uniforms have largely disappeared from public eye, they remain as a suppressed yet powerful symbol of resistance against the persistent measures of discrimination: in the midst of ongoing protests and struggles against the exclusion of Korean high schools from government subsidies, *chima chogori* appears in protestors' leaflets, banners, and badges (Figure 14).<sup>61</sup> Made by a South Korean non-governmental organization called *Mongdangyŏnp'il* (Mongdang Pencil: People Working with Korean Schools), the orange-colored badge creatively incorporates a collar (*kit*) and ribbon (*korŭm*) of a *chogori* into the form of awareness ribbons.<sup>62</sup> *Chima chogori* seems to be particularly a fit symbol here, as it is a sign that evokes multiple references, from the continued suppression of ethnic difference (including the current measures of discrimination against Korean schools) to ongoing resistance and struggles. In its enduring presence, or even in its disappearance from the street, the *chima chogori* uniform continues to point us to the unresolved legacies of imperialism that still haunt Japan to this day, along with concerted efforts to confront and challenge such legacies.

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<sup>61</sup> In 2010, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (Monbukagakushō) made all high school education tuition-free, except in the case of Chongryon-affiliated Korean schools; funding from local governments that the schools had relied on has also been cut off. The government has justified its decisions for a reason that there is a possibility of misappropriating the funds, due to the close ties between North Korea and Chongryon. Among supporters of Korean schools, however, many contend that Korean schools have been made a scapegoat for Japan's national policies against North Korea, especially considering the state sanctions were enacted when the tensions between Japan and North Korea were heightened. Furthermore, for them, the denial of funding by the national government manifests to be the continued legacies of imperialism that deny the access to ethnic education and enforce assimilation into Japanese society.

<sup>62</sup> *Mongdangyŏnp'il* was established after the 3.11 earthquake as part of efforts to help Korean schools in Japan affected by the earthquake and has continued to work toward raising awareness among South Korean audiences about Korean schools and engage in political activism against discrimination of Zainichi Koreans and Korean schools (*Mongdangyŏnp'il*, the organization's website, accessed August 16, 2019, <http://www.mongdang.org>). Rather than adhering to the North/South divisions of the past, the organization appears more attentive to the shared history between two Koreas and Japan—the continued legacies of Japanese colonialism, the Cold War, and the prolonged partition of the peninsula. When the *chima chogori* uniform in Korean schools used to symbolize ethnic autonomy that aligned with North Korea, the way in which this South Korean organization has taken up the *chima chogori* in its badges perhaps challenges such meaning and resituates the dress within the shared history between two Koreas and Japan, reflecting the organization's stance to overcome and transcend the North/South divisions.

## Chapter 3.

### *Chima Chogori* in the Works of Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji

Shimada Yoshiko (b. 1959) is a Japanese artist who has long engaged the issues of gender, history, and cultural memory through a broad range of media—print, installation, photography, video, and performance. Her installation *Look at Me / Look at You* critically interrogates questions of history, memory, and women's subjectivity through exploration of women's differing roles in wartime. On the other hand, Oh Haji (b. 1976) is a third-generation Zainichi artist with South Korean citizenship, who is trained as a textile and fiber artist and utilizes techniques of weaving, dyeing, tying, and stitching. One of the recurring themes in her works is memory, and her works that I examine in this chapter, *Three Generations of Time* and *Three Flowers*, are also deeply concerned with the issue of memory.

Shimada and Oh, coming from different subject positions, present us with heterogeneous versions of *chima chogori* that evoke different layers of history and memory embedded in the dress. While highlighting their differing approaches, this chapter situates their works within the history of representations of *chima chogori* in Japan and demonstrates how they address and challenge earlier representations of *chima chogori*. What plays a key role in their critique is, I suggest, the intense recognition of their own positionality vis-à-vis the other: in this self-awareness, each artist opens up an ethics of alterity that enables a broader critique of the imperialist systems that still persist in Japan to this day. I further argue that Shimada and Oh also make interventions in the representational and discursive practices of *chima chogori* that have

been largely dominated by men, particularly through their re-articulation of womanhood.

