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Reclaiming Landscape:

Place and Personhood in the Literature of Ikaino

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Julia Hansell Clark

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

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Professor Seiji Mizuta Lippit, Chair

This dissertation focuses on literary texts produced within and about Ikaino, an ethnically Korean enclave in Osaka, Japan, where residents faced intersecting issues of race, class, language, gender, generation, and national identity in the postwar era. I argue that literary representations of Ikaino, as a simultaneously local and transnational space that cannot be assimilated into the national spaces of either Japan or Korea, have shaped a distinct Zainichi Korean intellectual discourse from the 1950s to the present that challenges prior notions of unified ethnic identity and national belonging. In particular, by examining the various writing practices of working-class women in Ikaino, I shed light on the ways in which feminist and minority discourses intersected in Japan's postwar period and consider the limitations of existing frameworks of national literature, minority literature, Japanese-language literature (*Nihongo bungaku*), and women's writing. The four chapters of this dissertation excavate the multilayered literary production of Ikaino through a consideration of four major themes: literary representations of landscape, local political activism and visions of transnational solidarity,

gender politics and feminist critique, and literary multilingualism. Through this process, I consider Ikaino literature as a multigenerational, ever-evolving body of texts comprised of poems, prose essays, fiction, political writings, amateur compositions, and experimental writings that question the boundaries of form and genre. Through close readings of this dynamic literary ecosystem, I argue that the changing representation of a mythologized Ikaino over time reflect authors' evolving attempts to critique both shifting state policies and local, domestic, and transnational social movements. In doing so, I explore not only Ikaino's specific significance as a trope within Zainichi Korean literature, but also more broadly the way that landscape has emerged as a literary technique through which authors confront the lived realities of precarious personhood and experiences of displacement in postwar Japan.

The dissertation of Julia Hansell Clark is approved.

Christopher P. Hanscom

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University of California, Los Angeles

2023

In memory of Phil Clark, who taught me my thirst for knowledge

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Introduction:
Reclaiming Landscape

This dissertation examines literature written in and about Ikaino (猪飼野), Japan's largest ethnically Korean enclave, from the 1950s to the present day. Since the immediate postwar period, Ikaino has served as a key material and figurative space within Zainichi Korean literature, both as a home to a wide range of Zainichi intellectuals, authors, and activist movements, and as a setting for poetry and fiction that represent Ikaino as a mythological "second homeland" for the entire resident Korean community in Japan. By foregrounding the various forms of narrative and poetic practice that arise around this urban landscape, I examine how literary conceptions of space and place as a locus of identity for an internally heterogenous community complicate many of the received narratives about Zainichi Korean literary history. The literature of Ikaino, written at a remove from (and at times in direct opposition to) the canonical works of Zainichi Korean literature that have received critical attention and acclaim from the Tokyo-centric literary world, often refuses to conform to the established frameworks of history, political affiliation, and ethnic identity through which Zainichi texts have conventionally been read. Instead, I argue, Ikaino has served as a site of literary possibility, where different authors and groups of intellectuals laid claim to the urban landscape as a technique for writing new collective histories, developing new literary languages, and imagining new (if still imperfect) conceptions of personhood that might exist outside the regulative reach of the state.

Straddling present-day Ikuno and Higashinari wards in Osaka, Ikaino was officially settled as a township in 1925 and erased from city maps due to redistricting on February 1, 1973. As I will show in the ensuing chapters, both the circumstances of Ikaino's creation and the

reasons behind its erasure are still locally contested histories. Fifty years have passed since Ikaino officially ceased to exist, and the place name has now had a longer presence as a specter haunting the pages of Zainichi Korean literature than its total lifespan as a space that was legible within the geographical administrative system of the nation of Japan. And yet, the place name "Ikaino" has continued to hold deep significance within the Zainichi Korean community; the deeper one delves into Zainichi history and cultural production, the more this mysterious place name appears.

Since the end of World War II, Ikaino has been home to a number of important Zainichi writers and intellectual movements, as well as an object of representation within many key texts of Zainichi literature. The space of Ikaino was the spiritual center of the postwar Zainichi poetry journal *Jindare* (1953-1958), and even after the journal's end, it continued to appear in the poetry and prose of its two most prominent members, Kim Sijong 金時鐘 (1929-) and Yang Sŏgil 梁石日 (1936-). Yang's epic Ikaino novel *Chi to hone* [Blood and bone, 1998] was adapted into a popular film in 2004 directed by Sai Yōichi 崔洋一 (1949-) and starring Beat Takeshi (1947-). Ikaino also appears frequently as a setting in the works of the critically acclaimed author Kim Sŏkpŏm 金石範 (1925-), including his seminal work *Kazantō* [Volcano island], a seven-volume epic novel that was published serially throughout the 1980s and traverses Cheju Island, Osaka and Kobe. Most recently, Ikaino gained global attention as a setting in the Asian American author Min Jin Lee (1968-)'s best-selling 2017 novel *Pachinko*, which was adapted into a multilingual TV series released by Apple TV in 2022.

Beyond its official erasure from Osaka city maps, images of Ikaino have persisted within Zainichi culture and literature as, to borrow Kim Sijong's words, "a town that is like a synonym

for Zainichi Koreans." Aside from the more mainstream examples listed above, the place name and landscape of Ikaino is at the heart of the writing projects of lesser known Zainichi authors such as Sō Shūgetsu 宗秋月 (1944-2011), Won Sooil 元秀一 (1950-), and Kim Ch'angsaeng 金蒼生 (1951-), who have been publishing from the 1970s onwards. Together, these texts form a distinct genre within Zainichi literature, in which authors seek to respond and contribute to evolving mythologies of Ikaino as a form of collective historiography, a strain of cultural production that has continued even as Tokyo-based Zainichi authors such as Yū Miri 柳美里 (1968-) have risen to international prominence. While the genre of Ikaino literature arguably peaked in the decade after the place name was erased, contemporary writers such as the Korean-language author Kim Kilho 金吉浩 (1950-) the stateless poet Zhong Zhang 丁章 (1968-), and the local *izakaya* owner Kim Yuchŏng 金由汀 (1950-) have more recently sought to address in their own works the legacies of this historic space as a foundational site of Zainichi Korean identity and cultural production.

Ikaino literature challenges conventional understandings of the categories of "Japanese literature" and "Zainichi Korean literature" in a number of ways. Ikaino might be considered a multiply liminal space: it is an ethnically Korean enclave marked off from the rest of Osaka, which is itself an urban space with a distinct culture and literary world, constantly being defined in relation to Tokyo as the metropolitan center of Japan. The literary texts produced in Ikaino encompass a range of linguistic and ethnic identities that do not simply suggest "Korea" and "Koreanness" as an alternative to "Japan" and "Japaneseness," but rather give voice to a multiplicity of ways of being that cannot be reduced to monolithic understandings of ethnic or national belonging. Ikaino literature is written in (primarily) Japanese, (sometimes) Korean, and often a complicated blend of the two – but beyond that, the local dialect that authors call "Ikaino-

go" (Ikaino language) casts doubt on both of these linguistic categories by eschewing standardized "national languages" altogether, combining Osaka dialect, Cheju Island dialect, and other forms of class- and gender-marked expression.

Both authors and characters within the literature of Ikaino carry complicated affiliations with the categories of Japanese, South Korean, and North Korean citizenship, in addition to many who identify primarily as *mukokuseki* (stateless) members of a purely theoretical reunified Korean nation. They conceive of themselves as laborers and activists in relation to a wide range of domestically- and transnationally-oriented political organizations; they both participate in and critique the ideologies espoused by the North Korea-affiliated Ch'ongryŏn (総連, E: / the General Association of Korean Residents / K: *Chaeilbon chosŏnin ch'ongryŏn hap'oe* / J: *Zainihon Chōsenjin sōrengō kai*), the South Korea-affiliated Mindan (民団, E: the Korean Residents Union in Japan / J: *Zainihon Daikanminkoku mindan* / K: *Chaeilbon Daehanmin'guk mindan*), and the many splinter groups that broke off from both organizations in the decades after they were each founded in the early 1950s. This includes many working-class women writing both within and outside of these political organizations from the 1950s onwards, despite the assertion of the earliest Zainichi Korean literary histories that there were "hardly any female Zainichi Korean writers" up until the late 1980s and early 1990s.[1] The texts themselves challenge the conventions of genre and form: as I demonstrate in the following chapters, the repeated narratives and aesthetic tropes of what I call the genre of Ikaino Literature establish a kind of literary ecosystem, an intertextual web of literary works that includes both "pure" and popular literature in the form of poetry, short stories, and novels, but also personal essays, photo

[1] Kawamura Minato, *Umaretara soko ga furusato: Zainichi chōsenjin bungakuron* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 278.

reportage, political writings, *tsuzurikata* (compositions) from women's night schools, and experimental texts that combine two or more of the above.

Crucially, these intersecting dimensions of Ikaino Literature also defy many of the standard narratives of Zainichi Korean literary and intellectual history, which have long been dominated by the legacy of the Korean writers who received relatively elite educations in Tokyo, such as Kim Saryang 金史良 (1914-c.1950), Kim Talsu 金達寿 (1919-1997), and Yi Hoesŏng/Ri Kaisei 李恢成 (1935-). A consideration of the intellectual currents, social movements, and writing practices that were centered around Ikaino in postwar Japan suggests an alternate lineage of Zainichi Korean literary production that has been largely invisible both to the Tokyo-centered literary establishment and within Japanese-, Korean-, and English-language scholarship on Zainichi Korean literature. This literary lineage destabilizes the very categories of ethnicity and nation that undergird preexisting discourses of both Japanese postwar literature and Zainichi Korean literature, and often directly critiques works from the "Zainichi literary canon" as a manifestation of patriarchal and ideological structures of oppression within Zainichi Korean society. Ikaino authors seek to reclaim Ikaino itself from the dehumanizing logic of the state, but also create new literary spaces that give rise to imaginings of the self, subjectivity, and personhood that exceed preexisting categories of identity and belonging.

I see the ethnically marked urban space of Ikaino as located at the intersection of a number of broader questions about the relationship between the concrete space of the postwar city and the figurative space of the literary landscape: How are texts shaped by the material conditions of the local spaces where they're produced? And conversely, how might the figurative reproduction of urban landscapes within those texts serve as a literary technique to contest and critique humanist discourses of class, race, ethnicity, and gender? Who has the right to lay claim

to, and speak for, diasporic spaces relegated to the geographic and cultural "periphery," and how do the forms of collective storytelling that arise around these spaces change over time in response to local, national, and transnational social movements and shifts in state policy? In exploring these questions, I take Ikaino to be a space constantly in the process of production, generating new layers of what Raymond Williams has called "structures of feeling," some of which begin and end as fleeting moments of revelry or resistance, while others accrete into new hegemonic structures and eventual targets of critique by later generations of writers. To borrow Williams' words, "It is also that the making of art is never itself in the past tense. It is always a formative process, within a specific present. At different moments in history, and in significantly different ways, the reality and even the primacy of such presences and such processes, such diverse and yet specific actualities, have been powerfully asserted and reclaimed, as in practice of course they are all the time lived."[2]

By centering questions of literary form, genre, positionality, intertextuality, and the aesthetics of literary space within the literature of Ikaino, this dissertation questions the limitations of existing frameworks of "minority literature," "Japanese-language literature," and "national literature(s)," which have been used to analyze and contextualize similar texts in the past. Since Chapter 1 serves in effect as an extended introduction to the historical and cultural context of Ikaino itself and the way it has been portrayed in literature over time, I will here focus on situating my work on Ikaino within the discursive contexts I see it both responding to, contributing to, and in some cases, attempting to transcend.

[2] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 129.

Literary Multilingualism and the Politics of Language

Previous scholarship on Zainichi Korean literature has long drawn on the theoretical touchstone of "Japanese-language literature" (*Nihongo bungaku*) as an alternative to the conventional disciplinary boundaries of "Japanese literature" as a national literature (*Nihon bungaku* or *kokubungaku*). As I discuss in Chapter 4, the term "Japanese-language literature" was first coined by the author Kim Sŏkpŏm 金石範 (1925-) in his 1970 essay "Gengo to jiyū: Nihongo de kaku to iu koto" (Language and freedom: writing in Japanese).[3] In Kim's original conception, *Nihon(go) bungaku* describes a tactic of resistance for Zainichi Korean writers confronting the aftermath of imperial language ideologies that left many of them with no choice but to live and write in the language of the colonizer. Kim argues that Zainichi Korean authors who write in Japanese are uniquely able to expose the historical conditions of colonialism and defamiliarize common understandings of nation and language from their position on the brink between deconstructing the Japanese language and being assimilated or subjugated by it, a condition he calls the "binding spell of language" (*kotoba no jubaku*). At the same time, this tactic of deconstructing the system of national language from within is linked to broader questions inherent to language and literature itself, beyond questions of ethnic specificity. In a later essay called "Kotoba no jiritsu" (The independence of language, 1977), he compares the incommensurable gap created by the many Japanese-language novels by Zainichi Korean authors set in postwar Korea, in which Korean dialogue must be rendered imperfectly in Japanese, to the broader "gap" that inevitably exists between the internal language of the author and the language that ends up being received by the reader in any work of literature.[4] Significantly, this original

[3] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Gengo to jiyū: Nihongo de kaku to iu koto," in *Kotoba no jubaku: "Zainichi Chōsenjin bungaku" to Nihongo* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972), 64-104.

[4] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Kotoba no jiritsu," in *Zainichi" no shisō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1981), 164-165.

conception of "Japanese-language literature" emerged within a highly politicized context; at the time Kim coined the term, he had already publicly parted ways with the North-Korea affiliated organization Ch'ongryŏn, in part because of their insistence that all Zainichi Koreans authors should be writing in Korean.

Perhaps because of the expansiveness of Kim's writings on language as both a means of expression and an ideological system, the concept of "Japanese-language literature" has been used to analyze texts written in Japanese from a wide range of time periods and historical contexts over the past several decades, sometimes in a way that is quite removed from Kim's original formation. In one school of literary scholarship, "Japanese-language literature" has come to be interchangeable with the term *gaichi nihongo bungaku* ("Japanese-language literature of the colonies"), referring exclusively to the colonial-era literary production of Japan's multiethnic empire. In English-language scholarship, a parallel discourse surrounding the "Japanophone" as a framework for colonial literature has emerged. Travis Workman uses the term to explore how colonial Korean authors deterritorialized the Japanese language through figurative and literal acts of translation, writing, "*Japanophone literature* describes well a context in which a variety of languages, literatures, and intellectual traditions came into contact by way of Japanese as the major vehicular language."[5] Mari Ishida has suggested that this usage of *Nihongo bungaku* to refer to the colonial era "unintentionally conceals and displaces the violence committed by colonial language policies and the imperial institution of Japanese literature in the Japanese empire" by erasing the distinction between *kokugo* (national language) and *Nihongo* (the Japanese language). She argues that the term itself falsely suggests that Japanese imperial citizens and colonized subjects fundamentally understood themselves to be speaking the same

[5] Travis Workman, "Locating Translation: On the Question of Japanophone Literature," *PLMA* vol. 126, no. 3 (May 2011), 702.

language, when in fact the carefully maintained divide between *Nihongo* and *kokugo* was used to classify the levels of civilization afforded to the empire's ethnic others (for example, Koreans and Taiwanese in the colonies were taught *kokugo*, while the education system implemented in the rest of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was framed in terms of the enforced use of *Nihongo*).[6]

On the other hand, Nayoung Aimee Kwon uses what she calls the "absent category" of the "Japanophone" as a tool for comparison and meta-criticism, arguing that the lack of meaningful discourse on the "Japanophone" is due to its status as a "minor empire vis-à-vis dominant European empires in imperial historiographies"[7] and Japan's own "notable marginalization or disavowal of colonial and postcolonial experiences."[8] Kwon's cogent critique points to another way in which the current usage of *Nihongo bungaku* conflates a disparate range of writing practices across time: it creates one category out of both "(post)colonial Japanophone literature" and the "global Japanophone", in which discourses of *Nihongo bungaku* are used to valorize "new linguistic experimentations of bilingual cosmopolitan writers who are either ethnically Japanese or Euro-American," leading to a paradoxical state in which *Nihongo bungaku* is actually used to further erase, rather than forefront, the violent histories and power imbalances that underlie literary production in the postcolonial context: "The discursive divide that appears in both global and domestic attention to such writers, despite the difficulty of uniting them under one neat category, is significant because it means critics tend to prioritize Japan's

[6] Mari Ishida, "Imperial Literature: Languages, Bodies, and Others in the Japanese Empire," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2016), 17-19.

[7] Nayoung Aimee Kwon, "Japanophone Literature? A Transpacific Query on Absence," *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 64, no. 3 (Fall 2018), 538.

[8] Ibid., 541.

relationship to the world (or the world defined largely as Euro-America) at the expense of its inter-Asian relations."[9]

Ted Mack has similarly discussed how the vastness and vagueness of this term introduces potential issues with its use as a conceptual framework for literary scholarship, even as it has contributed to significant advances in Japanese literary studies in recent decades.[10] Mack categorizes these various approaches to "Japanese-language literature" into roughly two camps: the first, represented by Nishi Masahiko and followed by American researchers such as Leo Ching, Faye Kleeman, and Davinder Bhowmik, takes *Nihongo bungaku* as both a condition of "minority culture" and of exilic or migrant literature, seeking a more progressive and inclusive approach to the national literature framework that includes voices previously excluded from the mainstream, but without necessarily engaging with the normative assumptions behind these categories of identity. (While the intention is to challenge the system of national language, *Nihongo bungaku* here is effectively a supplement to *Nihon bungaku*, serving to expand the borders of the discipline of Japanese literary studies). By contrast, the second approach, represented in Mack's view by Park Yuha, is much more deconstructionist, arguing that the purpose of *Nihongo bungaku* is not just to represent or acknowledge but to totally unsettle the frameworks of power and consciousness underlying so-called "Japanese literature." Park argues, "before we can cross external boundaries, we have to be aware of those boundaries that exist inside ourselves."[11] This conception of "Japanese-language literature" theoretically aims to

[9] Ibid., 543-544.

[10] Edward Mack, "Iwayuru 'Nihongo bungaku' ni kansuru hitokoto," *Kokyō: Nihongo bungaku kenkyū* 5 (December 2017), 39.

[11] Ibid., 43.

replace the category of "Japanese literature" altogether, and by extension reject the entire ideological system of national literary canons.

These meta-critiques of the subfield of *Nihongo bungaku* are crucial for understanding how far this concept as a framework for literary analysis has diverged from Kim Sŏkpŏm's original conception. At the same time, it is worth noting that this discourse about the relationship between literature and national language is not unique to scholarship on the (post)colonial situation of Japan. Just as Workman's suggestion of the "Japanophone" builds off of the long (and fraught) history of the "Francophone" as a category used to analyze French-language literature in Africa and the Caribbean, Shu-mei Shih has similarly proposed "Sinophone studies," which she defines as "the study of Sinitic-language cultures on the margins of geopolitical nation-states and their hegemonic productions," capable of "critiquing the hegemony and homogeneity of 'Chineseness.'"[12] Along the same lines, Yasemin Yildiz has argued for a broader understanding of what she calls "the monolingual paradigm" that is operative across European literatures. She writes, "According to this paradigm, individuals and social formations are imagined to possess one 'true' language only, their 'mother tongue,' and through this possession to be organically linked to an exclusive, clearly demarcated ethnicity, culture, and nation."[13] Much like Christina Yi's work on the discourse of *kokugo* ideology as a tool of the Japanese Empire's assimilatory project of *kōminka* (imperial subjectification),[14] Yildiz emphasizes "the

[12] Shu-mei Shih, "The Concept of the Sinophone," *PMLA* 126, no. 3 (May 2011), 710.

[13] Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 2.

[14] Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

significance of the modern nation-state for the monolingual paradigm, or rather, of the monolingual paradigm for the modern nation-state, with which it emerged at the same time."[15]

As a way of analyzing modern multilingual literary texts that attempt to resist the "monolingual paradigm" but ultimately still exist within this hegemonic structure, Yildiz proposes the concept of the "postmonolingual." Drawing on the many meanings of the prefix "post-", she defines the "postmonolingual condition" as "a field of tension in which the monolingual paradigm continues to assert itself and multilingual practices persist or reemerge. This term therefore can bring into sharper focus the back-and-forth movement between these two tendencies that characterizes contemporary linguistic constellations."[16] I find Yildiz's formulation of the "postmonolingual" to be particularly useful as a way of clarifying some of the tensions that currently exist within the field of "Japanese-language literary studies" as outlined above. This concept effectively moves beyond the debate between *Nihongo bungaku* as either a parallel supplement to the category of *Nihon bungaku* or a new way of categorizing literature that can replace *Nihon bungaku* altogether. Instead, the "postmonolingual" paradigm affirms that multilingual writing practices ultimately exist within a world still dominated by monolingual ideology even as they work to subvert it. The multilingual texts that seek to transform the local Ikaino dialect into a literary language, which I discuss at length in Chapter 4, likewise attempt to resist or transcend the hegemony of Japanese (and Korean) in their introduction of regional dialects of both Japanese and Korean, but they are unable to do so without constant reference to the lurking, inescapable presence of the highly politicized discourse of language choice between (standardized) Japanese and Korean.

[15] Yildiz, Beyond the Mother Tongue, 3.

[16] Ibid., 5.

"Minority" Discourse and Literary Formations of the Human

In the English-language sphere, the question of language and the "Japanophone," or "Japanese-language literature," has been entangled with the notion of "minority literature" as a subfield of literary and cultural studies, drawing heavily on Deleuze and Guattari's 1975 notion of "minor literature" as "that which a minority constructs within a major language."[17] Deleuze and Guattari are themselves careful to elaborate within their own work that their concept of the "minor" should be viewed as a type of writing practice rather than the fixed ontological state suggested by the conventional use of the term "minority," stating, "We might as well say that minor no longer designates specific literatures but the revolutionary conditions for every literature within the heart of what is called great (or established) literature."[18] Nevertheless, the three conditions they lay out as defining a minor literature have persisted within the subfield of "minority literature," both in Japanese studies and other area studies disciplines. Namely, they state that first, minor literature is "that which a minority constructs within a major language… in it language is affected with a high coefficient of deterritorialization"; second, "everything in them is political"; and third, "in it everything takes on a collective value."[19]

The lasting influence of this definition on conceptions of "minority literature" can be heard in the explicit invocations of Deleuze and Guattari as a starting point in virtually all of the major scholarly texts in "minority literature" studies, from Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd's two special issues of *Cultural Critique* on "The Nature and Context of Minority

[17] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 16.

[18] Ibid., 18.

[19] Ibid., 16-17.

Discourse" in 1987[20] to Shu-meih Shih and Françoise Lionnet's more recent volume *Minor Transnationalism*, from 2005.[21] Perhaps because of the obvious resonance between the concept of "deterritorialization of language" and Kim Sŏkpŏm's original formation of *Nihon(go) bungaku* as that capable of "chewing through the stomach of" the Japanese language, dismantling it from within,[22] Deleuze and Guattari's concept of "minor literature" is also a conspicuous presence in English-language scholarship dealing with colonial and postcolonial resident Korean literature, including the recent work of Travis Workman[23] and Nayoung Aimee Kwon.[24] (It has also been used to posit Osaka literature itself as a "minor literature" of Japan).[25] This usage of the "minor literature" framework is by no means uncritical: Lionnet & Shih and Kwon have both acknowledged the potential problems with the "overarching generic definition"[26] and "recentered model of 'minor literature'... [in which] the minor's literary and political significance rests on its critical function within and against the major in a binary and vertical relationship."[27] John Lie has recently launched an incisive critique of the applicability of

[20] Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, eds., "The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse I," Special Issue, *Cultural Critique* 6 (Spring 1987) and Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, eds., "The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse II," Special Issue, *Cultural Critique* 7 (Autumn 1987).

[21]Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[22] Kim, "Gengo to jiyū," 88.

[23]See Travis Workman, *Imperial Genus: The Formation and Limits of the Human in Modern Korea and Japan* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 167-208, and Travis Workman, "Locating Translation," 701-708.

[24] See Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Duke University Press, 2015), 57-58, and Nayoung Aimee Kwon, "Japanophone Literature?" 537-558.

[25] Michael Cronin, *Osaka Modern: The City in the Japanese Imaginary* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 15.

[26] Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 58.

[27] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 2.

this conception of "minor literature" to Zainichi literary production, stating that, "In contrast to Deleuze and Guattari, Zainichi identity—as a form of minor literature and diasporic identification—arose precisely in abjuring the political and the collective."[28]

However, it seems undeniable that Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the minor (and its three defining features) remains a central concept for contemporary discourse on authors from historically underrepresented communities, to the extent that even critiques of this conception are inevitably constructed within the "major language" of "minor literature." This means that approaches to literary texts labeled as such are inevitably informed by certain starting assumptions about their relationship with language, with politics, and with formal elements such as allegory as a method for communicating a collective sense of ethnic identity. These defining conditions seem on one level to be too limiting to describe the full range of expression of a community of "minor" authors – for example, very few of the texts covered in this dissertation could be read as national allegory in the sense suggested by Deleuze & Guattari and, later, Fredric Jameson in their attempts to categorize minority or "Third-World" literatures.[29] In fact, some of the authors I analyze experimented with narrative structure and literary form with the clear goal of resisting the typical ethnonationalist trope of the abject female body as an allegory for Korean suffering. At the same time, this definition of "minor literature" is also so broad as to be almost meaningless – how, for example, do we determine definitively whether a text is "political"? As a result, even critiques like Lie's become ambiguous: who is included in the subject category of "Zainichi identity" that is asserted to "abjure the political"? The young

[28] John Lie, *Zainichi Literature: Japanese Writings by Ethnic Koreans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 188.

[29] Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text* no. 15 (1986): 65–88.

writers of the political journal *Ajukkari*, which I discuss in Chapter 2, would surely disagree. Furthermore, what does it even mean to state that a community defined by "abjuring the collective" also collectively "abjures the political"? The rhetoric of these attempts to define a "minor identity" (or, by extension, a "Zainichi identity") quickly devolve into circularity.

Nevertheless, the question remains: how can we talk about the literary or cultural output of historically underrepresented communities without essentializing them? Or as Cindi Textor cogently puts it in her analysis of the critical discourses surrounding the politics of identity for (post)colonial Korean authors writing about or in Japan(ese), "What, then, do we do with difference?"[30] Is there any way to untangle the Gordian knot of entangled expectations placed on "minor" authors to render themselves legible to the outside world as a representative of some predefined category of identity? At the same time, is anything really solved by eschewing the term "minority" altogether? Outside the dominant discourse of Deleuze & Guattari, there are some theorists who have attempted new formulations of "minority literature" that move beyond what Textor calls the "burden to represent."

In her essay "On Disenchanting Discourse: 'Minority' Literary Criticism and Beyond," the Caribbean theorist Sylvia Wynter attempts such an intervention by arguing that we might conceptualize "minority" literature not in terms of who or what it represents, but the work it does on the minds of its readers.[31] In Wynter's view, literature has the power to intervene in the (re)production of what she calls "the ethnoclass genres of the Human," a series of global historical ontological/epistemological paradigms that have ruptured and shifted in their specific

[30] Cindi Textor, "Radical Language, Radical Identity: Korean Writers in Japanese Spaces and the Burden to 'Represent'" (PhD diss. University of Washington, 2016), 13.

[31] Sylvia Wynter, "On Disenchanting Discourse: 'Minority' Literary Criticism and Beyond," *Cultural Critique* No. 7 (1987): 207-244.

configurations over time, but always serve to delineate the "Human" from the non-human "Other," from the earlier theocentric notion of civilized Man (what she calls "Man1"), through humanist conceptions of Man as a political subject of the state ("Man2," enabled by the Copernican Revolution and the Columbian Exchange), to more recent Darwinian notions of race or ethnicity used to create a biological category of the Human.[32] Wynter describes how these "onto-epistemes" have been supported over time by literary forms that circulate normative imagery of "the Human;" just as the chivalric romance was complicit with theocentric notions of the human in medieval Europe, the modern novel has supported the current capitalist systems of oppression that exclude many from the category of the human today. In her view, literature has the power not to simply expand the category of the Human to include those currently marginalized, but instead to overturn the whole system of knowledge production that generates these onto-epistemes and their respective "descriptive statement[s] of the human," through the creation of totally new forms of knowing and thinking. In this schema, it is the job of authors and intellectuals who participate in so-called "minority discourse" to produce "counter-exertions" that could simultaneously bring both our current onto-episteme and the dominant literary form of the novel to a close (as, she argues, *Don Quixote* helped to "disenchant" the ethnoclass genre of Man1 in a previous age when it effected a radical break in the tradition of the chivalric romance.) Using Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* as the prototype of what she terms the "counter-novel," Wynter argues quite explicitly that it is only through innovations in literary content, aesthetics and form that we might finally escape the predetermined forms that have enabled us to "inscript and auto-institute ourselves as human through symbolic, representational processes that have,

[32] For a full explanation of "the ethnoclass genres of the Human" and their role in Wynter's conception of world history, see Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation -- An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 257-337.

hitherto, included those mechanisms of occultation by means of which we have been able to make opaque to ourselves the fact that we so do."[33]

This concept of the "counter-novel" as a work of literature that resists predetermined categories of humanity and personhood even as it tests the limits of aesthetics and form has informed my approach to the texts I examine throughout this dissertation, where authors seek new understandings of place and landscape that collectively transcend or resist prior discourses about ethnic Otherness at the level of the nation, the city, and the local community. In particular, the "counter-novel" presents one way of understanding the work of Sō Shūgetsu 宗秋月 (1944-2011), discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, who sought to create a new, experimental literary form she called the *jōsetsu* (情説, "feelings-text," which she explicitly frames in opposition to the *shōsetsu* 小説, novel). In general, I use Wynter's notion of "being human" as a radical praxis of resistance in my own understanding of the potentials of the category of "minority literature" to engage with the ambitions and aims of historically underrepresented literary voices without resorting to essentialist or prescriptive logic.

"Minor" Space and the Sense of Place

Most importantly, I hope to illustrate throughout this work that theorizations of place and space in literature have quite a bit to contribute to the discourse on the literature of historically underrepresented communities, "marginality," "minority literature," and "the human." Thinking about the relationship between historical place or material space and literary landscape provides a basis for analyzing the dynamic configurations of the aesthetics of literary space, the shifting political concerns of those inhabiting a concrete place, and the changing policies and narratives

[33] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality," 273.

through which the state surveils and regulates those it categorizes as racially or ethnically Other. Theorists such as Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, who I engage with in more detail in Chapter 1, have argued compellingly that our understanding of "space" is socially produced through the tension between inhabitants of land and the state apparatuses that govern and regulate it; urban landscape is constantly in the process of production and reproduction as we move through and perceive it.[34] I do not think it is a stretch, then, to argue that space, as a site of convergence of the social imaginary with the abstract politics of governance and the material aspects of everyday life, is both marked by and generative of discourses of race and ethnicity. Throughout this work, I take the *Chōsen buraku* (Korean enclave) in general, and the urban space of Ikaino in specific, as a site shaped by what Alexander Weheliye calls "racializing assemblages of subjection," state and social discourses that "discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans, and nonhumans," but are also generative of "lines of flight, freedom dreams, practices of liberation, and possibilities of other worlds."[35] As such, I hope to convey both the material realities of discrimination and poverty faced by authors within this urban landscape, and the new spatial imaginations of self and personhood captured within their texts, without resorting to simplistic notions of agency and resistance.

My approach to analyzing literary space is also informed by the work of Maeda Ai 前田愛 (1931-1987), a cultural and literary critic who was deeply invested in situating Japanese literary texts within the material context of the urban spaces that gave rise to them. I take after

[34] See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[35] Alexander G. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 3-4.

Maeda in my attempts to connect literary depictions of urban space to the topography of the cities they depict and the material histories of literary production within those spaces. Perhaps most relevant to this work is Maeda's consistent interest in "liminal" or "border" spaces in literature, with a particular focus on the "dangerous places" (悪所 *akusho*) of theater districts, brothels, and urban slums as sites of transgression. Maeda argued that these liminal urban landscapes are shaped by a "disconnectedness" (無縁) from the regulatory order of the state, in ways that are both oppressive and liberatory – an idea that certainly resonates with the literary imagination of Ikaino as an "invisible city" disavowed by the state, as I discuss in Chapter 1.[36]

This fascination with the urban slum as a transgressive space resonates with the contemporaneous work of Peter Stallybrass and Allon White on European bourgeois culture. They explored the formation of "cultural categories of high and low, social and aesthetic, like ... those of the physical body and geographical space," arguing that "the ranking of literary genres or authors in a hierarchy analogous to social classes is a particularly clear example of a much broader and more complex cultural process whereby the human body, psychic forms, geographical space and the social formation are all constructed within interrelating and dependent hierarchies of high and low."[37] They examine how depictions of the culturally "low" space of the urban slum have been used to confront the marginalization of human bodies, writing, "the axis of the body is transcoded through the axis of the city, and whilst the bodily low is 'forgotten', the city's low becomes a site of obsessive preoccupation, a preoccupation which is itself intimately conceptualized in terms of discourses of the body.... To deconstruct the symptomatic language of the bourgeois body it is necessary to reconstruct the mediating

[36] Maeda Ai, *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1982), 72.

[37] Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 2.

topography of the city which always-already inscribes relations of class, gender, and race."[38] Maeda, too, explores the interweaving of the spatial with the corporeal, emphasizing how representations of urban slums (which he calls スラム街 *suramugai*) draw on metaphors of digestion and bodily expulsion, encouraging "a hallucination of the whole city of Tokyo as a body."[39] In his analysis of Matsubara Iwagoro's *Saiankoku no Tokyo* (In Darkest Tokyo), Maeda asserts that this literary trope enacts a type of reverse logic that relies on images of excess to communicate the poverty of these urban spaces: "*Saiankoku no Tokyo* overturns our common understanding of poverty as a lack of *things.* The abundance of *things* in the slum is first and foremost expressed through the abundance of *things to eat*."[40] In Maeda's view, these images of abundance and excess in the form of slum residents feasting on low-grade organ meat has the potential to resist assumptions about the slum as a kind of bare life, although he also acknowledges the ethnographic quality of Matsubara's "cataloguing" of the impoverished landscape for the (assumed to be middle-class) reader.

Maeda's interest in the antihegemonic power of "liminal" urban spaces bears relevance for some of the standard representations of the Korean *buraku* in postwar Japanese literature. For example, the Japanese author Kaikō Takeshi's *Nihon sanmon opera*, a novel centered around a multiethnic group of scrap metal thieves living in a makeshift *buraku* near the ruins of the Osaka Arsenal right after World War II, contains both metaphors of urban Osaka as a massive digestive

[38] Ibid., 144.

[39] Maeda, *Toshi kūkan*, 241.

[40] Ibid., 240. Emphasis in original.

system and scenes of poor Koreans indulging in hedonistic consumption of cheap offal.[41] However, in my approach to the literature of Ikaino as a distinct genre of Zainichi Korean literature, I aim to shed light on some of the assumptions underpinning these prior ways of thinking about literary representations of impoverished urban spaces. When Maeda says that literary images of the "slum" are capable of overturning "our common understanding" (*watashitachi no jōshiki*), who is included in that first person plural subject? How might we engage with these texts, even ones written with a slight tone of poverty tourism as in the case of Matsubara and Kaikō, in ways that move beyond the constant recentering of an assumed (middle-class, educated, racially and ethnically unmarked) "we"?

In this sense, one value to be gained from a sustained study of Ikaino literature as a subgenre lies in the way these texts refuse to conform to the model in which marginalized spaces serve to destabilize or complicate the experience of those inhabiting the center. For one thing, as the authors themselves constantly remind us, Ikaino (and Osaka more broadly) is in many ways its own cultural and historical center for Koreans in Japan: a landing place and point of connection for the majority of Koreans immigrating to Japan in the late imperial and immediate postwar period, a "second homeland" that transcends national boundaries, and a legendary origin point for countless Zainichi narratives. The constant use of the place name "Ikaino" in the titles of novels and poetry itself complicates the "center/periphery" model of space by inverting the power relation inherent to depictions of nameless urban "slums," instead assuming a reader who already understands the multiple valences of meaning embedded in the place name itself.

[41] Kaikō Takeshi, *Nihon sanmon opera* (Tokyo: Shinchō bunko, 1959). For a critique of the novel's stereotypical depictions of Korean food culture, see Park Yuha, "Kyōbō suru hyōshō: Kaikō Takeshi / Komatsu Sakyō / Yan Sogiru no 'Apache' shōsetsu o megutte," *Nihon bungaku* 55, no. 11 (2006): 35-47.

These texts also resist incorporation into the Tokyo literary establishment as a "minority literature" by refusing to equate identification with place and locality with monolithic categories of nation and ethnic identity. Discussions of regional or "minor" literatures in Japan inevitably invoke the legacy of Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875-1962), the founder of *minzokugaku* (folk studies or ethnology) who spent his career looking to the nation's peripheral spaces for the "origins" of "Japaneseness." Murai Osamu links Yanagita's shift in focus from the "Yamabito" (mountain person) to "Nantō" (Southern island) culture in the 1920s as participating in the ideology of empire by abandoning his fascination with the persistence of minority cultures in favor of a search for the "true roots" of the majority culture, effacing both the history of the colonization of Okinawa and larger questions of subjugation and control as constitutive of "culture." He also details how the periods of greatest interest in *minzokugaku* discourse roughly correspond to two moments of collapse of the left in Japan: the 1920s *tenkō* movement, when many intellectuals were forced to renounce their political beliefs and swear allegiance to the imperialist state; and the 1960s, when many leftist activists and intellectuals were disillusioned by the failure of the 1960 *Anpo* protests.[42] The field of *minzokugaku* provided a sort of refuge for intellectuals fleeing the left at these times, but it also seems to have provided the vocabulary and ideological underpinnings for a corresponding rise in interest in the literature of "minor" authors. In the 1920s to 1940s, enthusiasm for so-called *gaichi bungaku* (literature of the colonies) spread through the Tokyo literary establishment, and Taiwanese and Korean authors such as Long Yingzong 龍瑛宗 (1911-1999), Chang Hyŏkchu 張赫宙 (1905-1998), and Kim Saryang 金史良 (1914-c.1950) were all awarded or nominated for prestigious literary prizes in the 1930s.[43]

[42] Murai Osamu, *Nantō ideorogii no hassei* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2004).

[43] See Ishida, "Imperial Literature," 156.

Likewise, soon after *minzokugaku* began peaking again in the 1960s, "minority" authors were being newly incorporated into the Tokyo *bundan*, with the Okinawan author Tatsuhiro Ōshiro 大城立裕 (1925-2020), the Zainichi Korean author Ri Kaisei/Yi Hoesŏng 李恢成 (1935-), and the *burakumin* author Nakagami Kenji 中上健次 (1946-1992) each being awarded the Akutagawa Prize between 1967 and 1975.

Both of these periods of critical acclaim for Japan's "minority" authors seem to have been influenced by the prevalence of *minzokugaku* discourse. In his essay "The Double Logic of Minor Spaces," Seiji Lippit describes how critically acclaimed authors such as Ōba Minako 大庭みな子 (1930-2007), Tsushima Yūko 津島佑子 (1947-2016), and Nakagami Kenji explicitly made use of vocabulary and imagery from Yanagita's work during this time. He argues that this focus on marginalized cultures as a potential source of essential "Japaneseness" translated directly into the "double logic" of inclusion and exclusion that has shaped the reception of "minority" cultural production in Japan: "The cultures of the periphery were at times incorporated into certain conceptions of Japanese culture that represented the nation itself as a minor culture in relation to external dominant civilizations (primarily the West). In this context, the peripheral spaces of the nation become charged with a special value as markers of a national essence coded precisely as peripheral or marginal, and thereby recuperated into a conception of Japanese cultural and national identity."[44] The rise of concepts from *minzokugaku* in intellectual discourse in the 1960s created the context through which representations of ethnicity and other forms of marginalized identity (including a new wave of women's literature) could be interpreted

[44] Seiji Lippit, "The Double Logic of Minor Spaces," in *Minor Transnationalism*, ed. Francois Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 286.

by Japanese literary critics in relation to the questions of national identity raised in the works of more mainstream authors like Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎 (1935-2023), who were similarly influenced by Yanagita's conception of *minzoku* (ethnos).[45]

While the genre of Ikaino literature reached its peak in the 1970s and 1980s, overlapping with the careers of many of the Zainichi Korean authors who met with critical success in Tokyo, it resists this system of knowledge production through a distinct lack of discourse on *minzoku* (ethnic identity). (The notable exception here being the 1970s political journal *Ajukkari* discussed in chapter 2, in which the term *minzoku* becomes fiercely contested among numerous local political factions, demonstrating how the lack of one unified conception of "ethnos" was in fact a defining quality of the internally fractured and politically polyvalent Zainichi Korean community in Ikaino). For the most part, these texts lack the symbols of national essence and unified ethnic identity that seem to have appealed to Tokyo intellectual circles hungry for markers of authentic difference that could still be incorporated into a preexisting understanding of a nation-based cultural identity. Instead, Ikaino authors foreground the multilayered, fractured, and constantly changing nature of a community centered primarily around the material history and mythology of the space itself, emphasizing the tensions, political disputes, nested structures of oppression, and internal contradictions that inevitably shape a space conceived of as a "Korea inside Japan." While the writing practices that developed around the concrete space of Ikaino are unquestionably hyperlocal in nature, they also refuse to conform to the idea that a focus on the local is necessarily reactionary, relying on a nostalgic turn toward the past in search of essentialist notions of shared roots and cultural tradition – an idea that shows up both in relation

[45] Kuroko Kazuo, *Oe Kenzaburō ron: Mori no shisō to ikikata no genri* (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 1989), 32.

to the work of Yanagita and, in more contemporary times, in the works of postmodern human geographers such as David Harvey.[46]

The narratives of place I explore in this dissertation are certainly interested in thinking about the past, raising the question of the relative weight of "historical truth" versus personal narrative as an unresolved epistemological issue inherent to collective mythmaking, as I discuss in Chapter 1. However, they are also oriented towards future imaginings of what Katherine McKittrick, in her work on the spatial formations of black feminist narratives, calls "more humanly workable geographies."[47] Along the same lines, I see the literature of Ikaino as engaged in the production of a "sense of place" that has always been constituted through a dynamically evolving network of heterogeneous relations intertwining the local, the regional, the national and the global, including the fraught power relationships inherent to each of those levels. Within this context, landscape emerges as a literary method through which authors confront the tension between their lived experiences of precarious personhood and larger societal or state discourses of nation, citizenship, and identity. These narratives capture the unequal power relations, historical traumas, and structures of ethnicity, class, and gender embedded within this material space, but also the imaginings of new conceptions of place and self that might transcend the reach of the state. The literary representations of Ikaino are thus as complex and multivalent as the various facets of subjectivity and personhood of the authors who write them. In this sense, I hope the specific texts examined throughout this project will serve as a reminder of Doreen Massey's powerful statement that "places are processes, too."[48]

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[46] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 1992).