**Shimada Yoshiko, *Look at Me / Look at You* (1995)**

Shimada Yoshiko's *Look at Me / Look at You* was a central piece in her exhibition at Ota Fine Arts, Tokyo in 1995 (Figure 2). In this installation, a one-way mirrored glass divides the space into two: on the one side is a wedding dress overlaid with an apron, and on the other side is a white *chima chogori* worn with a *yukata* on top. In her early works of the 1990s, Shimada has explored the place and role of women in history and their relationship to the state especially through the use of historical photographs and symbols of the wartime Japan. In *Look at Me / Look at You*, as well, each of the dresses functions as a specific cultural, historical symbol, through which Shimada references women's differing roles in wartime.

The apron and wedding dress on the one side together visualize how women embodied the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideology. Embracing the ideal of wartime motherhood became a way for many women to traverse the space, go out of homes, and enter the public sphere, one that had not been accessible for ordinary housewives.<sup>63</sup> The apron (*kappōgi*) featured in the installation is one that was adopted as a uniform by the Japanese Women's National Defense Association (Dai Nippon Kokubō Fujin-kai), an organization established in 1932 that aimed to raise funds for the military: it was through dressing themselves up in a symbol of motherhood that women were able to leave their homes and advance into the public sphere.<sup>64</sup> Through this symbol and its history, Shimada exposes a seemingly contradictory yet strong connection between motherhood and wartime collaboration—despite the common association in

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<sup>63</sup> Hagiwara Hiroko, "Comfort Women: Women of Conformity: The Work of Shimada Yoshiko," in *Generations and Geographies of the Visual Arts*, ed. Griselda Pollock (New York: Routledge, 1996), 256.

<sup>64</sup> Ikeda Shinobu, "Imperial Desire and Female Subjectivity," 251.

modern Japan of motherhood to sanctity and purity, visually evoked by the color white in this installation. Juxtaposed with the symbols of motherhood is the other end of womanhood: a white *chima chogori* overlaid with a *yukata* is a combination of dresses often worn by so-called “comfort women,” who were exploited under systematic violence during the wartime. Here, the color white carries a different connotation, evoking the notion of whiteness commonly associated with the idea of “Korea” in the colonial period.

This work came out in the very early years when “comfort women” survivors came out and spoke about their experiences.<sup>65</sup> Shimada, however, cautions against a reading of her work simply as a work about “comfort women.” She claims, “It was about us, the Japanese women who turned a blind eye to the issue for a half a century after the war.”<sup>66</sup> The “blind eye” of Japanese women is visually rendered through the one-way mirrored glass that Shimada has placed between two sets of dresses: on the side of the wedding dress and apron, viewers are only able to see their own reflection, while on the other side, they can see through. When vision shapes the way in which we understand ourselves and the world, Shimada sharply critiques the

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<sup>65</sup> For many decades, Korean “comfort women” survivors kept silent about their experiences; speaking out as former “comfort women” was a courageous and taxing task, especially in the patriarchal society of Korea. In the early 1990s, “comfort women” survivors broke the silence and demanded the Japanese government’s apology and compensation. The “Kōno Statement” of 1993, issued by the Japanese government and named after then Chief Cabinet Secretary Kōno Yōhei, admitted the Japanese military’s involvement in “comfort stations” and coercion in many cases of recruitments of “comfort women”; and in response to this statement, many history textbooks in Japan began to address the history of “comfort women” (yet, it disappeared from textbooks since the early 2000s). This is not to deny the strong presence of right-wing nationalists at that time who denied the history of military sexual slavery, but it is in the late 1990s and early 2000s that their voice became more and more influential, backed up by the conservative governments. In today’s Japan, the issue of “comfort women” is nearly a tabooed subject, as exemplified in a recent controversy surrounding the Aichi Triennale 2019: one of the exhibits was eventually cancelled after receiving a number of threats, many of which resented the inclusion of the works related to the “comfort women” issue, such as the Statue of Peace (*Sonyōsang* in Korean; *Ianfu-zō* in Japanese) created by Korean sculptors Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung. If we consider such context of Japanese society, then we may recognize the (increasing) significance of Shimada’s works, including *Look at Me / Look at You*, that address the history of “comfort women.”