[47] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxiii.

[48] Doreen Massey, *Space, place and gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994), 165. My understanding of the "sense of place" is also adapted from Massey's usage of that term.

Research Methods and Chapter Summaries

So far, there have been very few scholarly works in either Japanese or English that touch on the significance of Ikaino within Zainichi Korean literary and cultural history. Melissa L. Wender's chapter on literary representations of motherhood in Ikaino, which focuses on the works of Sō Shūgetsu and Kim Ch'ang-saeng, is one obvious predecessor to this work.[49] Writings on Sō by Norma Field[50] and Kim Huna,[51] as well as Song Hyewon's insightful analyses of the women poets of *Jindare*,[52] were all crucial texts in the early stages of formulating this research project. Repeatedly confronting the unusual place name Ikaino 猪飼野 within Zainichi literary narratives and earlier scholarship on Zainichi literary history brought me back to my own first encounter with the space itself, as a relatively clueless undergraduate studying abroad at Doshisha University in Kyoto in 2010-2011, with an interest in the regional dialects and linguistic diversity of Japan. On a personal level, delving into the historical and literary archives that surround this space has also been a process of disabusing myself of a wide range of preconceptions and expectations, both positive and negative, that were formed while walking through the alleyways of Ikaino in a now very distant past.

Because Ikaino exists at a double remove from the Tokyo-centric world of Japanese literary studies, a lot of the research for this dissertation was informed by the intellectual labor of scholars and activists who are largely not legible within the existing structures of academia. In

[49] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 91-125.

[50] Norma Field, "Beyond Envy, Boredom, and Suffering: Toward an Emancipatory Politics for Resident Koreans and Other Japanese," *positions* 1:3 (1993): 640-670.

[51] Kim Huna, *Zainichi Chōsenjin josei bungakuron* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2004).

[52] Song Hyewon, Zainichi Chōsenjin bungakushi no tame ni: koenaki koe no porifonī (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014).

unearthing the texts that I discuss here, I drew on the archives of the National Diet Library, the collections at Waseda University, the Pak Kyŏngsik collection at the University of Shiga Prefecture, and the Kim Yŏng-dal papers at the University of Southern California, but I also relied heavily on private archives and personal collections, most notably the Ikaino Sepparam Bunko, a nonprofit private library that just moved to a new home in Ikuno ward in March 2023. Some of the key texts of this research, such as the journal *Ajukkari*, which I examine in Chapter 2, have never made it to the National Diet Library, while others such as *Jindare* only did so after finally being judged to be legitimate literature 50 years after the original date of publication.

Historical information about Ikaino's founding and official erasure has proven to be similarly ephemeral and difficult to pin down. My understanding of this space and the many different voices and political positionalities that constitute its local community, while necessarily still imperfect and always evolving, has been informed both by locally published texts such as *Nippon Ikaino monogatari* (Japan's Ikaino story), published by the Committee to Consider Ikaino's History and Culture (*Ikaino no rekishi to bunka o kangaeru kai*), as well as conversations with the local amateur historians who are working to point out the flaws in these official narratives.[53] Over time, I have been lucky to be welcomed as a visitor to local ethnic Korean schools and to the Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo, a volunteer-run night school for Korean women's literacy that has held sessions twice a week since 1977. I have also benefitted from the generosity and insight of several of the authors who are still active in this space, including Zhong Zhang, Kim Kaeja (a.k.a. Kim Yuchŏng), Won Sooil, and Kim Kilho, who variously offered me walking tours, great conversations over equally great meals, and sometimes even access to their personal papers and out-of-print works. These experiences, and my observations as an occasional

[53] Ueda Masaaki, ed., *Nippon Ikaino monogatari* (Tokyo: Hihyosha, 2011).

interloper in NGO and activist spaces in Ikaino over the past 7 years, have radically changed the way I think about this particular urban community, and literary spaces in general. Because my research time in Japan was cut short due to the COVID-19 pandemic and Japan's long border closures, I have not been able to cover everything I set out to explore in this research project's original formulation, but I hope my engagement with these materials does justice to these many generous informants, colleagues, and comrades.

It should be immediately apparent to readers that this dissertation is not structured chronologically, but rather seeks to excavate the multilayered literary production of Ikaino through a consideration of four major themes: literary representations of landscape, local political activism and visions of transnational solidarity, gender politics and feminist critique, and literary multilingualism. Chapter 1 serves as an overview of Ikaino literature as a distinct genre within Zainichi literature, analyzing the historiographical, political, and aesthetic implications of some of the common tropes of literary representations of Ikaino across time. I consider how mythical narratives about the alleged settlement of Ikaino by Korean immigrant laborers who rendered the area habitable through land reclamation work under empire, at times directly contradicting the historical record of the early history of that land, cast doubt on historical distinctions between free and forced labor under empire and seek to question received narratives about the disposability of Korean labor in Japan. I also discuss the literary invocation of the place name "Ikaino" even after it was officially erased from Osaka maps through city redistricting in 1973, suggesting the persistent production of "Ikaino Literature" as a literary form of resistance against the Japanese state's policies of erasure in relation to ethnic minority communities in postwar Japan.

Chapter 2 situates Ikaino's local literary production in relation to transnational social movements of the 1970s, drawing on commentaries on the role of Zainichi intellectuals within the emergent feminist movements in both Japan and Korea in *Ajukkari* (1975-1983), a journal published by the Ikuno North branch of the Zainichi Youth League (known by its Korean abbreviation Hanch'ŏng) and founded by the author Won Sooil 元秀一 (1950-). While *Ajukkari* was ostensibly intended to draw local Zainichi Korean youth into the burgeoning "Japan-Korea solidarity movement" in support of South Korean democratization, I argue that it also demonstrates the complex entanglement between this leftist movement and the contemporaneous *ūman ribu* ("Women's Lib") movement in Japan, both of which contributed to a new conception of pan-Asian feminism. In analyzing *Ajukkari*'s fraught engagement with conceptions of "Korean women's liberation," I seek to understand how the suffering of Korean women became the locus of a politically instrumentalized transnational feminist paradigm of "Asian Women's Liberation" that still has traction in the present day.

In Chapter 3, I further elaborate on Zainichi Korean intellectual engagement with feminist discourse by examining the largely forgotten author Sō Shūgetsu 宗秋月 (1944-2011)'s depictions of the working women of Ikaino in her poetry, essays, and novels from the 1970s and 1980s. I analyze Sō's body of writing through her concept of the *jōsetsu* (情説 "feeling-text," a play on *shōsetsu*, the Japanese term for the novel), an experimental literary form "written on/of flesh" that seeks to subvert the literary conventions established by the male Zainichi authors who were lauded by the Tokyo literary establishment in the 1970s. I trace the echoes of Sō's literary representations of working women in Ikaino through the works of later female Zainichi Korean authors that were more widely recognized within the Tokyo literary scene, and consider how the contemporary author Kim Yuchŏng 金由汀 (1950-) both responds to and critiques Sō's literary

vision through an interrogation of Zainichi Korean literature's relationship to Cheju Island in South Korea.

Chapter 4 considers how the literary production of Ikaino has been shaped by the language ideologies of both the Japanese empire and the newly established postwar regimes in South and North Korea, as well as Ikaino's role in generating new forms of literary multilingualism that attempt to transcend those highly politicized discourses. I start with a consideration of the poetry journal *Jindare* (1953-1958) as a publishing venue that was famously suppressed for its refusal to conform to the language ideology of the North Korea-affiliated Zainichi organization Ch'ongryŏn. Through close reading of the journal's poetry and the ways its relationship with language choice shifted over time, I seek to complicate that narrative by illustrating how *Jindare* in some sense always took a hybrid and multilingual approach to poetic language. I link these early experiments with language use in *Jindare* to the later emergence of "Ikaino-go" (Ikaino language) as a literary language, comparing the way both Sō Shūgetsu and Won Sooil experimented with "creolized" Ikaino dialect in literature by drawing on the speech patterns of illiterate first-generation Zainichi Korean women in Ikaino. I consider the aesthetic and moral implications of what I call "the politics of the borrowed voice" as part of a larger trend in scholarly and literary engagement with the voices of first-generation Zainichi Korean women that frames them as ethnographic objects without acknowledging their legitimacy as writing subjects in their own right.

Finally, in the epilogue, I consider the new literary representations of Ikaino that have emerged over the course of the seven years since I first began this research project. These recent texts speak to the potentials of Ikaino literature as an unfinished project of writing the poetics of landscape, in addition to demonstrating the ways this space and its cultural significance continue

to change over time. I examine a new poem by Kim Sijong, written for the "Monument of Coexistence" that sits at the entrance to a new Ikaino history museum and cultural center that opened in early 2023, almost exactly 50 years after the place name "Ikaino" was officially erased. I take this new work from the progenitor of the genre of Ikaino literature as an attempt to understand this place's new identity as a tourist-friendly "Ikuno Koreatown," capitalizing on recent enthusiasm for Korean pop culture, within the context of its long history as a segregated and disavowed *Chōsen buraku*. I also consider how the novel and subsequent TV adaptation of Min Jin Lee's *Pachinko* (2017) has transformed the Zainichi Korean media landscape in new and unexpected ways, bringing renewed international attention to a historical landscape still very much in the process of being written.

Chapter 1.
The Logic of Landscape: Ikaino Literature and Diasporic Space

A town that is, even when it isn't.	なくても　ある町。
An as-is as it is, and yet	そのままのままで
disappearing town.	なくなっている町。

(Kim Sijong, "*Mienai machi*")[54]

These lines, which begin the first poem in Kim Sijong's 1978 collection *Ikaino shishū,* capture the multifaceted contradictions of Ikaino (猪飼野), historically and currently Japan's largest ethnically Korean enclave. Ikaino is a place that haunts the pages of Zainichi Korean literary and intellectual history and yet remains largely invisible to those who don't already know where to look. Straddling present-day Ikuno and Higashinari wards in Osaka, Ikaino was established as a township in 1925 and rapidly became known for its rubber, metalworking, and textile factories and other cottage industries that offered employment regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, age, citizenship status, or linguistic ability.[55] The place name "Ikaino" was officially removed from maps on February 1, 1973 through Osaka city redistricting, but taking away the name did nothing to change the makeup of the local community. The area continues to house a large population of ethnic Korean residents, and in recent years, it is increasingly home to migrant laborers from other parts of East and Southeast Asia, as well. Today, Ikaino's two major shopping areas, the Tsuruhashi Shōtengai (Tsuruhashi Shopping District, once known as the Tsuruhashi International Market), and Ikuno Koreatown (once known as the Miyukidōri

[54] Kim Sijong, *Ikaino shishū* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shimbun Shuppankyoku, 1978), 2.

[55] Ueda Masaaki, ed., *Nippon Ikaino monogatari* (Tokyo: Hihyosha, 2011), 65.

Shopping Street) make up a popular tourist destination for fans in search of K-pop cafes, Korean cosmetics, and imported dry goods from Korea. Foodies throughout Western Japan also flock to Tsuruhashi station, in the neighborhood's northwest corner, for its many Korean barbecue restaurants and other Korean restaurants. The station itself plays a jingle from the 90s called *Yōderu tabehōdai* ("The All-You-Can-Eat Yodel") whenever a train is about to depart, a nod to the neighborhood's historic and present contribution to Osaka's status as the "food capital of Japan."

In the immediate postwar period, citizens throughout Japan were struggling to reorient themselves with respect to both local and national space amidst the wreckage of World War II. Koreans who had come to Japan under the empire, either by force or seeking economic opportunities not available to them in the impoverished Korean colonies, faced both housing and employment discrimination. As a result, many of them settled into impoverished ethnic enclaves in cities throughout Japan, where they were more easily able to live and work. These areas were commonly referred to as *Chōsen buraku* or *Chōsen shūraku* (literally, "Korean villages"). The largest of these impoverished Korean neighborhoods was Ikaino. In particular, many families in the area had strong ties to Cheju Island due to the Kimigayomaru ferry, which ran between Osaka and Cheju from 1926 to 1941. After the end of World War II, Koreans illegally immigrating to Japan to flee poverty and political unrest on Cheju often ended up in Ikaino.

In the postwar years, Ikaino also became a central node of the burgeoning Zainichi intellectual community, home to a number of literary journals starting in the early 1950s, such as the journal *Jindare* (1953-1958), in addition to providing a backdrop for political activism throughout the ensuing decades. Although it was long known simply as the "phantom journal"[56]

[56] *Jindare* (also sometimes transliterated *Chindallae* or *Chindare*), was not originally in the holdings of Japan's National Diet Library and was long thought to be lost to history, but its issues survived in the personal collections of

in which the prominent authors Kim Sijong and Yang Sŏgil each made their literary debut, *Jindare*'s significance within Zainichi literary history cannot be overstated – the poet Zhong Zhang has even called the launch of *Jindare* the "birth of Zainichi Korean literature." [57] A piece of commentary from a 1955 issue of *Jindare* perhaps best captures the complex relationship that developed between Ikaino as a material space of everyday struggle and Ikaino as a figurative space within literature, with an anonymous reader complaining, "Ikaino is our second homeland. It's a problem that we can't write it beautifully, as one unified thing."[58]

While poems like "Ikaino monogatari," "Ikaino," and "Tsuruhashi eki yo!," which appeared in *Jindare* in the early to mid 1950s, appear to be the first uses of this place name as a kind of shorthand for resident Korean identity, other examples soon followed. Whether named explicitly or alluded to indirectly, Ikaino appears as a frequent setting in the works of some of the most commercially and critically successful Korean authors in Japan, many of whom grew up in or spent significant time in the area, such as the author and literary theorist Kim Sŏkpŏm, whose seven-volume seminal work *Kazantō* [Volcano island, 1981-1988] traverses Cheju Island, Kobe, and Ikaino. The novelist Gen Getsu's *Kage no sumika*, which won the Akutagawa prize in 1999 (making him the fourth and, so far, most recent Zainichi Korean to win the prize), is set in a present-day unnamed Korean *buraku* full of many obvious references to Ikaino. The popular novelist Yang Sŏgil set his epic multi-generational novel *Blood and Bones* in Ikaino in 1998, and in 2004 it was adapted into a hit movie starring the legendary actor Beat Takeshi and directed by the Zainichi Korean filmmaker Sai Yōichi. Literature and other media centered around Ikaino

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Zainichi writers and intellectuals. It was only in 2008 that Fuji Shuppan was able to put out a republished collection of the journal's full run, making the journal's contents accessible to a general audience.

[57] Zhong Zhang,"'Zainichi' no 'gensho no toki' o tazunete," in *"Zainichi" to 50-nendai bunka undō,* ed. Jindare Kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2010), 33.

[58] Sakai Takao, "Shoshin ōrai," *Jindare* 12 (1955): 30. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

continued to frame it as a "second homeland," or a "Korea inside Japan." For example, the author Kim Ch'angsaeng wrote in the late 1970s, "This 'Ikaino' has clung stubbornly to Korea, from customs and manners to eating habits, while existing inside Japan. This place is, in other words, a homeland within Japan for Zainichi Koreans."[59] Textual representations of Ikaino consistently suggest its status as a space that was perceived to transcend or defy national borders despite its residents' inability to physically depart from the national space of Japan.

Literary invocations of Ikaino arguably reached their peak in the decades after the place name was officially erased from maps through Osaka city redistricting in 1973, and many works produced in Ikaino in the ensuing decades include the place name itself as part of their titles. The recently-disavowed Ikaino came to serve as both a setting and a type of symbolic refrain in the 1970s and 1980s, in works such as Kim Sijong's *Ikaino shishū* [Ikaino poetry collection, 1978]; Kim Ch'angsaeng's *Watashi no Ikaino* [My Ikaino, 1982] and *Ikaino-hatsu Korian karuta* [Korean cards from Ikaino, 1999]; Sō Shūgetsu's *Ikaino/onna/ai/uta* (Ikaino/woman/love/poems, 1984), *Ikaino taryon* (Ikaino ballad, 1986), and "Ikaino nonki megane" (Ikaino rose-colored glasses, 1987); Won Sooil's *Ikaino monogatari* (Ikaino stories, 1987) and *Ikaino t'aryŏng* (Ikaino ballad, 2016); and Kim Kilho's *Ikuno arirang* (Ikuno song, 2006)[60]. The contemporary poet Zhong Zhang, who locates his own writing practice in the "Eastern outskirts of Ikaino," has commented on the mythic nature of this literary lineage, writing that "The first to succeed in

[59] Kim Taesŏk [Kim Ch'angsaeng], "Naŭi Ikaino," *Hanyang* 143 (1978): 98. While this work was originally published in Korean, this autobiographical short story would later become the titular piece in Kim Ch'angsaeng's Japanese-language collection *Watashi no Ikaino* [My Ikaino] in 1982.

[60] Of this selected bibliography of Ikaino authors, the only works available in English translation so far are the essay "The Korean Women I Love" and poems "Testament" and "Name: For Pak Ch'u-ja" by Chong Ch'u-wŏl and the short story "Lee-kun's Blues" from Wŏn Suil's *Ikaino monogatari*. See Chong Ch'u-wŏl, "The Korean Women I Love," "Testament," "Name: For Pak Ch'u-ja," in *Into the Light: An Anthology of Literature by Koreans in Japan*, ed. Melissa L. Wender (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 112-131 and Won Sooil, "Lee-kun's Blues," in *Zainichi Literature: Japanese Writings by Ethnic Koreans*, ed. John Lie (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2018), 121-138.

mythologizing 'Ikaino' within Zainichi literature was none other than the poet Kim Sijong's *Ikaino shishū*."[61] As we will see below, this practice of evoking the place name of Ikaino within literature was a crucial technique in the mythological narratives that placed this urban landscape at the center of a collectively constructed Zainichi Korean cultural history.

In this chapter, I seek to understand the evocative power of this historical and material landscape within literature by examining the tropes and narratives that are repeated throughout the body of literature centered around the historical and material space of Ikaino, and the complex, often contradictory, and yet incredibly powerful literary landscapes that these narratives conjure. I argue that the two central rhetorical gestures deployed throughout the core works of what I call the genre of "Ikaino literature" – narratives of Ikaino as reclaimed land and repetition of Ikaino as an erased place name -- shape a distinct writing practice within the larger category of Zainichi literature that seeks to foreground the embodied and affective experience of those moving through the landscape while simultaneously invoking a mythological collective origin story capable of questioning received historical narratives. In examining the literary production of this diasporic space over time, I hope to shed light not only on Ikaino's significance as an aesthetic or poetic figure that gave rise to a subgenre of Zainichi literature in the 1970s and 1980s, but more broadly on the way that literary landscapes and the act of place naming can serve as a method for reclaiming local spaces from the top-down regulatory logic of the state.

[61] Zhong Zhang, *Saramu no arika* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2009), 54.

Theorizing Landscape

While there does not seem to be any preceding scholarship on the literary production of diasporic space within representations of Ikaino, a great deal of critical attention has been paid to the significance of landscape within diasporic literatures on a global scale. Perhaps most significantly, landscape and material space lie at the center of the work of the Caribbean theorist Édouard Glissant. Throughout his body of work, Glissant seeks to analyze the relationship between displaced communities and literary space through his concept of "poetics of landscape":

> An immediate consequence of this approach can be found in the *function of landscape.* The relationship with the land, one that is even more threatened because the community is alienated from the land, becomes so fundamental in this discourse that landscape in the work stops being merely decorative or supportive and emerges as a full character. Describing the landscape is not enough. The individual, the community, the land are inextricable in the process of creating history. Landscape is a character in this process. Its deepest meanings need to be understood."[62]

In seeking to understand how landscape is deployed in the works of displaced communities during and after empire, Glissant suggests that we might understand diasporic literature as a confrontation with the fundamentally spatial relation of alienation and displacement in the aftermath of colonization. My reading of Glissant is informed by recent work on racialized formations of space and geography by the black studies scholars Katherine McKittrick, who writes,

> Glissant remarks that the relationship between the writer/speaker and the landscape in fact makes history and brings the subject into being … To put it another way, naming place is also an act of naming the self and self-histories. Insisting that different kinds of expression are multifariously even, that is, not

[62] Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse*, trans. J. Michael Dash (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 105-106.

> hierarchically constituted as, for example, "written" over "oral," and that the landscape does not simply function as a decorative background, opens up the possibility for thinking about the production of space as unfinished, a poetics of questioning.[63]

McKittrick's interpretation of Glissant deftly brings together the question of literary space with issues of naming (both of place and of the individual) and literary form (experimentation with the boundary between written and oral forms of expression) that are incredibly relevant to the features of Ikaino literature that I highlight below. Furthermore, McKittrick hints at the stakes of these narratives for the disenfranchised communities who write them. The "poetics of landscape" as a literary technique not only inscribes the unequal power relations of empire and its aftermath into depictions of the land itself, but it also holds the potential to unsettle or even overturn them, reconceptualizing space and place in service of what McKittrick calls "more workable human geographies."[64] In the process, a new historical subject is brought into being, insisting on the right to new self-histories for communities that were formerly excised or dehumanized by the received historical narratives of the state. Throughout my analysis, I seek to understand the texts that make up the core of the genre of Ikaino literature as constituting a similar "poetics of landscape," one that specifically brings together embodied, affective experience with the act of place naming to reclaim land long framed by the state as (both figuratively and literally) "uninhabitable."

[63] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxii.

[64] Ibid., xxiii.

Zainichi Mythologies: The Temporality of Diasporic Space

The landscape of Ikaino is not simply a setting for the poems and novels I examine, but rather, in Glissant's terms, a "full character" that is constantly centered within these texts. Narratives of Ikaino almost always repeat the same origin stories about the land itself with uncanny consistency, especially considering the somewhat contradictory nature of the backstory. Most importantly, Ikaino stories insist again and again that Ikaino itself was reclaimed from marshland through the construction work of the very Korean laborers who settled there during the Japanese empire. For example, in the preface to *Ikaino shishū*, Kim Sijong summarizes the origin narrative of Ikaino as follows:

> Ikaino (猪飼野): the old name of a Korean town that occupied a part of Osaka's Ikuno ward, but ceased to be on February 1, 1973.
>
> Once called Ikaitsu (猪甘津), it is also the remains of Kudara, a land said to have been settled by the Paekche people who emigrated en masse from Korea around the fifth century.
>
> The town where Korean menial workers were able to rent rooms and settle after the repair of the Kudara River and the creation of the New Hirano River (canal) made the area habitable at the end of the Taisho era. It's a town something like a synonym for resident Koreans in Japan.[65]

Kim's assertion that this *buraku*, the only place where "Korean menial workers were able to rent rooms," has come to serve as a sort of shorthand or "synonym" for the entire Zainichi Korean population indicates the extent to which physical, locational marginality has been a fundamental element of the mythos of Zainichi Korean identity. In this narrative, workers in search of sustenance, mobilized to support the rapid expansion of the empire's metropolises yet excluded from city centers, are marked as simultaneously existing both inside and outside "Japan" proper.

[65] Kim Sijong, *Ikaino shishū* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shimbun Shuppankyoku, 1978), 1.

The land is framed as having been only recently rendered habitable through Korean labor. And yet, there is a second notable feature of this narrative: by invoking the premodern place names of Ikaitsu and Kudara, there is a simultaneous insistence that this place has been marked as ethnically other since premodern times.

The historical references being made here are multi-faceted. *Ikaitsu* is a place name mentioned in the *Nihon Shoki*, Japan's second-oldest book of classical history, as the site where Emperor Nintoku built Japan's first bridge, called Tsuru no hashi bridge, in the 4th century AD. Ikaino narratives often draw on the (perhaps mythical) notion that Ikaino as a place name, as well as the name of Tsuruhashi, the area's biggest train station, are inherited from an ancient imperial visit to the area. In that sense, the place name and the land itself are tied to the ultimate symbol of authentic "Japanese-ness"; even today, schoolchildren on walking tours of the area are often taken through local the Miyukinomori shrine, which enshrines Emperor Nintoku among other dieties. A plaque on site describes how the emperor rested on that very ground during the journey in which he crossed the Tsuru no hashi bridge for the first time.

At the same time, Kim mentions Kudara, the Japanese name for the Korean kingdom of Paekche, using the historical fact that the canal running through Ikaino was once called the Kudara River to assert that the area has been home to Korean migrants to Japan since as far back as the 7th century AD. This association of Ikaino in specific with the Paekche migrants suggests that this physical space has in some sense always been defined by transnational migration, even though this notion is belied by the fact that Kim goes on to describe Ikaino as settled by migrant Korean laborers in the late Taisho era. While the Paekche migrants to the Nara court settled in communities throughout western Japan, there is little evidence that the area that would become Ikaino was one of those specific sites. Regardless, on an abstract level, there seems to be an

attempt to link the 20th century settlement of menial laborers under the empire to an earlier wave of migration from Korea to Japan that has much more positive associations – a historical transnational encounter in which Korean settlers brought new forms of art, thought, and technology to premodern Japan, suggesting that the two cultures have always been intertwined.

Zhong Zhang's 2003 poem "Shinwa no chi" ("The Land of Myths"), written for an anthology commemorating the works of the photographer Cho Chihyŏn, who documented Ikaino extensively in the 1960s, picks up the same historical allusions and similarly contrasts them with the constructed nature of the land itself. The poem starts:

> That land
> Even in antiquity when, it was called Ikai no tsu
> On that riverbank
> Compatriots were
> Building a settlement
>
> From Kudara to Hirano
> When that river
> Was just about to change its name
> New compatriots were
> Building a settlement
> Ikaino[66]

Here, Zhong repeats a familiar origin story, but he goes a step further in explicitly naming as "myth" (*shinwa*) what his predecessors tend to present as matter-of-fact local history. This interplay of imagery evoking a deep history stretching into the distant past with the language of the temporary constructedness of the land of Ikaino itself is a persistent tension underlying the textual representation of Ikaino. Structurally, this resembles Stuart Hall's model of diasporic

[66] Zhong Zhang, "Shinwa no chi," in *Cho Chihyŏn shashinshū – Ikaino: tsuioku no 1960nendai* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2003), 54.

identity as a dialogic relationship between "two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture…The one gives us some grounding in, some continuity with, the past. The second reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity: the peoples dragged into slavery, transportation, colonisation, migration."[67] The fixation on the distant past that shows up in the works of Kim, Zhong, and other writers hints at the paradoxical nature of diasporic consciousness, in which a displaced community is torn between past and present, homeland and current home.

In an ironic play on the concept of the ethnic melting pot, Zhong next calls Ikaino a "melting pot of silences," cataloguing the many suppressed historical traumas that inform the conception of Ikaino as a collective origin story: the Cheju Island 4/3 Massacre, the ensuing wave of undocumented immigration from Cheju Island to Japan, political assassinations and activist movements, and of course, the division of the Korean peninsula into North and South Korea, which has always mapped onto political divisions within the Zainichi Korean community. As the poem moves forward, Zhong ties this somewhat abstract cascade of premodern and modern historical events to a similar list of the real, embodied experiences of those who have inhabited the landscape:

> The landscape of the settlement that was built
> On a foundation of buried silence
>
> Old women's wails
> Men's roars
> Women with children on their backs
> Thick fingers rough hands bent backs

[67] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 226-227.

Rubber scraps and bean sprout barrels in the back alleys

…

The police box on the bridge

Slogans on banners hung across the shopping street

In this way, the poem brings together affective and bodily experience, physical landmarks, and grand historical narratives of place on a sweeping scale, indicating how each of these forms of understanding this particular urban space are inextricably intertwined. What are the stakes for Zhong of inscribing both the mythos of place and its tangible effects into poetry? In thinking about the purpose of mythological narratives of place, Glissant writes,

> Many of us have never fully understood our historical times; we have simply experienced them. That is the case of Caribbean communities which only today have access to a collective memory. Our quest for the dimension of time will therefore be neither harmonious nor linear. Its advance will be marked by a polyphony of dramatic shocks, at the level of the conscious as well as the unconscious, between incongruous phenomena or "episodes" so disparate that no link can be discerned.[68]

In Glissant's interrogation of the relationship between "History and Literature" for diasporic communities in the Carribean, this impulse to make new (and sometimes unreliable) connections across time is directly related to myth as a form of radical history-making that connects lived reality to a broader form of collective consciousness. In Glissant's view, "After being folktale, story, or speech, after being record, statistic, and verification, after being a universal, systematic, and imposed whole, history insofar as it is the 'reflection' of a collective consciousness today is concerned with the obscure areas of lived reality… History and Literature form part of the same problematics: the account, or the frame of reference, of the collective relationships of men with

[68] Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse,* 106-107.

their environment, in a space that keeps changing and in a time that constantly is being altered."[69] Here, Glissant suggests the process of narrating a collective history as a reaction to the unstable sense of place and time inherent to displaced communities, questioning the epistemic division between history and literature as forms of shared knowledge. He further elaborates:

> I feel it is necessary to consider a few of the sustained links between History and Literature.
>
> First of all, that the earliest link between a view of history and the urge to write can be traced back to myth.
>
> Myth disguises while conferring meaning, obscures and brings to light, mystifies as well as clarifies and intensifies *that* which emerges, fixed in time and space, between men and their world. It explores the known-unknown.
>
> Myth is the first state of a still-naïve historical consciousness, and the raw material for the project of a literature.
>
> We should note that, given the formative process of a historical consciousness, myth anticipates history as much as it inevitably repeats the accidents that it has glorified; that means it is in turn a producer of history.[70]

While Glissant (as well as other Caribbean theorists such as Stuart Hall, cited above) are primarily concerned with cultural production of formerly enslaved people in the Americas, the broader model he presents of myth as the linking element between history and literature writ large seems equally relevant for understanding the model of time that shows up throughout these poetic and fictional representations of Ikaino. This sweeping scale of history lends legitimacy to narratives practices that were heretofore relegated to the easily dismissed category of folk tale or unsophisticated oral storytelling. It also gives voice to those not represented in pre-existing historical narratives, not simply through acts of retelling or revision, but through the production of an entirely new historical subject anchored in a new conception of space and time. It is

[69] Ibid, 69-70.
[70] Ibid., 71.

significant here that Glissant repeatedly draws attention to this act of mythmaking as something that "mystifies as well as clarifies," and likewise points out that any new producer of history that emerges in this way "inevitably repeats the accidents that [history] has glorified." In the next two sections, I will consider both the potentials and the pitfalls of the genre of Ikaino literature as a form of collective mythmaking.

The Limits of Ikaino Literature

Other Ikaino authors who participate in the trope of Ikaino as reclaimed land emphasize the physical precarity of Ikaino, as a space where something was created out of nothing, and nothingness is always threatening to re-encroach. As with the poems Kim and Zhong cited above, these texts constantly tie this sense of spatial tenuousness to the question of Korean labor. Sō Shūgetsu's novel *Ikaino nonki megane* (Ikaino Through Rose-Colored Glasses, 1984) describes the creation of Ikaino as follows:

> Because countless rivers within the city had been filled in, when it rained hard the Hirano canal would swell so much that they had to extend concrete embankments a full meter above the ground. The Hirano canal was made by rebuilding the Hirano River in the Taishō era for the sake of flood control in Osaka, the City of Water. Now a class A protected river, the canal was made with the labor of Cheju Islanders, and the name of the city at the river's edge where those who were imported as labor power settled was Ikaino.[71]

Sō's account deliberately ties the area's past as unstable swampland, and the ensuing labor of "imported" Koreans to make the land habitable, to the present-day issue of flooding along the reconstructed canal, which in turn requires further construction labor to fortify the man-made banks. Kim Ch'angsaeng's *Watashi no Ikaino* (My Ikaino, 1982) features an almost identical

[71] Sō Shūgetsu, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Doyō Bijutsusha, 2016), 173.

scene of a character reflecting upon the origins of Ikaino as a settlement of Koreans who were doing construction work to make the area habitable, while struggling to find habitation themselves:

> She says that she remembers the flood-control construction of the Hirano canal, the beginnings of the Ikaino Korean *buraku* … Starting around 1920, about 2,000 of our compatriots from Korea were dragged here as forced labor to do flood-control construction on this little ditch-like river, which would overflow every time it rained. She says the lives of our comrades who made encampments along the river were "without anything that could properly be called a home."[72]

Both Kim Ch'angsaeng's and Sō Shūgetsu's emphases on the tenuous nature of this constructed land, still threatened with a return to watery marshland whenever it rains, further conveys a sense of the makeshift temporality of this impossible space and the residents who inhabit it – a defiant insistence on the possibility of life amidst the threats of erasure and uninhabitability that have long marked public discourse surrounding the Korean slum in Japan.

Kim Ch'angsaeng's version of the narrative also has an important addition – her assertion that "Starting around 1920, about 2,000 of our Korean compatriots were dragged here and made to work" very bluntly associates Ikaino with the history of Korean forced laborers under the Japanese empire, whereas the other authors I've quoted are much vaguer in their reference to "menial laborers" or "imported labor". Kim Ch'ang Saeng's association of Ikaino with Korean forced laborers is quite obviously at odds with received historical narratives – as she says, the rebuilding of the Hirano canal started around 1920 and concluded by the early 1930s, while the Japanese empire's conscription of forced labor from the Korean and Taiwanese colonies didn't start until 1939. Upon archival investigation, even the softer claim repeated in the works of Kim Sijong, Sō Shūgetsu, Won Sooil, and others – that Ikaino was founded by immigrant laborers

[72] Kim Ch'ang Saeng, *Watashi no Ikaino* (Nagoya: Fubaisha, 1982), 80.

who gathered in the area, or "were imported" in Sō's words, in order to fuel this reconstruction project, is equally dubious. Reporting in the newspaper *Tong-il Ilbo* in the early 1980s debunks what it calls the *tsūsetsu* or "popular theory" of Ikaino's origins.[73] While it acknowledges the key role that the Hirano canal reconstruction played in enabling the rapid urbanization of this area, the column presents compelling evidence that the area that would become known as Ikaino was already inhabited by a number of settlements of young Korean migrant laborers years before the project started. It also argues that the Korean laborers involved in the construction work had very little overlap with the population that would come to make up Ikaino, which was mostly comprised of families with ties to Cheju Island by the time it became known for its Korean market in the 1930s. In other words, the land reclamation project that took place all along the Hirano canal (and not just in the area of Ikaino) made use of Korean labor quite simply because they were already there. These narratives of Ikaino are mythological not only in tone, but in content as well.

These discrepancies between community narrative and historical record raise questions about the ethics of collective mythmaking that can't and shouldn't be ignored. The land reclamation narrative conjures a sense of authority and ownership of the place itself, suggesting a smooth continuity between the imperial-era Koreans who labored along the banks of the Hirano River and the Cheju Island-descended Koreans who occupy and speak for that space in the 1970s and 1980s. This smooth narrative ends up glossing over a number of significant ruptures that have been equally definitive in the lives of this area's actual occupants over time. It effectively erases the presence of Korean farming families that occupied the land long before it was urbanized and the community of Cheju Island Koreans that settled there much later in the

[73] "Dōhō no sumu machi: Ikaino hen," *Tong-il Ilbo,* January-October 1981.

imperial and postwar periods, reflective of larger cultural and political fractures that have persisted in Zainichi society. Aerial photography taken by the American Occupation in the late 1940s shows that the land east of the Hirano Canal was still largely an underdeveloped area full of rice fields and other agriculture. This archival footage corroborates stories I heard from local amateur historians about the wide gap between the life experiences of Korean families who moved to the area early in the colonial period and the immigrants from Cheju who came to Japan decades later, who I sometimes heard referred to simply as "those who came after."[74] The bustling urban landscape described in stories of Ikaino isn't confirmed by the photographic evidence until at least a decade later, much closer to the time when these authors were writing. The complicated economic and political divides within the Zainichi Korean community in the area seem to play a major role in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the locals who have made a name for themselves as poets, authors, filmmakers, and artists are from the Cheju Island-descended part of the community, which perhaps enables them to project their current experience of the space back into the imperial era based on the stories of those around them. These narrative gaps speak to the power relations embedded in the act of curation involved in any form of collective history, even one designed to reclaim power for the dispossessed: some voices and lived experiences are inevitably excluded.

Curiously, the narratives of Ikaino as reclaimed land also minimizes how the surrounding area was violently transformed by the end of World War II. These texts seem to jump between the premodern past, the settlement of Ikaino in the Taisho era, and the present day, without much

[74] The Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (Kokudo Chiriin) maintains an online library of aerial photography of Japanese territory. A large number of aerial photos of the Ikaino area are accessible at https://geolib.gsi.go.jp/map_search/results?query=生野区. The collection includes photographs taken by GHQ every year between 1947 and the end of 1952, as well as photographs taken by the Japanese government from 1967 to the present.

mention of the transition between wartime and postwar (or imperial and postcolonial) Japan. This is surprising, given the obvious significance of the empire and its collapse for any account of the origins of diasporic Korean communities in Japan. While Ikaino itself was untouched by the U.S. military's repeated firebombings of Osaka, the neighborhood is a mere three kilometers from the former site of the Osaka Arsenal, one of the empire's largest munitions factories that was famously destroyed on August 14, one day before the official end of the war. In author Kim Sŏkpŏm's telling, the areas immediately surrounding Ikaino's borders suffered massive destruction from firebombings in the final months of the war, to the extent that rumors spread in Osaka that the Koreans living in Ikaino were secretly communicating with the U.S. military, sending signals about which areas to target in return for their guaranteed safety and freedom after the collapse of the empire.[75]

While Kim Sŏkpŏm grew up in Ikaino and frequently uses it as a setting in his novels and short stories, he diverges in a number of ways from the core authors of the genre of Ikaino literature that I focus on in this chapter. For one thing, Kim has found much more critical acclaim outside of Osaka than many of the authors I examine here, and he seems to be targeting a very different audience than the authors I've examined so far, who seem unconcerned with the approval of any larger literary establishment. Kim Sŏkpŏm almost never references the place name Ikaino itself in his fictional works, instead referring obliquely to "Ward 'I' on the east edge of Osaka, a concentrated area of Zainichi Koreans."[76] Kim's writings on Ikaino do not seem interested in participating in a collective narrative of the space, nor do they dwell on Ikaino as reclaimed land – by anonymizing the place name, he seems much more interested in speaking

[75] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Shuppatsu," in *Kim Sŏkpŏm sakuhinshū* vol 1 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 393.

[76] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Chōka," in *Kim Sŏkpŏm sakuhinshū* 1, 252.

broadly about the experience of living in a Korean *buraku* in wartime and postwar Japan rather than drawing on the specific mythos of Ikaino itself. For example, Kim's novel "Summer, 1945" (1945nen natsu, 1974)[77] portrays the wartime and immediate postwar experience of the protagonist Kim T'aecho, a young Korean man living in Ikaino who receives a summons in April 1945 for a health inspection to determine if he is fit to be drafted in the Japanese Imperial Army. Through a bureaucratic loophole, he is able to insist on receiving the health exam in his hometown in colonial Korea, and travels there with the plan of absconding before he can be drafted. His plan is ultimately thwarted by unexpected illness and he returns to Japan, resigned to his fate as a casualty of the empire, only to witness Japan's surrender immediately after returning to Osaka.

The story returns repeatedly to Kim's traumatic experience of walking through the burned rubble and stumbling over a charred corpse on his way to the train station, and the visceral memories of the firebombings are clearly central to his (and perhaps, by extension, the author's) experience of wartime Osaka.

> Coming out onto the bus lane and turning west along the sidewalk, he could see the guardrail of the Government Railway line, but the boundless expanse of T ward just across it was a burnt-out field of undulating debris. This was one part of the area hit by the March 13th air raid that obliterated almost all of Osaka, leaving only the east side behind. Electric poles strewn with shredded power lines had fallen to the ground, snapped in the middle as if they had been hit by lightning, and the roadside trees that had just begun to bud were miserably withered to blackness. On one corner of the road, where the rubble of the intersection of the railway lines jutted out and the smell of burning still lingered, he saw a charred human corpse

[77] "Summer, 1945" was published as a stand-alone novel in 1974. However, citations here are taken from Kim's collected works, which treat the four parts of this 1974 novel more like linked short stories with different names. As a result, my citations give the names of the subsection the quote was taken from, rather than the title of the novel itself.

> lying there just like a piece of burnt log. It no longer had the power to even catch the attention of the passersby dragging their bicycles, riding, or walking by. … It was just a single charred corpse, but it was strangely striking how it was lying there carelessly as though it would blow away if you kicked it with a foot, alongside the other debris of the ruins. It was charred logs, charred rubble, tiles, stones, tin cans, broken glass marbles, dead trees, burnt-out weeds on the roadside, and rain dampening the ruins …… it was a human body being devoured as it rotted and disappeared.[78]

This vivid imagery of the utter destruction just outside the limits of Kim T'aecho's neighborhood haunts him in the days leading up to his departure for Korea, and returns to him in fever dreams before his return to Japan. Here, too, the relationship between body and landscape is foregrounded, but it takes a very different format than the Ikaino narratives we've seen thus far. For Kim, the power of the firebombings lies in the complete effacement of the distinction between body and land, human and inhuman, as everything is reduced to smoldering ruins. Kim T'aecho returns repeatedly to the imagery of the completely dehumanized, charred, log-like corpse because it represents his future under the Japanese empire as he is inevitably reduced to a loyal Japanese foot soldier – his haunting memories of this scene are part of what drive his plans for defection.

The imagery of Osaka burning is further deployed to situate Ikaino at the center of Kim T'aecho's conflicted feelings about his home and identity as a Korean raised in Japan. In the only passage in the entire novel where Kim Sŏkpŏm calls Ikaino by name, T'aecho is finally departing Japan and reflecting on his mixed hatred of and attachment to the urban space he has occupied for his whole life. He thinks about the perverse pleasure he took in seeing Osaka burn during the recent air raids:

[78] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Kokyō," in *Kim Sŏkpŏm sakuhinshū* 1, 282.