<sup>66</sup> Shimada Yoshiko, “Art, Feminism, and Activism,” in *Another Japan is Possible: New Social Movements and Global Citizenship Education*, ed. Jennifer Chan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 245.

inability to see—and at the same time makes visible—the connection between Japanese mothers and Korean “comfort women,” who did not merely exist on the opposite ends of womanhood but constituted each other.

The intersubjective relationship between self and other as articulated in Shimada’s work bespeaks Julia Kristeva’s notion of alterity as inherent within the self. In *Strangers to Ourselves*, Kristeva writes:

Strangely, the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our bode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder. By recognizing him within ourselves, we are spared detesting him in himself. A symptom that precisely turns “we” into a problem, perhaps makes it impossible, the foreigner comes in when the consciousness of my difference arises, and he disappears when we all acknowledge ourselves as foreigners, unamenable to bonds and communities.<sup>67</sup>

With her claim that “the foreigner lives within us,” Kristeva radically locates alterity not as in the outside of but profoundly within the self. Implied here is that recognition of alterity is not merely gazing upon the outside but must be accompanied by an understanding of the constitutive role that alterity plays in shaping the identity of the self. If we follow Kristeva’s ethics of alterity, then an encounter with and understanding of the other requires a reshaping of “we,” the self, as profoundly inseparable from, enabled by, and relying on “they,” the other. Likewise, in her approach to the history of violence on “comfort women,” Shimada calls attention to a renewed understanding of “we,” Japanese women, whose identity in wartime was not separable from but built upon Korean “comfort women.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. Leo S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 1.

<sup>68</sup> While one may say that Shimada’s work is built upon and strengthens the binary of Japanese and Korean, I would add that Shimada created this work when stories of Korean “comfort women” just began to be told. It was also when she was not aware of the existence of Japanese “comfort women,” which reveals the limitations of imposing the nation-state framework onto the history of “comfort women.” After her encounter with Japanese “comfort women” survivors, Shimada has recently begun a series of performances titled *Becoming a Statue of a Japanese Comfort Woman* (2012-ongoing), where she becomes a live statue of a Japanese “comfort woman” dressed in *kimono*.

The recognition of the fundamentally intersubjective nature of the “self,” which Kristeva derives from psychoanalysis, generates in her view an ethical demand for recognition of the other within the self. In a similar vein, Shimada has problematized the ways in which many Japanese women reacted to stories of “comfort women,” usually with pity.<sup>69</sup> Pity, however, is enabled by and sustained by detaching oneself from and keeping a distance from the very object of pity. In other words, such a stance is only possible when one is oblivious to their own connection to and responsibility toward the other. In pointing out how pity is enabled by and further perpetuates a comfortable, distanced gaze at the other, Shimada attempts to radically transform the way in which audiences perceive the issue of “comfort women” in relation to themselves.

This is not to suggest that Shimada believes that the two positions—the women of the home front and the women living under Japanese colonialism—were either equivalent or interchangeable. Shimada has critically pointed out the problematic elision of difference between the two positions by women who formed “easy alliances” with “comfort women” based on the claim that “we are all women, so we are all victims.”<sup>70</sup> However, even as she attends to the difference between such positions, Shimada appears to be more concerned with how one may approach difference in the first place: she seeks not to undermine or elide difference, but rather to suggest that any attempt to recognize difference is doomed to fail, without a reshaping of the self through an understanding of the intersubjective constitution of self and other.

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Through this performance, Shimada addresses the existence of Japanese “comfort women” whose stories have been silent and at the same time suggests an understanding of the history of wartime gender violence that may go beyond the boundaries of the nation-state.