> Osaka, you have burned. From the dark night sky, you were suddenly covered with a blazing curtain of fire. While the sky and earth where bursting into flames together, I was afraid that a ball of fire might be dropped upon my own head, and yet I shouted into the magnificent flames that scorched the dark night, Osaka, burn! Burn, Osaka! Now I will depart from the Osaka Station I've grown accustomed to, the Osaka station that has swallowed up and spat out so many Koreans alongside so many other people. No, I am departing from the Osaka that enfolds Ikaino, where the traces of my gaze are engraved on the streetcorners, where I have lived my whole life, and K-town, where I left my mother just now; from Osaka, where the breath of the Koreans will never fade; from you, who takes Taep'an (Osaka)[79] as another name. It was to you I shouted, Osaka, burn. Even if my mother's body had burst into flames at that moment, I don't think I would have stopped my shouting. No, not Osaka. Japan, Japan who beats its wings of mischief spread wide, let your wings burn and fall, Japan, may you burn along with your wings just like the wings of Icarus – that is what I shouted.[80]

This inner monologue powerfully expresses the way that Kim's conception of the space of Ikaino is entangled with larger feelings about Osaka and Japan itself in ways he is struggling to overcome. "Osaka" here clearly represents Japan as a target of pure animosity – and yet, it is also inseparable from the history of Koreans moving through the city, and T'aecho's feelings toward his own family. The contradictions here mirror the larger structure of the story -- T'aecho cannot wait to be free of Japan and return to his "homeland" of Korea, only to find himself adrift, ill, and longing for the familiar space of Osaka once he gets there. It seems significant that this is the moment in the novel when Kim names Ikaino explicitly, while it is referred to only using the capital letter "I" both before and after – it seems that in this moment of impassioned anguish, T'aecho's narration momentarily exceeds the diegetic space of the novel, only to return back to the literary convention of the anonymized place-name "K-town" (*K-machi*) just a few words

[79] "Taep'an" is the Korean pronunciation of the *kanji* used to spell "Osaka."

[80] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Kokyō," in *Kim Sŏkpŏm sakuhinshū* 1, 303.

later. For T'aecho (and perhaps for Kim Sŏkpŏm himself) the place name "Ikaino" is forever marked with the trauma of wartime Japan. Kim's experience of the Osaka landscape is also shaped by the presence of the U.S. military quite literally lurking overhead, both through the constant reminders of the imminent danger of U.S. firebombings in the later wartime period and in the form of U.S. Occupation soldiers in the background throughout the postwar scenes – by contrast, commentary on America's role in shaping the politics and realities of life as a Zainichi Korean in the immediate postwar period seem strangely absent from the larger body of textual representations of Ikaino.

In this way, Kim Sŏkpŏm's "Summer, 1945" seems to demonstrate a tension between different possible accounts of Ikaino as the center of a mythologized Zainichi Korean history. Why is the land reclamation story, and its erasure of the upheaval that clearly accompanied the end of the war for the local community, the dominant narrative that gets repeated? For one thing, it's worth noting that Kim Sŏkpŏm's literary production of this material space is a fundamentally pessimistic one. His protagonist never finds a resolution to the anguish he expresses over his relationship to space, and continues to bounce back and forth between the national spaces of South Korea and Japan in the postwar period, finding himself politically alienated, sexually frustrated, and constantly disappointed by the reality of life as a "post-liberation" Korean in both Korea and Japan. The elements of his story that don't or can't get put into words in the more widespread narrative tropes of the genre of Ikaino literature – not just the trauma of the Osaka firebombings, but also the question of wartime complicity and accountability, and the greedy, violent, and hypocritical nature of many of the activists he encounters within postwar political organizations for Zainichi Koreans – tell us something about what stands to be gained through the repetition of the more common narratives. The story of Ikaino as a reclaimed space – a space

where residents can imagine new and more habitable futures for themselves – must necessarily be selective in its narration of local history.

The Postcolonial Archive and the Ethics of Collective Mythmaking

Despite discrepancies with both the historical record and the divergent narratives of authors like Kim Sŏkpŏm, it seems too simplistic to dismiss the dominant literary narrative of Ikaino as land reclaimed through Korean laborers. This narrative persists in Zainichi literature and in the popular understanding of Ikaino today, as indicated by local landmarks like the Tsuru no hashi bridge site, which still proudly marks the solid ground in Ikaino where the *Nihon Shoki* claims Japan's oldest recorded bridge once crossed a river in premodern Ikaitsu. Why does this narrative continue to hold such currency? The continued centrality of this mythos of Ikaino as land constructed by the town's Korean settlers speaks to a collective need for a narrative that concretely delineates this land itself from the rest of the urban landscape while simultaneously insisting on a history stretching back to the beginning of recorded time. The oblique hints (and blatantly unverifiable claims) about the unfreedom of Korean labor under conditions of empire seem designed to probe at unrecoverable holes in the historical archive – it's an attempt to reconstruct the imagined lives of the undocumented.

We might think about this imaginative reconstruction of the past as not simply an act of ignorance, but a narrative practice that resonates with how contemporary historians have struggled to transcend the violent erasures of the colonial archive. To begin with, repeated references to Ikaino as a "mythical" or "mythologized" space point to a self-awareness of the unreliability of narrative here. Author Kim Kaeja's 2002 story "Kanadarai" (The Metal Basin), for example, communicates the vague and unverifiable origins of these origin stories through the

figure of a black persimmon tree that is said to have preexisted the settlement of Ikaino, even as she further distorts the by now familiar myth of the land's origins by pushing the creation of the neighborhood back from the 1920s to the 1900s: "Behind that bungalow stands a single persimmon tree said to have been there since a hundred years before. No one knows why it can be determined that it was a hundred years before. However, the Cheju Island people who settled there after coming to do construction work on the river around 1900 passed down the story that at that time, in that place, the persimmon tree was already there."[81]

The irreconcilability of the timeline presented by these Ikaino narratives can be productively considered in terms of Saidiya Hartman's conception of "writing the impossible" or "critical fabulation" in relation to the archives of transatlantic slavery, arguing for the necessity "to imagine what cannot be verified, a realm of experience which is situated between two zones of death – social and corporeal death – and to reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the moment of their disappearance... It is a history of an unrecoverable past; it is a narrative of what might have been or could have been; it is a history written with and against the archive."[82] Initially asking, "Why risk the contamination involved in restating the maledictions, obscenities, columns of losses and gains, and measures of value by which captive lives were inscribed and extinguished? Why subject the dead to new dangers and to a second order of violence?"[83] Hartman ultimately concludes that there is value to be gained from a new historiographical method that can "tell a story about *degraded matter* and dishonored life that

[81] Kim Kaeja, "Kanadarai," *Hakua* no. 10 (April 2002), 27. Later in her writing career, Kim Kaeja switched to using the penname Kim Yuchŏng, and has contributed to the Zainichi Korean women's journal *Chi ni fune o koge* and the Zainichi Korean journal *Hangno* under that name.

[82] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, issue 2 (2008), 12.

[83] Ibid., 5.

doesn't delight and titillate, but instead ventures toward another mode of writing," which has the potential to "exceed or negotiate the constitutive limits of the archive."[84] While Hartman is clear that there is no possibility of "recovering the lives of the enslaved or redeeming the dead," she does suggest the potential for "straining against the limits of the archive to write a cultural history of the captive, and, at the same time, enacting the impossibility of representing the lives of the captives precisely through the process of narration."[85] The process of "fabulation," which necessarily relies heavily on literary aesthetics and narrative to both highlight and speculatively fill in the gaps in the archive without reenacting the very violence of the archive itself, are central to Hartman's proposed mode of writing.

Lisa Lowe, confronting similar holes in the colonial archive in her attempts to write a large-scale transatlantic history, suggests that these disciplinary blind spots might be overcome through a "history of the present" achieved through a new method of historiographical writing from a "past conditional temporality," arguing that "it is possible to conceive the past, not as fixed or settled, not as inaugurating the temporality into which our present falls, but as a configuration of multiple contingent possibilities, all present, yet none inevitable. The past conditional temporality of 'what could have been' symbolizes a space of attention that holds at once the positive objects and methods respected by modern history and social science, as well as the inquiries into connections and convergences rendered unavailable by those methods."[86] Lisa Yoneyama has similarly analyzed textual attempts to unsettle a global geopolitics of knowledge and "suggest the impossibility of representation, the instability of language, and the irreparability

[84] Ibid., 11.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 175.

of the original" in relation to comfort women narratives and depictions of sexual violence in postwar Okinawa in terms of what she calls a "catachronic history," which she defines as a "a disjointed sense of time," an "act of 'remembering the wrong things at a wrong moment,'"[87] or a mode of thinking where "discrepant times and locations are conjured up and intersect."[88]

The hard labor of Koreans under the imperial system, whether compelled by physical force or conditions of extreme poverty, is a very different kind of violence from the forms of enslavement addressed by Hartman, Lowe, and Yoneyama. However, I argue that it is still possible to see this kind of counterfactual storytelling that insists on a timeless relationship between Korean bodies and so-called "Japanese" land as an attempt to resist the received narrative of the state, which framed Koreans in Japan as a disposable and temporary form of imported labor power. In reading these narratives critically, it is important to balance acknowledgment of what is lost in this process of mythological placemaking alongside an understanding of what the authors of these narratives sought to create.

Reclaiming Place: The Circular Logic of the Korean *Buraku*

It is also worth noting that these narratives might be drawing some of their legitimacy from a similar "poetics of landscape" that shows up in earlier works of Zainichi literature. The figuration of the Korean slum as a place marked as liminal down to the very soil itself shows up in the 1951 short story "Son Yŏnggam" (Old Man Son) by Kim Talsu, the Zainichi Korean author who was active in both the Tokyo literary establishment and the Japanese Communist

[87] Lisa Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*: *Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 52.

[88] Ibid., 81.

Party in the immediate postwar period.[89] "Son Yŏnggam" tells the story of the death of the titular character, an elderly Korean man who relocates from Hiratsuka to the anonymous Korean *buraku* N after losing his wife and grandchild in a firebombing at the end of World War II and becomes involved in local political activism, only to be killed in a hit-and-run by a military truck transporting munitions for use in the Korean War as village N is taken over by the remilitarization effort, an ambiguously framed demise that might be interpreted as either an accident or a suicide.

Despite his obvious centrality, the character of Son Yŏnggam (or for that matter, any other named character) isn't named until almost a third of the way through the short story. Instead, the narrative starts by presenting a threefold history of the unnamed *buraku* N, starting with a detailed description of the land itself and the way it was reclaimed from Tokyo Bay during the empire, which I will return to look at more closely in a moment. The second portion takes us through the history of wartime, the immediate postwar, and the beginning of the Korean war in terms of the movement of people and machines through the landscape, starting with the statement "For over a decade, the *buraku* remained nothing more than a collection of low, old galvanized iron roofs, but people's lives changed quite a bit. Glimpsed at dusk, the vast concrete of the thoroughfare sprawled out ahead as white as ever, but what was coming back and forth on top of it changed quite a bit."[90] We then get a description of the main road's original use by the Imperial Japanese Navy to transport weapons to the bay, the witnessing of the end of the war by chain gangs of the navy prison forced to work along the roadside, the postwar appearance of civilian passenger cars moving through at high speeds, the initial appearance of military trucks

[89] Kim Talsu, "Son Yŏnggam," in *Kim Talsu shōsetsu zenshū* vol 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1980), 34-46.

[90] Ibid., 34.

leaving the corpses of recklessly struck pedestrians in their wake, and finally the arrival of an endless procession of droning, slow-moving armored vehicles carrying bombs for use in the Korean War. The third and final portion of this opening section describes the changing occupations of the inhabitants of *buraku* N, starting back at the beginning with the statement, "The people of the *buraku*, who were wrung out of the farming villages of their home country Chosŏn, and brought as low-wage laborers for the land reclamation project of the naval unit, started out in this way as construction workers."[91] The narrative traces how the end of construction work caused the main industry of the *buraku* to shift to scrap collecting and pig farming, followed by the rise of food services and bootlegged liquor for sale on the black market in the postwar period. It is only at this point that the character of Son Yŏnggam, mentioned without context in the first paragraph, is introduced simply as "one of the newcomers" to the *buraku*, setting us up to understand him first and foremost as one instance of an ordinary life lived out within the true "main character" of the village itself.

By far the most striking passage in the novel is the opening paragraphs describing the formation of the land itself, immediately tying the people of the *buraku* to the materiality of the land, and the land to the history of Japanese imperialism:

> That thoroughfare went alongside the sea, travelling from the eastern edge of Y city, stretching through R, which by the time of the war had already been annexed as part of the expansion of the navy port, and on towards H harbor, which apparently had once been a fishing village.
>
> By the way, at the three-way split where the thoroughfare heading toward R suddenly splits off to the right towards H lies village N, one of the Korean *buraku* in Y city, with its low eaves clustered together. The village has quite an old history. And just as once cannot possibly think of Son Yŏnggam's death apart

[91] Ibid., 36.

> from the thoroughfare, it is also impossible to think about the history of the people of this village separate from that road. Which is to say, it was these very people who created the road to begin with.
>
> This land, including the area where the village is, used to be ocean in Tokyo Bay. People employed by a naval unit came and filled it in, and since the reclamation project included new roads connected to the thoroughfare and even breakwaters, they built living quarters and a village and ended up just staying there. A bit north of village N there is another place called village M, but it was built under the same circumstances. [92]

Again, the villagers live in a place that used to be literally nowhere. This opening passage gives us a great deal of insight into the view of history conveyed throughout the rest of the story, one that involves continuous interplay between the idea of historical fatedness or causality and the infuriating incomprehensibility of sheer bad luck. The narrator states outright that the long history of the village can't be separated from the village residents' involvement in constructing the lands they live on and the roads they travel (and, in Son Yŏnggam's case, are killed) on, and yet the grammatical structure of the passage continuously asserts both the utter lack of agency and fundamental arbitrariness of this community. The vague passive statement *hitobito ga yatowarete*, "people were hired", is later echoed in the even more pointed passive-tense description I quoted earlier, of the *buraku* residents being "wrung out of their homeland [*oshi shibori dasarete*] and brought [*turerarete kita*]" to the area, implying that their immigration was not a choice made freely. The fact that they stayed to form a permanent settlement is presented similarly as a decision made for them by outside circumstances in the sentence ending, "they ended up just staying there [*sono mama soko ni itsuite shimatta nodearu]*." Moreover, by starting with the causal *tokorode* or "by the way," and going on to say there is another nearby village

[92] Ibid., 34.

called *buraku* M built under the exact same circumstances, we get the impression that there is nothing particularly special about the *buraku* N of this story, but rather that similarly precarious communities of immigrant laborers might be forming throughout the area, or even throughout the nation.

Through the specific figuration of the Korean *buraku* as reclaimed land, a circular logic of ethnically marked space in postwar Japan begins to emerge: the land itself exists because Koreans were brought there to build it, and the Korean community exists because the newly reclaimed land was there to shelter them. The struggle of the villagers to conceptualize their current "home" as complicit in the destruction of their "homeland" is embodied in the very space they occupy, since they are living on land that they constructed with their own hands as laborers under the imperial system. These contradictions inherent in the Korean *buraku* – a home away from home that was built through the very imperial system of expansion that destroyed their homeland to begin with, and a community forced to witness the further destruction of that homeland through the remilitarization enabled by the very roads they had no choice but to build – highlight the bleak conditions of life for a community materially bound to a space that was built on their own suffering.

The next part of the passage further reinforces this sense of *buraku* N as an impossible space, inconceivable within the regulatory system of the Japanese state beyond the service they have provided as disposable labor, which is communicated through the use of the blunt label "reclamation *buraku*" (*umetate buraku*) rather than a proper address or place name:

> Because there had been no land rental or anything else here until a few years before, it had no official address and letters would simply be addressed to the "reclamation *buraku* of Y city." As a result, when the children who grew up in the

> *buraku* had to give their address to their friends or teachers, how small they must have felt.[93]

The liminal status of the *buraku* is indelibly written into the villagers' daily lived experience through the village's lack of a postal code, requiring that the residents constantly identify themselves as people coming from a constructed, segregated land on the outskirts of the city. The villagers live in a place that used to be literally nowhere, and whose current existence is not fully legible or visible to the state. Kim's insistence on providing overly detailed information about the layout of the land without actually giving any identifying place names emphasizes this paradoxical sense of a Korean *buraku* that is at once both real and fabricated.

The precarious poetics of space established by Kim at the outset of "Son Yŏnggam" enables a sense of temporal and physical instability, allowing the narrative to fold back in on itself in presenting parallel accounts of the wartime firebombings, the experiences of Zainichi Koreans in the immediate postwar, and the sense of dread that accompanies the endless parade of armored trucks that mark the beginning of the Korean War. This allows Kim to portray the space of the *buraku* as simultaneously serving conflicting roles in the lives of its residents: the late 1940s storyline explains how the local political organization Chōren (which embraces both young and old, men and women, as Kim goes out of his way to point out) brings new life to the *buraku* as a space of resistance that extends beyond the organization's forced disbandment in 1949, and yet the work as a whole refuses any simple narrative of political empowerment. The ultimate inescapability of the system of war is symbolized by the continuously referenced droning of the armored trucks moving through the village, constantly drawing the villagers back into an awareness of their unwilling complicitly in the continuous destruction of their homeland: "Now, the parade of trucks continuously commanded their view. Because now, after the things

[93] Ibid.

piled on those trucks passed through H harbor, they knew exactly where they would be carried and why."[94]

It is this droning of the military trucks that ultimately drives Son mad from sleeplessness and sends him out into the middle of the road at night to a death that remains illegible both to the other villagers and to the reader of the story. It is at this point that the narrative ultimately refuses any sort of metaphorical interpretation, instead representing Son's inner life as a fragmented whirlwind of visceral memories and historical events: "Bombs dropped swiftly, smoothly in a line from a plane like the shit of some kind of bird. The thundering explosions as they touch the ground! Ah, people, humans are blown to bits and blasted into the air. Grandson's smoldering chunk of arm. Wife's charred, unrecognizable torso. The parade of trucks. The glaring face of Yi Sanggil being hauled off in handcuffs."[95] And later: "The Gabo Revolution. The Eulsa Treaty. The unforgettable annexation of Korea on August 29. The complete abandonment of education after that. The 3/1 Independence Uprising. Jail. Wandering through the country. Finally, the Kampu Ferry abroad, to Japan. People… War. The sound of air-raid sirens. Explosions, a sea of fire. People… August 15, 1945. Korea's independence, complete independence! The People's Republic, purged of traitors. The liberation of the land. That is…, that is…"[96] Son Yŏnggam's death at the end of the novel leaves us with these fragments, which refuse to be pieced together into a historical narrative with any clarity beyond the sheer bad luck of one man experiencing it all, and the villager's confusion when Son's corpse is found run over with a freshly shaved beard. Did he go out to resist? Did he go out to die? Under the circumstances, is there any difference?

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[94] Ibid., 36.

[95] Ibid., 43.

[96] Ibid., 43-44.

While the Kim Talsu story ends in a cynical refusal of any allegorical interpretation as the main character devolves into a schizophrenic state of crisis, I argue that the Ikaino authors I've been discussing are specifically interested in using this same formation of literary space to create a more empowering narrative. By mythologizing Ikaino through a poetics of contradiction and rebellion against the historical archive, these authors attempt to create a space where possible futures can be imagined through creatively reimagining the past, using physically reclaimed land as the concrete foundation for an ongoing reclaiming of figurative space through literature.

"Ikaino" Reclaimed, Again

If the liminality and precarity of reclaimed land lends itself to mobilization as a literary metaphor for the lived experiences of Zainichi Koreans in general, there is an additional aspect of the historical Ikaino that lends evocative power to its use as a literary metaphor or symbolic refrain. Crucially, by the time Kim Ch'angsaeng and Sō Shūgetsu were imagining Ikaino swept away by floods, it had in a sense already been erased. On February 1, 1973, the township of Ikaino officially ceased to exist, erased from city maps through redistricting carried out by the Osaka government. Just as with Ikaino's creation, the historical facts behind its official erasure are difficult to ascertain. Kim Sijong speculates in the afterword to *Ikaino shishū* that this decision was partly a result of pressure from the Japanese residents living in the outskirts of Ikaino, who felt that having a place name in their addresses that was associated so strongly with the Zainichi Korean community was subjecting them to discrimination and harming their employment and marriage prospects.[97] However, this sort of rumor is difficult to verify with any certainty, and the Osaka city government framed the dismantling of the township as simply part

[97] Kim, *Ikaino shishū*, 218-219.

of broader city redistricting being carried out at the time. Regardless of the reason, this sudden erasure of Ikaino at the governmental level provides another reading of Kim's description of a "town that is, even when it isn't." The poem continues: "Everyone knows it / It's not on the map / It's not on the map, so / It's not Japan, / It's not Japan, so / It's fine if it's gone, and / Nobody cares, so / It's a carefree kind of place."[98]

Sō Shūgetsu and Kim Ch'angsaeng both likewise make the excision of the place name a focus of their respective narrativizations of Ikaino. Kim Ch'angsaeng explicitly compares the place name change to the legacy of *sōshi-kaimei*, the Japanese imperial policy that required all Koreans to take on legal Japanese names, when she describes receiving a letter addressed to "the name from a distant past that I stopped using, or rather 'cast off,'" bearing the name of "the 'cast-off' city 'Ikaino' (the biggest residential area of Koreans in Japan. From before the war, it was said that letters from Korea addressed simply to 'Ikaino, Japan' would arrive successfully, but on February 1, 1973, under the pretense of redistricting changes, the Osaka prefectural government erased this town name)."[99] Elsewhere, she references the resulting disjuncture between the official signification and the lived experience of this space more obliquely, stating simply, "Ah, I have a memory of this feeling somewhere before. If I reach way back into my oldest recollections, it was back when Ikaino was still Ikaino."[100]

While Kim Ch'angsaeng uses this historical moment of renaming as a metaphor for things lost or ripped away by larger structures of power, both Kim Sijong and Sō Shūgetsu frame the same point of rupture as revealing the state's inability to seize control of certain aspects of

[98] Kim, *Ikaino shishū*, 2-3.