<sup>69</sup> Shimada Yoshiko, “Past Imperfect: Women, War, and the Japanese Emperor System,” *The Centre for Japanese Research Paper Series*, no. 4 (1995): 2.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

### **Oh Haji, *Three Generations of Time and Three Flowers* (2004)**

Seen from a distance, artist Oh Haji's *Three Generations of Time* (*Mitsu no jikan*, 2004) seems to be comprised of repetitive patterns in white, green, and red printed on a *sambe* (hemp) fabric (Figure 1). Both ends of the scroll are rolled up, as if to suggest a sense of continuity, further intensified by its length (500 centimeters). On a closer look, however, the work reveals different self-portraits of the artist in three different dresses. The photographic images are printed on the fabric, but the rough texture of its surface prevents a smooth printing of the images. The sense of continuity, of course, is unveiled as a mere illusion once we consider the materiality that demarcates its borders. Furthermore, there is another failed gesture implied in the photographic images: they were taken on a road in Jeju Island, the hometown of the artist's grandmother in Korea; yet, it can hardly be the same hometown anymore, considering the history of the island—in particular the April 3<sup>rd</sup> Massacre in 1948 that continued until 1954, when more than ten thousand civilians were killed by South Korean military forces.<sup>71</sup> Then, Oh's visiting of her grandmother's hometown is another failed attempt at accessing the past.

A sense of impossibility and failure is likewise found in Oh Haji's artist statement. She describes her practice as a process through which to “unravel memories and re-weave them” in order to trace “silent-memories.”<sup>72</sup> The words “unravel” and “re-weave” do not merely operate as a metaphor but also aptly describe her material practice. Trained in dyeing and weaving, Oh works with textile and fiber to explore the issue of memory, which was informed in particular by her experience with her deceased grandmother. In an article published in 2011, Oh writes:

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<sup>71</sup> The continued massacre in the island led many to flee to Japan and has constituted enduring memories for many Zainichi Koreans from Jeju Island. A more detailed discussion on the Jeju April 3rd Incident can be found in Lee Chŏnghwa's reading of Oh Haji's work. See Lee Chŏnghwa, “Otozureru kioku, okuritodokeru kioku—sono go,” *Rikkyō daigaku jendā fōramu nenpō* 15 (March 2014): 9-11.

<sup>72</sup> Oh Haji, artist's website, accessed June 6, 2019, <http://hajioh.com>.

I could not share my grandmother's memories when she was alive. I will never share them with her now that she is dead. Her voice is silent; yet that silence speaks because of her deliberate attempt to silence it. She had memories she could not voice. My art work is an attempt to reach those experiences, those memories that defined her identity.<sup>73</sup>

The artist has also written on the difficulty in communication between herself and her grandmother that eventually made her grandmother's memories unasked and unspoken: because her grandmother only felt comfortable in Korean when Japanese was the only language Oh could understand, such conditions created by their displacement imposed a communication gap.<sup>74</sup> Oh's claim in her statement appears to be an aporia, and we are left wondering how she can possibly reach memories of her deceased grandmother that remained untold. Her attempt seems to be an inherently impossible one, and what appears to be already embedded in her statement is contradiction and failure.

The way in which Oh Haji deals with such a contradiction is not by obscuring and avoiding it, but precisely through confronting and further visualizing it as she has done in *Three Generations of Time*. The series of contradictions and failures in *Three Generations of Time* reveals Oh's attention to and engagement with the impossibility of reaching her grandmother's silent memories. It is here that I find a possibility of ethics. In her preface to *Imaginary Maps*, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak writes, "ethics is an experience of the impossible."<sup>75</sup> It is in attending to gaps, distances, and breakdowns in one's encounter with alterity that Spivak locates a possibility of ethics—a more responsible, ethical, and uncertain yet possible encounter with the other. In Oh Haji's works, it is also precisely in her engagement with impossibility that her works open up an ethics: Oh's approach to her grandmother's memories and acknowledgement

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<sup>73</sup> Oh Haji, "What does the Ethnic Costume Represent?" *Asia Colloquia Papers* 1, no. 3 (September 2011): 10.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>75</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Translator's Preface," in *Imaginary Maps: Three Stories by Mahasweta Devi* (New York: Routledge, 1995), xxv.

of the failure inherent in such attempts is, I suggest, an ethical gesture toward the other—her grandmother—and an intense recognition of distance between herself and her grandmother that can never entirely disappear.

This impossibility is further turned into a possibility of an alternative approach in another work, titled *Three Flowers (Mitsu no hana, 2004)*. *Three Flowers* is a white *chima chogori* onto which different patterns of flowers are imprinted through the techniques of embroidery, dyeing, and stitching (Figure 15). This *chima chogori*, in fact, is one that Oh wove herself, using threads from her grandmother's *chima chogori* that she carefully disentangled. This careful unraveling of the grandmother's *chima chogori* resonates with Luce Irigaray's notion of touch and caress. According to Irigaray, in contrast to vision that objectifies and sets a distance, touch is a gesture that penetrates into the realm of intimacy; it is premised upon and strengthens intersubjective relations, instead of producing the subject-object dichotomy.<sup>76</sup> When her grandmother's *chima chogori* is a remnant of the grandmother's lived body, Oh's gentle unraveling of her grandmother's dress is a gesture that creates intimacy, bridging the cultural, linguistic, and temporal distance that she and her grandmother had to experience. Her tactile engagement with her grandmother's *chima chogori* may be seen as an attempt to approach the untold memories and traces that otherwise cannot be grasped.<sup>77</sup>

Oh Haji's *chima chogori*, beautifully and carefully woven with the threads from the

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<sup>76</sup> Luce Irigaray, *To Be Two*, trans. Monique M. Rhodes and Marco F. Concito-Monoc (New York: Routledge, 2001), 26, 53.

<sup>77</sup> Through her imaginative, yet material and tactual practice, Oh activates what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has described as "teleopoiesis": "a reaching toward the distant other by the patient power of imagination [...] [and] touch[ing] a past that is historically not 'one's own'" (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Harlem," *Social Text* 81, no. 22 (Winter 2004): 116). While this definition may sound rather abstract, the process through which Spivak performs teleopoiesis in her essay "Harlem" is profoundly material, as implied in the metaphor of touch: she does so and only possibly can do so by attending to material traces and remnants. Similarly, the way in which Oh Haji engages with her deceased grandmother's memory is through touching her grandmother's *chima chogori*, the remnants and traces.

grandmother's dress, includes patterns of embroidered white flowers, dyed red and green flowers, and stitched flowers. This reborn *chima chogori* seems to suggest that the unraveling of her grandmother's *chima chogori* is not merely a deconstructive but productive intervention that allows her to touch and connect with the traces of her grandmother's lived body. *Three Flowers* further manifests how Oh's recognition of impossibility and failure is not a mere expression of frustration or impotency, but rather becomes a productive ground through which the artist can seek alternative forms of engagement beyond the limitations of representation. Whereas earlier representations of *chima chogori* often silenced the female body and dress by turning them into a symbol or a trope, Oh's artistic practice provides a material dimension for memories of the unnamed, unheard body. Perhaps the place where these silent memories can be reached and touched upon is, as Oh's works suggest, not in representations that would again render them silent, but in the material, within the very texture of *chima chogori*, or the traces of their lived body.

### **Artistic Intervention and the Ethics of Alterity**

Both Shimada Yoshiko's and Oh Haji's works foreground the recognition of their own positionality as they engage with an encounter with alterity. Shimada's take highlights the essentially intertwined relationship between the self and the other, attending to the ways in which 'I' is enabled by and built upon the other. On the other hand, Oh's attempt to interact with memories and remnants of her grandmother is performed upon her recognition of distance between herself and her grandmother. When Shimada looks at the inseparability of self and other, Oh pays more attention to the distance between self and other. This is not to suggest that their stances are incompatible, but rather that their differing approaches seem to be informed and

shaped by their different subject positions. Approaching the history of “comfort women” as a Japanese woman, Shimada resists resting upon a comfortable distance that could be easily granted to her if she had remained oblivious to her own connectedness to the other. In engaging with memories of her grandmother, Oh Haji acknowledges distance and difference that could have been largely elided through her position as a close family member and their shared experiences.

Through their practices, Shimada and Oh open up an ethics of alterity that carries significant implications especially in the history of representations of women in *chima chogori* in the imperial metropole. Shimada’s work could critically point to the crucial role that *chima chogori*, a sign of alterity, played in the construction of the self, namely Japanese modernity, and further problematize how the practice of representing women in *chima chogori* was essentially an imperialist one that sustained Japanese colonialism. When such representational practices resulted in a series of highly stereotypical, homogenized images of “Korean woman” that obscure difference among “women,” Oh’s works provide us with a different approach toward the other that foregrounds the recognition of difference, rather than fabrication or erasure of difference, even as she acknowledges that such a task of fully knowing the other as they are is an inherently impossible one.