[99] Kim, *Watashi no Ikaino*, 168.

[100] Ibid, 148.

lived experience. Just after Sō explains the history of Ikaino as a reclaimed space in *Ikaino nonki megane*, she continues, "Sunja's family lived at the foot of the Ikaino Bridge. Around the time Sunja got married, the name of the town of Ikaino was officially changed, but the bridge name remained the same, and the word Ikaino was engraved into the guardrail beside Sunja's childhood home,"[101] thereby emphasizing the material sense in which the name has persisted within everyday life. Kim Sijong takes an even more defiant tone in "Mienai machi" stating, "Erased and then returned, it's not a nickname. / They try to replace it, paint over it, but / Ikaino is / Ikaino."[102]

What is the significance of these authors' insistence on continuing to inscribe a place that technically doesn't exist anymore into their works? Michel de Certeau describes place names as "pockets of hidden and familiar meanings," words that "slowly lose, like worn coins, the value engraved on them, but their ability to signify outlives its first definition,"[103] and I think we can see a similar attempt here to outlive the official "end of Ikaino," to create and occupy a "liberated space" through the invocation of its name. As mentioned above, it is possible to draw a direct parallel between the erasure of this place name and the historical legacy of forcing individuals to change their names within the Japanese empire as a form of assimilation, but it is also possible to see a second sort of doubling within Ikaino's history by thinking purely in spatial terms.

We might frame the schema of Ikaino pre-1973 in terms of Lefebvre's spatial triad, consisting of perceived space (the spatial practice constituted by daily routine and urban reality - e.g., the movement through the streets of Ikaino by residents commuting between workplace,

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[101] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 173.

[102] Kim, *Ikaino shishū*, 6-7.

[103] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 104.

leisure space, and home); conceived or conceptualized space (representations of space, "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers," taking the form of maps, city plans, and street signs); and lived space (representational spaces, the "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'").[104] Within this framework, the erasure of the name Ikaino from Osaka city maps can be viewed as a sudden collapse of Ikaino as a conceived space, leaving a space defined only by those who actually experience and move through it - a space that is representational but not represented, lived and perceived but not conceptualized by any higher authority. While this act of withdrawing the previous system of representation is a still a form of power exercised by the state, it has the opposite effect of the name changes carried out under *sōshi-kaimei:* this renaming and reconfiguration of space demonstrates the postwar policy of exclusion and erasure rather than the colonial policy of assimilation. The resulting void allows a new sense of place to emerge from within the community in question.

By seizing on this moment as a crucial turning point in the meaning of Ikaino, both in reality and in writing, I argue that the authors participating in this writing practice over the following decades were involved in yet another act of reclamation (or in Lefebvre's terms, "reappropriation") of this land, asserting the radical possibility of a literary space defined by the affective, bodily, and lived experiences that are excluded by systems of ideology or knowledge bound to state power. In insisting on overlaying the literary space of an "Ikaino that is no longer Ikaino" on the physical landscape of this historical community, this writing practice openly revolts against the system set out by Lefebvre in which "The *representation of space*, in thrall to

[104] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 38-39.

both knowledge and power, leaves only the narrowest leeway to *representational spaces*, which are limited to works, images, and memories whose content, whether sensory, sensual, or sexual, is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force."[105]

In "Mienai machi," Kim Sijong seems to acknowledge this turning point in both Ikaino as a community and Ikaino as a writing practice, actively recentering the representational over the conceptual. With the lines, "With that, it's decided. / The beginning of Ikaino / As an Ikaino that's not Ikaino. / A love receding peers into / The darkness of unseen days, / The beginning of a faded heart's regret. / When I turn away, / Disappearing somewhere, / Even if it's / Gone into hiding, / Soured, stagnating, / Leaking out, / The salty throbbing / Can't be hidden,"[106] he pairs the transformation of Ikaino into a "invisible," unofficial urban space with a corresponding turn toward the affective and sensory, expressed through a visceral description of the act of shedding tears. While the earlier poems of the journal *Jindare* that portrayed Ikaino in the 1950s (including some by Kim himself) tended towards the ideological, always gazing outward towards an unreachable "homeland," Kim's poetry of the late 1970s is turned inward with a focus on the bodily aspects of lived experience. Again, referencing the disappearance of the official system of representation that once governed Ikaino, he suggests that letting that system go is the price of admission, and that Ikaino is now something felt through the bodily senses rather than grasped intellectually: "How about it, won't you come and see? / Of course, there's nothing like a signpost. / You'll have to feel your way here. / … / If you can't sniff it out, / You can't come here."[107] Sō Shūgetsu likewise emphasizes her own prioritization of the affective and the

[105] Ibid., 50.

[106] Kim, *Ikaino shishū*, 10.

[107] Ibid., 6-7.

everyday in her Ikaino novels by terming them *jōsetsu* (情説, "feelings-text") rather than *shōsetsu* (小説, "novel").[108] In Chapter 3, I will lay out a more detailed argument that that her focus on the lived experience and emotional lives of Korean women in Ikaino, "expressed as though carved on the body,"[109] is a deliberate strategy in a larger project of rejecting the systems of rhetoric, genre and form that govern literature as an institution of the state.

It's worth mentioning that the association of the erasure of Ikaino as a place name at the level of the governmental with a turn toward embodied and lived experience occurs not just in terms of the content of these literary texts but at the level of the print medium itself. When Kim's "Mienai machi" asserts, "Erased and then returned, it's not a nickname. / They try to replace it, paint over it, but / Ikaino is / Ikaino," the spelling of the place name shifts in the last two lines of the stanza: "猪飼野は ／ イカイノさ. "[110] At the exact moment that Ikaino officially ceases to exist, there is a shift from the *kanji* spelling of the name to its representation in the *katakana* phonetic syllabary, which is often used for emphasis but seems to be serving a more complicated function here. The first two Chinese characters in the official, government-approved spelling of Ikaino (the way it appeared on maps before the place name erasure) are not particularly common, and "Ikaino" is an irregular reading of those characters in combination, so the place name requires a relatively high level of literacy of its reader. By contrast, the *katakana* spelling would be accessible to someone with even rudimentary knowledge of the Japanese writing system.[111]

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[108] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 567 and 588.

[109] Ibid., 620.

[110] Kim, *Ikaino shishū,* 7.

[111] The reading of this orthographical play as a commentary on class is further complicated by the fact that many first-generation Korean immigrants living in Ikaino would not be literate in the Japanese writing system at all. The Chinese characters might actually be more accessible to so-called "newcomer" Korean immigrants who were educated in South Korea – but their pronunciation of the Chinese characters would differ wildly from the reading

Perhaps more compellingly, we might think of the *kanji* orthography as representing the conceived, the conceptualized, the understood and written down – carrying with it all of the complex power dynamics involved in the act of mapmaking as a form of regulating space. The *katakana*, then, is not just a simpler rendering of the phrase, but a fundamentally aural mode of expression – representing a turn away from the intellectually conceived and towards what is spoken or heard, words passing through and understood by the body itself.

This orthographic play between the two spellings of "Ikaino" in relation to the moment of its erasure from city maps starts with Kim Sijong, but is echoed throughout many of the works I've analyzed here. Toward the end of Zhong Zhang's "Land of Myths," he mirrors this gesture in referencing the past moment of transformation and simultaneously hinting towards future turning points on the horizon:

Not Ikaino (猪飼野)
But Ikaino (イカイノ)
Endlessly
Erupting
Volcano Island[112]
Magma
Even Ikaino (イカイノ) is
On the verge of extinction these days
Not homesickness
Not historical record
Much less a Koreatown
This land of those compatriots
Is now trying to be reborn

"Ikaino." If Kim is writing for an insider audience of Koreans in Japan, it is clearly a specific locally- and class-marked subset of that community.

[112] This is an obvious allusion to Kim Sŏkpŏm's epic novel *Kazantō* (Volcano Island).

As myth.[113]

The need for this turn toward the affective, the sensory, and the lived is also something hinted at (though not argued for explicitly) in Lefebvre, who sees most societies, dominated by representations of space and their accompanying systems of power, as "abstract spaces" that are "buttressed by non-critical (positive) knowledge, backed up by a frightening capacity for violence, and maintained by a bureaucracy which has laid hold of the gains of capitalism in the ascendant and turned them to its own profit."[114] In seeking to undermine this system of abstraction, the practice of writing Ikaino as an "invisible" city represents a move towards a theoretically possible, but not easily realized, type of space that Lefebvre terms a "'differential space,' because, inasmuch as abstract space tends toward homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities, a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences."[115] These authors' insistence on the preservation of difference – on the persistence of Ikaino as a "carefree kind of place" (in Kim Sijong's words) that is in some sense freed by its own official erasure – is based on the sensory, the emotional, and the everyday. This is something Lefebvre predicts with the statement that in abstract space, "Lived experience is crushed, vanquished by what is 'conceived of'.... Affectivity... along with the sensory/sensual realm, cannot accede to abstract space and so informs no symbolism."[116] By reclaiming lived and bodily experience as the foundation of a new type of literary space, the authors who write Ikaino have circumvented this "violence intrinsic to abstraction"[117] and contributed to a sense of

[113] Zhong Zhang, "Shinwa no chi," 55-56.

[114] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 52.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., 51.

[117] Ibid., 289.

affective community that has preserved Ikaino as a place that "is, even when it isn't" – an Ikaino that can still be found in literature and on the streets of Ikuno ward today, glimpsed on old address plates and engraved on guardrails even if it can't be found on any map. In my view, the insistence on the repetition of place name as an aesthetic element of these texts is what gives the narrative trope discussed earlier its poetic significance, through the resonant tension between Ikaino's precariously makeshift land and the defiant persistence of its name. If the un-naming of "Ikaino" can be seen as a very concrete manifestation of postwar policies of exclusion and erasure, demonstrations of the persistence of this place name in the face of official effacement offer a blank space that can be filled in with new meanings, but never erased. By seizing on these double narratives of reclaiming "Ikaino" – reclamation of land and reclamation of place name – as crucial to the poetics of place in Zainichi literature, I argue that these authors assert the radical possibility of the Korean *buraku* reconceptualized as a perpetual "invisible city" – a space that "is, even when it isn't," perpetually in the unfinished process of creation beyond the constraints of received history and the gaze of the state.

Chapter 2.
From Ikaino to the World:
Transnational Solidarity and "Feminist" Discourse in Ajukkari (1975-1983)

In January 1975, members of the Ikuno North branch of the political organization Hanch'ŏng (the common abbreviation of K: *Chaeil Hanguk ch'ŏngnyŏn dongmaeng* / J: *Zainichi Kankoku seinen* dōmei / E: the Zainichi Korean Youth League) launched the Japanese-language journal *Ajukkari* (1975-1983), announcing the renewed commitment of this local community of activists in Osaka's largest Korean ethnic enclave to the reunification and democratization movements in South Korea. Appearing after a period of political turmoil in which many Zainichi Korean political organizations, including Hanch'ŏng, split from the South-Korea affiliated organization Mindan over the ongoing human rights abuses of the Park Chung-hee dictatorial regime, the first issue of *Ajukkari* is an explicit declaration of its collective authors' pro-democracy, anti-Park stance, drawing its name from a poem by the South Korean dissident Kim Chiha. By ending with a letter from the editor signed simply "Student K," *Ajukkari* also responds directly to "Letters from South Korea" (*Kankoku kara no tsūshin*), a column by the anonymous "Student T.K." that ran from 1973 to 1988 in the Japanese journal *Sekai* (The World), a key text of the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement which by 1975 was reaching its peak among leftist intellectuals in Japan.[118]

Over the course of *Ajukkari*'s twelve extant issues[119] published between 1975 and 1983, the journal's efforts to construct a collective voice capable of articulating a vision of

[118] Student T.K. and Iwanami Shoten "Sekai" Henshūbu, *Kankoku kara no tsūshin* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1974).

[119] Issues 1-10 and 12 are currently extant, and individual issues can be found in the holdings of the Zainichi Korean Collection at the University of Southern California, the Korean Scholarship Foundation in Tokyo, the Pak Kyŏng-sik Collection at the University of Shiga Prefecture, and Sepparam Bunko, a private library in Osaka.

transnational solidarity were inevitably entangled with the politics of representation, especially with regard to gender, generation, class, and political affiliation. *Ajukkari*'s genderless, faceless "Student K," much like the fictional author "Student T.K." from "Letters from South Korea," raises questions about who exactly is given power within these acts of collective authorship. While the journal is ostensibly written to encourage local Zainichi Korean youth in Osaka to become involved in the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement, the question of "women's liberation" (*josei kaihō*) discourse in Japan and Korea – and its possible usefulness for South Korean and Zainichi Korean activist movements focused on democracy and transnational solidarity – emerges as a constant theme. In this chapter, I hope to shed particular light on the representation, translation, and appropriation of Korean women's voices underlying the intellectual production of the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement both in Zainichi Korean spaces and more broadly in Japan. This careful curation of what kinds of experiences count as worthy of "solidarity," and what kinds of voices might be included in the collective speaking subject of that "solidarity," are often obscured within the process of producing the collectively authored texts that formed the core of the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement for Japanese-language audiences.

The 1970s and early 1980s saw a rapid rise in interest in the concept of "transnational solidarity" among both South Korean and Japanese activists and intellectuals. Prominent members of the Japanese left, including Wada Haruki, Tsurumi Shunsuke, Oda Makoto and Ōe Kenzaburō sought to offer support to the South Korean democratization movement through the circulation of print materials smuggled out of South Korea, petition campaigns, hunger strikes, and other grassroots activism. This "Japan-Korea solidarity movement" was driven by a number of historical events that served as a call to action for intellectuals in Japan, including the South Korean government's repeated imprisonment and torture of the dissident poet Kim Chiha in

1964, 1972, and 1974; the 1971 arrest and torture of 51 Zainichi Koreans studying abroad in South Korea on fabricated charges of spying for North Korea; and the kidnapping of Kim Taejung from a Tokyo hotel by KCIA agents in 1973. The protest movements that arose in Japan surrounding each of these events interacted closely with other grassroots political movements of the early 1970s, including extensive overlap with the members of the anti-Vietnam war movement Beheiren, Japanese Christian activist organizations, and a transnationally-oriented environmentalist movement protesting "pollution export" from Japan to other parts of Asia.[120] As I will discuss, it also shared intellectual roots with the Japanese "Women's Lib" movement, which similarly emerged from New Left activist movements and sought an international orientation during this time period. Together, these various forms of activism contributed to a cultural moment in which many intellectuals reconceptualized their engagement in local grassroots political movements in relation to a transnational or regional conception of "East Asia," bringing renewed attention to the issue of Japan's historical and continuing complicity with structures of exploitation and oppression in Korea and other former colonies and encouraging individuals to grapple with questions of solidarity and accountability on a personal level.

In this article, I read *Ajukkari* as a demonstration of how this somewhat abstract notion of an era of transnational solidarity between Korea and Japan played out concretely within local Zainichi Korean spaces – specifically, the area of Osaka once known as Ikaino, Japan's largest Korean enclave. *Ajukkari* uses personal essays, poetry, short fiction, cultural criticism and educational articles, reports on local activism, political commentary, and Japanese translations of political materials from the South Korean democratization struggle to examine the local and

[120] See Simon Avenell, "Transnational Environmental Activism and Japan's Second Modernity," *The Asia-Pacific Journal - Japan Focus* 15, issue 14, no.2 (July 2017), 10.

transnational facets of identity for young Zainichi Korean intellectuals, including special issues on the signature-collecting campaign in support of the release of South Korean political prisoners (Issue 4), the Women's Lib movement (Issue 6), the lives of second-generation Zainichi Koreans (Issue 7), naturalization (Issue 8), the Gwangju Uprising (Issue 9), illegal immigration from Korea to Japan (Issue 10), and the Zainichi struggle against assimilation policies in the 1980s (Issue 12). While the journal is one of many small-scale political publications circulating within Zainichi intellectual circles during this time period, *Ajukkari* is particularly notable due to the heavy involvement of the founding member and contributor Won Sooil (1950-).[121] Won is an important figure in Ikaino literature specifically and contemporary resident Korean literature more broadly, known for the short story collection *Ikaino Stories* (Ikaino Monogatari, 1987) as well as his later novels *AV Odyssey* (AV oddessei, 1997), *All Night Blues* (Ōru naito burūzu, 2004), and *Ikaino Lament* (Ikaino t'aryŏng, 2016). *Ajukkari* represents Won Sooil's literary debut in several dimensions at once: as an editor, as a poet under the name "Won Il," starting from the first issue of the journal; as a critic and essayist on ethnic Korean identity under his full name "Won Sooil," starting with a film review published in the third issue of Ajukkari; and most notably, as a novelist, with the fictional short story series "Thoughts on Ikaino" (Ikainokō) published under the pen name "Kim Ha" (金可), which begins in issue 2 in 1975 and extends through issue 10 in 1981. Many of the stories that make up "Thoughts on Ikaino" would eventually be rewritten and incorporated into Won's 1987 work *Ikaino monogatari*.

Beyond the glimpses it offers into Won's early attempts at poetry, fiction, and nonfiction prose writing, *Ajukkari* carries value as a record of the ways in which young members of

[121] Note that the non-standard spelling used for Won's name throughout this dissertation is the preferred romanization used by the author in previous publications.

Hanch'ŏng attempted to conceptualize both the future of the Korean peninsula and their own individual identities at a time when they were physically unable to visit South Korea themselves due to their own liminal citizenship status and the Park regime's persecution of Zainichi Koreans as alleged spies on behalf of North Korea. I take *Ajukkari*'s approach to the question of democratization in South Korea as representative of what I see as a something of a "transnational turn" in Zainichi Korean intellectual production around this time, as Zainichi writers disillusioned with both the North and South Korean regimes (and the corresponding political organizations Chongryŏn and Mindan within Zainichi society) sought to situate themselves within the context of border-crossing democratization and liberation movements both in South Korea and globally. While the writing of resident Koreans themselves is often framed as inherently transnational or "border-crossing" by the very nature of their identities, the 1970s saw the emergence of a new kind of transnational political awareness within the Zainichi Korean community, grounded in the desire to participate actively in the building of material and intellectual solidarity networks between Japan and South Korea through the continuous circulation of money, texts, and people across borders, rather than relying on the rhetoric of eventual return to an imagined homeland. In the process, the young authors of *Ajukkari* demonstrate a clear interest in the politics and privileges of life on Japanese soil, and how their position as a minority community in Japan might both help and hinder their ability to participate in projects of transnational solidarity.

In particular, I am interested in tracing *Ajukkari*'s visible struggle to incorporate and respond to feminist discourses emerging from both Japan and South Korea around this time, which by the mid-1970s had clearly become too immense of a cultural presence to ignore but did not fit neatly within *Ajukkari*'s narratives of ethnic solidarity and self-determination through

democratic liberation. The aim of this chapter is not to evaluate the ultimate success or failure of *Ajukkari*'s attempts to define a specifically South Korean-centered form of "women's liberation" within the context of the movement in support of democratization. Rather, I argue that the clumsy and sometimes problematic way in which those stated "feminist" values are manifested in the pages of the journal hints at the tensions between different groups invested in the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement of the 1970s and 1980s, and illustrates how this solidarity movement was entwined with the beginnings of a politically instrumentalized transnational feminist paradigm of "Asian Women's Liberation" that still has traction in the present day.

Zainichi Youth in the Japan-Korea Solidarity Movement: New Transnational Identities

In the 1970s and 1980s, the political crisis unfolding on the Korean peninsula increasingly spilled over national boundaries, involving Japanese territory (the kidnapping of Kim Taejung from Tokyo), residents (the arrest and torture of Zainichi Korean study abroad students in South Korea) and capital (as Japanese companies' increasing presence in South Korea was seen as both neocolonialist exploitation of cheap labor and complicit with the Park regime's human rights abuses). Rising interest in the South Korean democratization movement among leftists in Japan was accompanied by a proliferation of political organizations loosely linked to the category of South Korean nationality in Japan. Most significantly, the South Korean political organization Mindan fractured during this period over internal disillusionment with the group's continued support of the Park Chung-hee regime and tolerance of direct interference from the KCIA, giving rise to a number of anti-Park and pro-democratization splinter groups comprised of former Mindan members.[122] One of the most prominent was Hanch'ŏng (the Zainichi Korean

[122] Cho Kiŭn, "Kankoku minshuka undō e no sanka ni miru Zainichi Chōsenjin no aidentitī," *Gengo/chīki bunka kenkyū* no. 17 (2011): 19.