The ethics embedded in Shimada’s and Oh’s practices could further lead to a broader critique of the enduring legacies of Japanese imperialism that have been inflicted upon Zainichi Koreans. Shimada’s attention to the intersubjective constitution of self and other enables a critical understanding of the ways in which the Japanese nation-state makes secure its borders through the persistent exclusion of Zainichi Koreans. In addition, the ethics implied in Oh’s practice could provide a useful critique on the continued imperialist systems that deny the

articulation of ethnic difference: restricting access to ethnic education by denying tuition waivers to Korean schools, or cutting *chima chogori* of female students and thereby making them unable to wear ethnic dress, are all signs of the continued violence that negates and erases difference and further prevents the making of a society where difference can exist as is.

Through Shimada's critical approach to history and Oh's intimate, material practice, both artists not only address the continued colonial violence, but further intervene in the representational and discursive space of *chima chogori* that has been predominantly occupied by men. When images of women in *chima chogori* were mobilized by male artists in the metropole as a trope for Korea and for the articulation of Japanese modernity in the colonial period, the female body in *chima chogori* has continued to serve as a ground through which to construct masculine subjectivity in more recent media representations, where women's own voices and negotiations are often obscured. Departing from such representations, Oh Haji's works show us the ways in which the artist herself navigates her own relationship with *chima chogori*, along with her personal memories and history embedded in the dress. In addition, in the works of both artists, femininity articulated through *chima chogori* seems to be profoundly different from the ones that were configured always and only in relation to the masculine in the earlier representations. Oh's *Three Generations Time* constructs an intimate feminine genealogy shared by three generations of women, and in this genealogy of women, femininity is reconfigured not in relation to the masculine but in connection with other women. Shimada's *Look at Me / Look at You*, as well, redefines femininity as inherently in relation to other women, as she pays attention to the ways in which women's differing roles were shaped by and inflicted upon each other. In doing so, Shimada and Oh challenge earlier representations that emerged out of the gendered field of cultural production, as they present with the possibility of alternative modes of

articulating womanhood and engaging with *chima chogori*.

## Conclusion

When artists Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji incorporated *chima chogori* in their practice, their works came to not only speak about their own time and space but also make profound interventions in the long history of representations of *chima chogori* in Japan. Through their exploration of an encounter with the other, Shimada and Oh present us with an ethics of alterity that underscores, on the one hand, the intersubjective constitution of self and other and, on the other hand, difference and distance between self and other that cannot be erased. In doing so, their works respond to and challenge earlier representations of women in *chima chogori*, where the ethnic dress as a sign of alterity was actively mobilized for the construction and domination of the other, or where women's body and dress were easily turned into a politicized ground and a trope for something other than herself. By situating the works of Shimada Yoshiko and Oh Haji within this history of representations, this thesis has attempted to reveal larger implications of their artistic interventions.

Highlighting the long presence and significance of *chima chogori* in Japan, this thesis has examined variations in representations of *chima chogori* from the early twentieth century to the present day. While I restate that tracing an entire genealogy of representations of *chima chogori* was out of scope for this thesis, I also wish to make clear that the objects I have examined constitute only a small facet of a larger whole that this thesis could not contain. Not only in artworks, magazines, and films, but also across many other media representations, *chima chogori* indeed maintains its strong presence in Japan. More importantly, I want to conclude this thesis by reminding that while I have focused primarily on representations rather than actual practices,

if we go beyond the representational and discursive space, then we see multifarious and multifaceted meanings and existence of *chima chogori*, not only as a symbol but also as a profound part of the everyday, in the lived history and experiences of Zainichi Korean communities in Japan.

## Figures

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**Figure 14.** Anti-discrimination badges.  
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**Figure 15.** Oh Haji, *Three Flowers (Mitsu no hana)*, 2004, grandmother's *chima chogori*, silk, tie-dye, brush dyeing, embroidery, 140.0×150.0 cm.

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