Youth League), which left Mindan to become an independent organization in 1972, focusing most of its resources on pro-reunification activism in collaboration with Choch'ŏng (朝青, the youth league of the North Korea-affiliated umbrella organization Chongryŏn) and activities in support of the democratization struggle in south Korea. Hanch'ŏng was eventually incorporated under the umbrella organization Kanmintō [J] / Hanmintong [K] (韓民統, short for 韓国民主回復統一促進国民会議, E: the National Congress for the Promotion of Reunification and Democratic Restoration in South Korea; name later changed to Kantōren [J] / Hantongrŏn [K] 韓統連, short for 在日韓国民主統一連合, E: League of Zainichi Koreans for Reunification and Democracy in South Korea), which was founded in 1973 under the direction of South Korean political dissident Kim Taejung as part of a broader movement to assemble Korean expatriate communities (excluding those in communist nations) into a global network of organizations in support of South Korean democratization and Korean reunification.[123] These splinter organizations, alongside overlapping, more narrowly-focused groups such as the "So-kun kyōdai o sukū kai" (The Group to Save the Sŏ brothers, founded in 1971); the "Kimu Jiha kyūen iinkai" (Kim Chiha Rescue Committee, founded in 1972 with the support of Oda Makoto and other prominent Japanese leftists involved in the anti-Vietnam war movement), and the "Kimu Daijū sensei kyūshutsu taisaku iinkai" (Committee for Countermeasures to Rescue Kim Taejung, founded 1973), swiftly moved beyond the rhetoric of North/South affiliation and the binary logic of repatriation vs. remaining, by focusing on the creation and maintenance of tangible networks of political solidarity and information exchange that spanned Japan and Korea, through concrete

[123] Ibid., 21. By 1977, Kanmintō had members from 11 countries including Japan, America, Canada, Brazil, West Germany, and France. The notable exclusion of Chinese and Russian Korean diaspora communities reflects Kanmintō's anti-communist roots.

action such as signature-collecting campaigns, public demonstrations, film screenings and pamphlet circulation, and the translation and circulation of texts written by dissidents in South Korea.

As a publication of the local Ikuno branch of Hanch'ŏng, *Ajukkari*'s scope is to some extent pre-determined by the target demographics and political aims of the larger organization. In keeping with Hanch'ŏng's purpose as an organization for Zainichi Korean youth, the journal is clearly written by and for second- and third- generation young adults who were born in Japan after the end of the war, and explicitly welcomes participation from anyone within this age range regardless of gender or citizenship status (including some members who have naturalized to Japanese citizenship). As an organization that split off from Mindan, Hanch'ŏng members maintained their anti-communist roots and skepticism of Chongryŏn, the other main political organization for Zainichi Koreans that was backed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but they also sought to distance themselves from the political conservativism of Mindan stalwarts. In keeping with Hanch'ŏng's purpose as an organization for Zainichi Korean youth,[124] the journal is clearly written by and for second- and third- generation teenagers and young adults who were born in Japan after the end of the war. The editorial voice often uses the phrase "we second and third generation Zainichi" (*watashitachi nisei, sansei*) interchangeably with "we Zainichi Koreans" (*watashitachi Zainichi Kankokujin*) in addressing the journal's audience. The significance of this target audience is discussed explicitly in the 1979 special issue on "Images of Second Generation Zainichi" (*Zainichi nisei no gunzō*), in which the editors state that 70% of Zainichi (South) Korean society is now made up of the second generation, and use the same

[124] In Hanch'ŏng's current iteration, it welcomes members from ages 16-35 (inclusive of all Zainichi Korean youth regardless of citizenship status or North/South political affiliation). See "Hanchung to wa," http://hanchung.org/about, accessed February 13, 2022.

collective first-person voice (*wareware,* "we") in presenting a number of questions they see as key to the formation of a new Zainichi identity:

> The increase in those who grow up not even knowing their own real name (*honmyō*), the lack of knowledge about our own country, the alienation from everything that must be inherited through ethnicity -- are these really the natural phenomena caused by living in a foreign land?
> Then, for Zainichi Koreans (*Zainichi kankokujin*), what is really signified by "ethnicity"?
> Among various issues, the second generation that forms the cornerstone of our society (*dōhō shakai no kaname*) must once again question our own "Korean" (*kankokujin)*, while at the same time becoming aware of the background of the current situation that surrounds us and exactly what problems arise from there.[125]

Aside from the journal's primary stated motivations of fighting for democracy in South Korea and reunification of the Korean peninsula, these same concerns about life in Japan are raised repeatedly throughout the journal's run: the dangers of assimilation, the struggle to achieve linguistic fluency and a sense of community from afar, and the questioning of what "ethnicity" can or should mean to people for whom "Korea" has only ever been an abstract concept. This problem of diasporic identity is often framed in a way that emphasizes a practical and conceptual rift with the first generation of resident Koreans. Won Sooil's essay "What I found chasing the ghosts of Joseon," rephrases the same fundamental question, saying:

> We the second generation personally, not to mention societally, lack any actual experience of properly inheriting ethnic roots (*minzokuteki na ne*), and continue to exist as abject *pan choppari*[126] drifting in vain on the waves of so-called 'weathering' (*fūka*). The first and second generation of we who reside in Japan (*Zainichi suru wareware no isei to nisei)* are ruptured with **ethnic roots** as the

[125] Editorial Board, "Tokushū o kumu ni atatte," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 4.

[126] The Japanese transliteration of *banjjokbari,* a Korean-language slur for someone who is half-Japanese and half-Korean.

> border. To put it another way, our first and second generations fail to have any common consciousness, but rather exist in a warped oppositional relationship… So, when our second generation has become self-aware in seeking out **ethnic roots**, will we ultimately be able to share a common consciousness? What are **ethnic roots** in the first place?[127]

In keeping with Won's assertion of a generational "rupture," first-generation Koreans are a frequent target of critique for the authors of *Ajukkari*, who criticize them for clinging to old-fashioned, "Confucian" notions of social hierarchy; for recklessly passing on the trauma of poverty and discrimination or, alternately, for choosing to assimilate their children to Japanese citizenship before they're old enough to make the choice themselves; and for instilling the outdated, binaristic logic of North/South (Chongryŏn/Mindan) affiliation into the younger generation instead of focusing on the common goal of Korean reunification. Generational miscommunication occurs at both ideological and linguistic levels, with one anonymous author writing about Hanch'ŏng's Korean language classes, stating, "we rely on our first generation teachers as raw voices imbued with current events, allowing us to study the current state of affairs as we acquire the sensations of *uri mal*…The pronunciation of *uri mal* contains sounds that are extremely difficult to pronounce for us second-and third generation, who have unfortunately been accustomed to the Japanese language, so it's really hard at first."[128] In addition to framing the first generation as "raw voices" (*nama no koe*) that can provide a window into some kind of authentic Koreanness, the authors' parents are often discussed with some combination of derision and guilt, as in issue 5's "Our *'Han,'*" in which author An Sunhwa says of his alcoholic father, "No matter how hateful I ordinarily find the words my father speaks, I'm

[127] Won Sooil, "Richō no bōrei o oikkakete mitsuketa mono," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 15. Emphasis in original.

[128] "Katsudō hōkoku," *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 5.

trying to listen obediently. Because no matter how old and unpleasant he is, in order to live until now, he must really have struggled after all… Just like most (South) Koreans, the first-generation *aboji* survived amidst war, impoverished life, and discrimination," but simultaneously asserts, "I should have criticized my *aboji* more."[129] This fraught relationship with the older generation is echoed in Yi Sakang [K] / Ri Fumie [J]'s essay about her father in the "Women's Lib" special issue (discussed further below), "Father and Daughter." She writes, "The biggest contradiction I feel for my father lies in our undeniable love and our utter lack of understanding. There is probably no greater example of love and misunderstanding coexisting so clearly back-to-back."[130]

Ajukkari's dismissiveness of the politics of the first generation of Zainichi Koreans seems to have a lot to do with the current fractured state of Zainichi society, both between the North/South split of affiliation between Mindan and Chongryŏn (what an article in the first issue refers to as "the 38th parallel inside Japan"[131]) and between Mindan stalwarts and the so-called "Mindan lineage" (*Mindan-kei*) splinter groups who became critical of the South Korean government. The editorial centerpiece of the "Images of Second Generation Zainichi" special issue emphasizes the way these organizational divisions have permeated daily life within Zainichi societies:

> Our current society of compatriots (*dōhō shakai*) is divided into two: South Korea-affiliated (*Kankoku-kei*) Mindan and North Korea-affiliated (*Chōsen-kei*) Chongryŏn. And they are facing off to try to call over more of our compatriots under their respective nationalist assertions. The homeland is clearly divided by the 38th parallel, but Zainichi society isn't like that. The house next door is North

[129] An Sunhwa, "Wareware no 'han,'" *Ajukkari* 5 (June 1977): 14-15.

[130] Yi Sakang / Ri Fumie, "Chichi to musume," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 22.

[131] Yang Sŏnman / Yan Yoshimitsu, "Nihon no naka no 38dosen o omou," *Ajukkari* 1 (January 1975): 14-15.

> Korea (北韓, *hokkan*)... Across the way live neighbors with Mindan member IDs and their own respective doctrines. (This is precisely how the irony of people who have the same faces fighting in the very middle of the discriminatory society we call Japan becomes all the more apparent!) In this way, the fractures within minority society in Japan are permeating every single one of our compatriots without exception.[132]

The *Ajukkari* authors see the persistence dominance of the Mindan/Chongryŏn opposition as having driven the younger generations of Zainichi Koreans away from any interest in politics, instead fostering cynicism about the fruitlessness of endlessly dogmatic debate. Won Sooil refers to this as the "unproductive political environment in which our first generation raised us,"[133] and Hanch'ŏng member Kim Min later elaborates on this same sentiment, saying,

> Over the summer of my second year in high school, the July 4th North-South Korea Joint Statement was released.
> At the time, I met the news with both great joy and at the same time a touch of uneasiness.
> The reason is that ever since I was small I saw the compatriots in the neighborhood split into Mindan and Chongryŏn and opposing each other over every little thing, so for me, until this moment something like the reunification of the homeland was an ideal, an empty dream that could not be seen as real, and I held a great distrust of politicians from both North and South. … At that time, what most moved me was the joint meetings that started from a Tokyo branch office and spread throughout the regions of Japan, Mindan together with Chongryŏn, or Hanch'ŏng together with Choch'ŏng.[134]

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[132] Editorial Board, "Gunzō -- Zainichi Kankokujin nisei," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 19.

[133] Won Sooil, "Richō no bōrei o oikkakete mitsuketa mono," 19.

[134] Kim Min, "Zainichi kankokujin nisei toshite no watashi," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 16-17. Choch'ŏng is Chongryŏn's youth league and therefore the North Korea-affiliated counterpart to Hanch'ŏng.

As illustrated by this quote, the 1972 July 4th North-South Korea Joint Statement is a major cultural touchstone for the *Ajukkari* community and served as an entry into political activism for many of the journal's young authors, less for any confidence it inspired in the Park Chung-hee or Kim Il-sung regimes and more as a symbolic gesture toward the possibility of reaching across the political divide within Zainichi society in Japan, where the declaration had material effects on the ability of Chongryŏn-kei and Mindan-kei activists to collaborate.

In terms of the ever-present question of what an ethnic identity for second and third generation Hanch'ŏng members might look like, the desire to overcome the political rifts within Zainichi society meant turning away from some of the fundamental doctrines that traditionally served to orient both Mindan and Chongryŏn ideologies. The authors of *Ajukkari* are harshly critical of what they term "the South Korean government's ethnic abandonment policy," putting Mindan's alleged encouragement of naturalization and cultural assimilation on a spectrum continuous with the South Korean government's arrests of Zainichi Koreans studying abroad in South Korea as political criminals, part of a broader trend of using Zainichi Koreans when it is politically or rhetorically convenient while constantly delineating them as ethnically separate from Koreans in Korea.[135] But at the same time that it frets over the implacable progression over assimilation to Japaneseness, the journal is marked by a distinct lack of references to any expectation of eventually returning to the Korean peninsula, even after the often-mentioned ideal of reunification is achieved. As contributor Han A puts it in the essay "Me and the Homeland," "I wish for the advance of democratization, and for *uri nara* [our country / Korea] to become a legitimate unified nation as fast as possible. And I truly hope that we Zainichi Koreans can live our lives as Koreans in a real way, not as Japanese-like Koreans, and without discrimination,

[135] Editorial Board, "Gunzō," 20-21.

even while living in Japan … I would like to try visiting [the homeland] someday."[136] The discourse surrounding inevitable return to a reunified Korea that underlies much of Zainichi intellectual production prior to the 1970s is both acknowledged and subverted in the essay "Prehistory of Repatriation," in which Kwon Tatsuo, a naturalized Japanese citizen, boldly declares that he will present a treatise on the importance of repatriation for all Koreans and his own intent to "return," only to immediately render the type of movement he is describing into an abstract shift in orientation. He states, "The 'ideal of repatriation' (*kikoku no rinen*) is nothing other than the issues, 'What should we do about South Korea?' 'What should we do about reunification?' and 'What should we do about ethnicity?'" and concludes with his joining of Hanch'ŏng as a student activist as his own personal form of "return to Korea."[137] His argument deliberately (and somewhat paradoxically) leads the reader away from initial assumptions about what is meant by the term "return" (*kikoku*) and towards a commitment to political activism within Japan in line with Hanch'ŏng's primary objectives, saying, "When I write about it this way, even I begin to think that the 'ideal of repatriation' is really difficult. But if you think about it this way, it's simpler. More than the people who are in our country, preventing both democratization and reunification, we Zainichi who are here acting while feeling our current contradiction have more rights as (South) Koreans, more rights to live in our country."[138]

This refusal of the teleology of return to Korea, and the rejection of any binary choice between Korea and Japan, may carry echoes for readers familiar with Zainichi Korean intellectual history of the discourse on "the third way": the decision to live permanently as

[136] Han A, "Watashi to sokoku," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 7-8.

[137] Kwon Tatsuo, "Kikoku zenshi," *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 10.

[138] Ibid.

Zainichi (*Zainichi shikō*) as opposed to either *doka shikō* (orientation toward assimilation) or *sokoku shikō* (orientation toward the homeland/repatriation).[139] While the term "the third way" was formalized by Kim Tong Myung in his 1979 essay "The third way of Zainichi Koreans (*Zainichi chōsenjin no daisan michi*)," David Chapman has argued that the public debate over how Zainichi identity should be conceptualized had been simmering under the surface of Zainichi intellectual discourse since the early 1970s, as indicated by a 1976 *Kikan sanzenri* article that drew on demographic data and the case study of the 1970 Hitachi employment discrimination case in positing a large scale generational shift in which the second generation overwhelming outnumbered and increasingly challenged the ideologies of first generation Zainichi Koreans.[140] Cho Kiŭn similarly observes that the distinction between *sokoku shikō* and *doka shikō* had already disintegrated by the time the "third way" discourse emerged, saying "As the Zainichi Korean issue was abandoned by the Japan-Korea treaty, and the ideology of the North/South divide became increasingly violent along with the escalation of the Cold War, 'Homeland orientation' lost its flavor of reality starting in the 1960s. By contrast, under conditions that solidified their permanent residency in Japan, the movement to exert social and political influence at home still continued alongside interest in the homeland. Indeed, the Mindan-kei people who contributed to the Korean democratization movement were appealing more strongly to the homeland. Under these conditions, it's impossible to delineate a binary between 'homeland orientation' and 'permanent residency orientation.' Rather, these orientations coexisted indivisibly within Zainichi Koreans."[141] This means that the rise of the discourse

[139] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History,* 95.

[140] David Chapman, "The Third Way and beyond: *Zainichi* Korean Identity and the Politics of Belonging," *Japanese Studies* 24, no. 1 (May 2004): 29–44.

[141] Cho Kiŭn, "Kankoku minshuka undō," 17.

around “the third way” and “Zainichi” as a permanent way of life roughly coincided with the appearance of *Ajukkari*, and it’s safe to assume that the young authors of the journal were both privy to and eager to participate in this developing discourse. However, while *Ajukkari*’s critique of the first-generation community’s rigid division by hegemonic political organizations is shared with the “third way” discourse, a key difference lies in *Ajukkari*’s unwavering focus on the political situation in South Korea, further complicating the three-way ideological divide described by Kim Tong Myung. For the youth activists of Hanch’ŏng, the core of learning how to “live as Zainichi” (*Zainichi shikō* or “the third way”) was solidarity with and active contribution to the democratization struggle in South Korea (what would be considered *Sokoku shikō* or “homeland orientation” within the terms laid out by the “third way” discourse, which was more focused on domestic activism such as the anti-fingerprinting campaigns in the 1980s).

Ajukkari’s blurring of the spatial divide between Japan and Korea as separate “territories of struggle” allows its contributors to argue for a continued commitment to the struggle for reunification without the assumption of teleological return to Korea. Instead of turning entirely inward toward domestic anti-discrimination activism, these Hanch’ŏng youth argue for the formation of a political consciousness through the building of material and discursive ties of solidarity with activists on the ground in South Korea, in the form of circulating banned political texts, petition and fundraising campaigns, film screenings and theatrical productions, and the creation of new political texts that perform sharp critiques of hegemonic structures of oppression both in South Korea (the Park regime) and at home (the continued political power of Mindan within Zainichi society). As one author puts it, “I think there are various ways of living ethnically (*minzokuteki ni ikiru)*. You might say that accepting everything about the situation in our country without criticism and blindly going along with it is an ethnic way of life. But when we say living

ethnically, we mean the position of calling it like it is with regard to the situation in our country, or in other words, taking in the good as good and the bad as bad."[142]

The authors of *Ajukkari* constantly place emphasis on the importance of diasporic solidarity movements that can support the struggle for South Korean democratization and raise awareness from outside the country, arguing, "One can't help but say that among [these solidarity struggles], the fight of those of us who are situated within the foreign power of Japan, who can expose these kinds of dangerous conditions [in South Korea], is increasingly important."[143] They speak of the power of this kind of "Anti-Park solidarity of compatriots living in both Japan and the U.S." to strike fear in the heart of the Park regime, saying, "the powerful rescue movement [for Kim Taejung in 1973], which was fought through the influence of democratic Zainichi with our Hanch'ŏng at the center, globally exposed the accomplice-like collusion of the reactionary South Korea and Japan in arranging the KCIA activity, and finally set forth the South Korean democratization struggle as a shared problem for the South Korean and Japanese masses."[144] While the US is occasionally subjected to critique in *Ajukkari* as a neo-colonial power, the authors much more frequently express their desire to build transnational solidarity with diasporic activist communities in the U.S. through organizations like Kanmintō – a radical difference from the explicitly anti-American politics of young Chongryŏn activists at the time. However, the *Ajukkari* authors are also attuned to the specific positionality of the Korean diaspora in Japan. They argue that ethnic Koreans in the former empire of Japan are uniquely situated to both recognize the developing neo-colonial relations between Korea and Japan, destabilize that

[142] Ri Tokuzō / Yi Dŭksam, "Omou koto," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 12.

[143] "Sanzenri,*" Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 2.

[144] "Sanzenri," *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 2.

oppressive power structure by exposing the Japanese state's complicity with the Park regime on a global scale, and redirect the material benefits of historical and continuing Japanese colonialism back towards the struggle to liberate South Koreans:

> The historical and geographic conditions we are placed in are different [from South Koreans]. Without a doubt, Japan is a foreign land, and what's more, we can be self-aware about the fact that our country [South Korea]'s people are members of the so-called third world, and our country's characteristics of chronic inflation, an expanding wealth gap, and political instability all conform to those of other third-world countries. As a result, while our country's people are developing their movement as members of the third world, which is to say oppressed countries, we South Koreans who reside (or rather, in reality, are forced to reside) in Japan are living in this country that stands on the side of the oppressors as a member of the second world.[145] We must become aware of the terrible fact that whether consciously or not, as we go about our daily lives, that in itself involves treading our own race underfoot. To be sure, it's an incontrovertible fact that we live on the soil of a foreign land in oppressive conditions and should be considered a so-called discriminated people (*hisabetsumin*), and it's a well-known truth that we are positioned at the very bottom of Japan's industrial society. However, it's also an undeniable truth that most of the lives of our compatriots are materially improving through receiving a tiny share of the excess profits of neocolonialism, which Japan has obtained through the economic invasion of third-world countries starting with our own. …
>
> To summarize, within the space of Zainichi (*Zainichi no ba*), while recovering our own ethnic-ness (*minzokusei*) as one link in the project of self-awakening, we should carry out the struggle for support and solidarity of the peoples of our country and other third-world countries with an element of penitence mixed in, and destroy the structural evil of the society that has driven us into this kind of complicated place using the shocking violence of love. This means urging

[145] The terms "third world" and "second world" are being used here in the sense of Mao's "three worlds" theory.

> repentance for the sake of true friendship with the people of Japan, which is not the same as opposing Japanese people.[146]

This passage, written by one of *Ajukkari*'s regular contributors, Ri Tokuzō [J] / Yi Dŭksam [K], very effectively summarizes the kind of ethnic subjectivity that the journal as a whole is constantly arguing for: a political consciousness that sees solidarity with activists in South Korea as a way to both connect with the abstract notion of "ethnic-ness" (*minzokusei*) in a new, concrete way that both acknowledges the special conditions of discrimination faced by Korean residents of Japan while confronting the equally real material privileges that come with residency in Japan from the perspective of a decolonialist view of world history. Because complete devotion to the political struggle in South Korea is linked rhetorically to the capacity to live authentically and ethically within both local and global society, placing activities like speaking in Korean and studying Korean history on a continuum with the literal fight for survival against the Park regime, the stakes of this argument are both bodily and existential; language about "feeling ethnicity on the skin" *(hada de minzoku o jikkan shi)*[147] and "feeling throughout our bodies (*karada jū ni jikkan shi)* the pain and even greater joy of living through an era of immense revolution, carving out history with our own hands"[148] can frequently be found alongside statements such as, "We chose to live actively, and we want to be humanly, live humanly (*ningenrashiku aritai, ikitai)*."[149] But beyond this powerful rhetoric of the search for an embodied and human ethnic subjectivity, the journal does occasionally acknowledge that there are very practical, self-interested reasons for Zainichi Koreans to be particularly invested in the

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[146] Ri Tokuzō / Yi Dŭksam, "Zainichi minshu minzoku undō ni tsuite," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 31-32.

[147] *"*Sanzenri,*" Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 3.

[148] Ibid*.,* 4.

[149] "Katsudō hōkoku," *Ajukkari* 4 (February 1977): 5.

South Korean political situation. There is hope that Park might be replaced with a head of state that is interested in supporting (or at least not openly hostile towards) Koreans in Japan, and the fight for reunification is presented as an avenue for overcoming and eventually healing the generational and political rifts that have fractured Zainichi society.

Ikaino in *Ajukkari*

The local space of Ikaino features prominently within *Ajukkari*, not simply as the location of the Hanch'ŏng branch office through which the journal was published, but as a symbolic landscape within Won Sooil's long-running *Ikainokō* series (1975-1981) and the later, anonymously authored column *Ikaino ru-ru-ru* (1981-1983).[150] *Ajukkari* started just after the place name of Ikaino was erased from city maps in 1973, and the journal itself uses the names "Ikuno" and "Ikaino" more or less interchangeably when referring to its local community. The *Ikainokō* series that appears throughout the first eleven issues of *Ajukkari* represents Won Sooil's first foray into (autobiographical) fiction grounded in the landscape of Ikaino, which would later develop into a larger project of literary writing utilizing what Won calls "Ikaino creole" or *Ikaino-go* ("the Ikaino language"), from the short story collection *Ikaino stories* (*Ikaino monogatari,* 1987) through to his most recent published volume, the novel *Ikaino lament* (*Ikaino taryŏng*, 2016).

Within the pages of *Ajukkari*, the physical space of Ikaino serves as an implicit backdrop for much of the authors' broader critiques of Zainichi society. In contrast to the earlier journal

[150] The first installment of *Ikaino ru-ru-ru* appears in issue 10, alongside the final extant installment of *Ikainokō*. I have not been able to locate an extant copy of issue 11 of *Ajukkari*, but it presumably contains an installment of *Ikaino ru-ru-ru* and possibly also included the tenth and final installment of the *Ikainokō* series. Issue 12, the last issue of *Ajukkari* that I have been able to locate or find reference to, begins with an apology to readers on the table of contents page announcing that *Ikainokō* has been discontinued "according to the convenience of the author" and promising to continue serializing Won Sooil's next work in the future.

Jindare's more hopeful portrayal of Ikaino as a "second homeland" for Koreans in Japan, an impoverished yet lively landscape imbued with a strong sense of community and shared struggle, *Ajukkari* takes a much more cynical view, focusing on the inescapable organizational divides as cracks in the foundation of the community, destabilizing any attempt at earnest political engagement. In one anonymous author's words, "Ikuno ward is the place where compatriots (*dōhō*) live most crowded together, and the region where reactionism (*handō*) is said to be most strong, and there are conditions that are making it into an environment that supports that, a politically and culturally unproductive region."[151] The same assertions that Ikuno is "the area with the harshest reactionism"[152] is repeated again in the following issue, and the language of Ikaino as "sterile" or "unproductive" (*fumō*) is later echoed in Won Sooil's assertion that he was raised in a "sterile political environment."[153]

This notion of prevalent reactionary tendencies giving rise to an overall effect of political "sterility" is perhaps best illustrated by an extensive report in issue 4 on the Ikuno north branch's staging of the Korean-language play "Koheng" (Penance, 苦行), adapted from Kim Chiha's prison writings published under the same name in 1974, alongside a screening of the documentary film *Kokuhatsu* (Prosecution, 告発), about the Zainichi Korean "spy" incident of 1971. The report describes the outbreak of violence outside the Ikuno ward community center between the Hanch'ŏng members who planned the event, members of Mindan (both "top brass" and youth league members) who showed up to try to forcibly shut it down, and plain clothes police surveilling the event, demonstrating how the ideological split within the South-Korean-

[151] "Katsudō hōkoku," *Ajukkari* 4 (February 1977): 4.

[152] "Katsudō hōkoku," *Ajukkari* 5 (June 1977): 5.

[153] Won Sooil, "Richō no bōrei o oikkakete mitsuketa mono," 19.

identified Zainichi community in Ikaino at times ended up aligning some Zainichi Koreans with the Japanese state in suppressing political activism and freedom of expression. However, the report celebrates the successful performance of the play in front of a local audience of 600 as a "revolutionary project declaring both inside and outside that Ikuno, which has been called the hub of reactionism, is in fact the hub of democracy."[154] While highlighting the very real violence simmering under the surface of the "sterile" landscape of Ikaino, the episode also suggests the productive potential that *Ajukkari*'s authors see in the act of transmitting these pieces of media, strictly banned in South Korea and heavily suppressed on multiple fronts in Japan, as in itself a form of political engagement that can link the two spaces together in a new way, through the concept of a joint struggle for democracy fought simultaneously on the level of both the local and the global.

The fictional images of Ikaino that emerge from Won Sooil's *Ikainokō* series similarly seek to link the space of Ikaino to the space of South Korea, presenting the landscape itself as an antidote to second-generation ethnic alienation: "The 'ethnicity' that remains a blank within my own body might just be found in Ikaino. In other words, under conditions that have obstructed travel to and from the homeland, Ikaino is the provider of a rare 'ethnicity.'" Won specifies at the outset that both spaces in this series are mediated ones. The narrator (a first-person voice that eventually transforms into a semi-omniscient third-person observer of various fictional Ikaino lives throughout the rest of the series) states in the very first installment, "Of course, I was raised in Ikaino. I might even say that the 'memories of Ikaino' sunken into my consciousness that scattered at the horizonness of 'Japanese things' (*nihon tekina mono*) are a whirlpool making waves on the surface of a calm lake. Now, I live in a crudely built new residential development

[154] "Katsudō hōkoku," *Ajukkari* 4 (February 1977): 4.

in the suburbs where everywhere you look is crowded with Japanese people, and my soul is searching for Ikaino like it's thirsty for it."[155]

On the other hand, the South Korea that is constantly layered over Ikaino is even more imaginary, constructed from second hand information and works of literature. Won states, "When I look at the *halmŏni* pickling countless big plastic buckets of *kimchi* to sell on the backstreets, late on a winter night so cold it pierces, it deludes me into thinking this is the slums of Seoul despite the fact that I don't know Seoul – the atmosphere at that time with the *halmŏni* at the core is simply the picture of a 'foreign land' on Japanese soil." He then goes on to compare those women at length to fishmongers portrayed in the works of Kim Chiha. While his descriptions of the landscape at times veer into a nihilism that befits his nonfictional description of the space as "barren" or "sterile" elsewhere in the journal – references to his childhood apartment being "crudely rebuilt on the ruins of a rubber factory" and descriptions of a child's corpse discovered amongst other detritus in the Hirano Canal present Ikaino as a squalid and hopeless wasteland[156] – the more constant theme, and what ultimately makes the space an attractive literary subject for Won, is the potential for active and ongoing solidarity that he sees in that transnational layering of spaces. As he says in a later installment, "You could say Ikaino is not a foreign land as a point, but a foreign land as a line. It's a foreign land as a line that connects to the homeland."[157]

The conceptualization of Ikaino as a portal or link to South Korea does not mean that the presentation of this space is purely abstract. In keeping with Won's assertion that his "soul thirsts

[155] Won Sooil, "Ikainokō," *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 19.

[156] Ibid., 17-18.

[157] Won Sooil, "Ikainokō III," *Ajukkari* 4 (February 1977): 27.

for Ikaino," his portrayals of the landscape often make use of the language of the sensorium. For example, he writes:

> When you enter the alleys of Ikaino, a kind of unique stench slips through your nostrils, clings to the entire mucous membrane of your nose, and can't be gotten rid of easily. The garlic that is indispensable to Koreans (*chōsenjin*), and also, testifying spectacularly to the very lowest depths of the economy that Koreans have dropped to, the accoutrements of miscellaneous cottage industries, such as the chemical glue (adhesive) used in hep sandal jobs, a burnt base reminiscent of a blast furnace, the semi-finished plastic that is spat out of an injection mold, the sticky lubricant cycling through screw-cutting machines, rusted scrap metal left out in the rain – mixed together and stagnating, even when attacked by a fierce rainstorm, the stench remains.[158]

This description, which manages to fit quite a lot of information about the socioeconomic situation of Ikaino residents into one sentence, carries echoes of poet Kim Sijong's contemporaneous assertion about Ikaino, "You'll have to feel your way here…If you can't sniff it out / You can't come here" (from 1978's "Mienai machi") in asserting the particular smells of the space as a key to understanding life there that is only intelligible to those who already know it.[159] Within the broader context of *Ajukkari*, combined with Won's assertion that Ikaino is a "provider of ethnicity" for those with "a blank within their bodies", we might read the embodied experience of the landscape provided here as another experiment in the idea of "feeling ethnicity on the skin" *(hada de minzoku o jikkan shi)* suggested elsewhere in the journal.

The first installment of "*Ikainokō*" guides the reader through the physical landmarks of the space. We move from the narrator's childhood apartment, along the Hirano canal, to the Korean market, stopping at relatives' houses to revisit old memories along the way. This

[158] Won Sooil, "Ikainokō V," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 33.

[159] Kim Sijong, *Ikaino shishū*, 6-7.

structure of the "field guide" to Ikaino is mirrored in the *Ikaino ru-ru-ru* column that appears in the later issues of the journal, which is presented explicitly as variations on the theme of "seeing, eating, exploring Ikaino" (the "*ru-ru-ru"* of the title presumably represents the grammatical ending of these three verbs), "delivered by a group of reporters who are lively children of Ikaino – born and raised in Ikaino."[160] The two extant installments of the column explain local "Ikaino dialect" terms, such as the Ikaino-specific term "*tak-tonari* (닭隣)" used to refer to the area's many rowhouses; describe the fare at local restaurants; and give advice about grocery shopping on the Momotani and Miyukidōri shopping streets, all peppered with facts about the area's history reaching back to the imperial period. The educational tone of these columns is somewhat confusing within the context of *Ajukkari*'s target audience, which would have been largely local youth due to its ties to the Ikuno North Hanch'ŏng location, but can perhaps be better understood as guiding the reader towards a particular embodied experience of an already familiar landscape.

Intertextuality in *Ajukkari:* Kim Chiha and "Letters from South Korea"

Ajukkari is a fundamentally intertextual piece of media, starting from its founding issue. The journal's title itself is taken from the Kim Chiha poem "Ajukkari sinp'ung: Mishima Yukio ege*"* (Castor-bean kamikaze: To Mishima Yukio), which is printed in Japanese translation on the first page of the first issue alongside commentary by Kim Chiha titled "Against the Death of Yukio Mishima," and reprinted in the front matter of the journal in several subsequent issues. Both the poem and the commentary sharply critique the persistence of neocolonialists attitudes in Japan through the image of the *kamikaze* fighter plane fueled by castor oil taken from the Korean colonies. Kim calls Mishima's mythologized suicide "your maddened death, starving / for the

[160] "Ikaino ru-ru-ru," *Ajukkari* 10 (August 1981): 66.

‘colonies’, / and the rain, falling over the deaths / of the colonized earth / burning, crying out, bound down into its disease”[161] and takes to task the intellectuals who have indulged in the reading of Mishima’s performative death as an “act of self-completion.” This initial act of allusion in some sense represents the overall structure of *Ajukkari*: it points continuously to media (often smuggled) from South Korea, which more often than not points directly, and critically, back to Japan.

Kim Chiha and his works remain a crucial touchstone throughout the journal’s run, referenced and quoted continuously in the poetry, criticism, political commentary, and editors’ notes that make up the journal’s core content. In addition to the importance placed on the staging of the Kim Chiha play *Penance* (Koheng, 1974), and Won Sooil’s references to further Kim Chiha works in the “Ikainokō” series, as mentioned above, Won has even stated that “Kim Ha” (金可), the pen name he used to publish fictional pieces in the journal, was chosen for its resemblance to the first and last characters of Kim Chiha’s pen name. Won’s explicit comparison of the first-generation Zainichi women he portrays to the women who appear in Kim’s works hints at other ways in which the gender politics of *Ajukkari* may have been shaped by Kim Chiha, given that the very poem from which the journal title *Ajukkari* is drawn describes the “feminized” Japanese army as “naked whores, the naked army of women.”[162] As I will demonstrate below, a similar trope of the exploited female body as a metaphor for the nation appears repeatedly in *Ajukkari*’s discussion of the need to liberate Korean women as part of the struggle for ethnic freedom in South Korea.

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[161] Translation taken from David R. McCann, trans., *The Middle Hour: Selected Poems of Kim Chi Ha* (New York: Human Rights Publishing Group, 1980), 54.

[162] Ibid.

The other primary point of reference for *Ajukkari* is the column "Letters from South Korea" (*Kankoku kara no tsūshin*), the *Sekai* column mentioned at the opening of this chapter that both actively drove the interest of Japanese leftist intellectuals in the South Korean democratization movement and eventually came to symbolize the Japan-Korea solidarity movement as a whole over the course of its 177 installments between 1973 and 1988. The letters describe political conditions on the ground in South Korea, not only critiquing the Park administration's repressive policies and human rights abuses of political prisoners but vividly portraying the efforts of South Korean student activists and other citizens in the struggle for democratization and connecting their work to a critique of Japanese state complicity in the Park regime. In doing so, the letters conveyed a plethora of information that was otherwise inaccessible due to the South Korean state's severe censorship laws, which had first gone into effect when Park rose to power through a military coup in 1961 and became even more restrictive with the passage of the 1972 Yushin Constitution, which gave the dictator the ability to issue emergency decrees cracking down on criticism of the government or the new constitution.[163] The pseudonymous author of the column (see below) would later describe it as a project of transnational communication through the medium of the Japanese language, saying, "the world must be informed of what was happening inside Korea as well as the thoughts of the democratization movement… We decided to make Tokyo the dispatch center for that job. In other words, various pieces of information coming out of Korea would be dispatched and

[163] See Youngju Park, *Writers of the Winter Republic: Literature and Resistance in Park Chung Hee's Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 2.

disseminated throughout the world via Tokyo, and at the same time certain requests in support of the movement for democratic Korea would be sent out of Tokyo to every corner of the world."[164]

Indeed, these transmissions from the mysterious "Student T.K." came to serve as a hub of underground information about the actual conditions in South Korea, not only for a Japanese audience but globally: the letters were translated into Korean and reprinted in the local publications of activist groups dedicated to supporting Korean democratization in countries such as France and Germany, and a collection of the letters in English translation was published by Iwanami Shoten in 1976.[165] There is even evidence that the "Letters from South Korea" column served as a source of information for activists in South Korea about the developing international solidarity movement in support of South Korean democratization. In her excellent work on the development of the Korea-Japan Solidarity Movement in the 1970s and 1980s, scholar Misook Lee demonstrates that the "*hakobiya*" (literally "carriers," primarily European and American Christian activists who smuggled information out of South Korea and into Japan) also participated in bringing banned information into South Korea from that outside world, and quotes Kang Myun-koo, a student at the time who read copies of "Letters from South Korea" that had been smuggled back into South Korea and translated into Korean, as saying, "I read the letters through my friends who had participated in the student movement. *Letters from South Korea* reported on incidents which had not been reported (by mass media)... I was very surprised to know that there was such a courageous person who criticized the government outspokenly."[166]

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[164] Quoted in Danielle L. Chubb, *Contentious Activism and Inter-Korean Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

[165] Lee Misook, *"Nikkan rentai undō" no jidai: 1970-1980 nendai no toransunashonaruna kōkyōen to media* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2018), 194-196.

[166] Misook Lee, "South Korea's Democratization Movement of the 1970s and 80s and Communicative Interaction in Transnational Ecumenical Networks," *International Journal of Korean History* 19, no. 2 (August 2014): 250-251.

As influential as this "courageous person" was in shaping a discourse of transnational political solidarity for a global audience, "Student T.K." turned out to be something of a fiction. It was only in 1990, long after the end of the column's 15-year run, that "T.K." was publicly revealed to be the pseudonym of Chi Myŏngkwan (池明観), a visiting professor at Tokyo Woman's Christian University who had remained in Japan from 1972 to 1993.[167] Shortly after arriving in Tokyo in October 1972 for a fixed-term research fellowship in political science at Tokyo University, Chi was persuaded to shift his focus towards long-term activism in Japan through his encounter with O Chaesik (呉在植), a leader in the Korean Christian activist movement who provided Chi with funding from the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), as well as connections to the *hakobiya* who provided him with the information to be disseminated in the *Sekai* column. Chi began the regular publication of the Student T.K. articles just two months after writing an initial article for *Sekai* entitled "Betonamu sensō to kankoku" (The Vietnam War and South Korea) in March 1973 under the alias Kim Junil (金淳一). Both Lee Misook and Danielle Chubb have described the "Letters from South Korea" column as the joint production of an underground transnational network circulating both people and information between Tokyo and Seoul, with Chi Myŏngkwan, O Chaesik (utilizing the information network established by his organization, the Documentation of Action Group of Asia), and *Sekai* editor Yasue Ryōsuke (安江良介) at the helm, rather than the reportage work of a single author.[168] The pseudonym "Student T.K." was primarily a practical device to protect Chi and others involved in the project from the very real threat of drawing

[167] Eckhart Fuchs, Tokushi Kasahara, & Sven Saaler, eds., *A New Modern History of East Asia* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2018), 349.

[168] See Lee Misook, *"Nikkan rentai undō" no jidai*, 183-187 and Danielle L. Chubb, *Contentious Activism & Inter-Korean Relations*, 92-95.

attention from the KCIA, which at the time had operatives both in Korea and Japan (as demonstrated by their successful kidnapping of political dissident and future South Korean president Kim Taejung from a Tokyo hotel in August 1973).

However, it seems worth considering what else the "Letters from South Korea" project gained from the fictional construction of a mysterious young author to take the place of Chi Myŏngkwan (who was neither a student nor located in South Korea), encouraging readers among both the Tokyo intelligentsia and the oppressed populace of South Korea to imagine a heroic student activist somewhere in Seoul single-handedly transcending both national boundaries, the mechanisms of state surveillance, and severe restrictions on free speech with his (or her) passionate call to action. The fictional existence of "Student T.K." demonstrates the actual messiness of transnational political solidarity under extremely oppressive conditions, as the relatively simple surface narrative of this imaginary figure speaking out across borders – somehow both on the ground in Seoul and speaking directly to readers in Tokyo at once – served as a cover story for the complex, shifting, and somewhat tenuous network of underground smuggling that actually made the transnational circulation of information, print materials, and people possible during this time. The 15-year duration of the "Letters from South Korea" column and the impact of the mythical "Student T.K." on the political consciousness of the leftist Japanese intellectuals that made up the primary audience of *Sekai* also speaks to the central role that the production and circulation of print media – often texts like "Letters from South Korea" that blurred the line between fiction, memoir, and journalism, or singular and collective authorship – played in the development of the era of Japanese-Korea solidarity activism.

Ajukkari bears obvious traces of the influence of "Letters from South Korea," with the most explicit reference appearing in the final words of its first issue of January 12, 1975, where

the editor's postscript is simply signed "Student K" ("K 生"), an obvious nod to "Student T.K." An additional article that quotes from a statement by a female student activist in South Korea that was published in *Sekai* further confirms that the *Ajukkari* authors were aware of and actively engaging with the journal.[169] Crucially, "Letters from South Korea" and the political texts it quotes from seem to be a main source through which the *Ajukkari* authors access the voices of Korean women in the democratization movement – but without much awareness that the female voices represented in the column have already been carefully curated to portray a very specific image of women's activism.

"Letters from South Korea" consistently praises female factory workers through an emphasis on their selflessness in putting their lives on the line for the sake of democratization, rather than the actual content of their demands for better labor conditions, rhetoric that is mimicked in *Ajukkari*'s discussion of "women's liberation." One example of a petition written by a group of women textile workers (a group frequently valorized in *Ajukkari* as an example of "women's lib"), published in "Letters from South Korea" in February 1973, emphasizes the need of inherently weak women to be freed through the benevolence of their male bosses: "This is not only a clear violation of the Labor Standards Act, but can also be considered mistaken treatment in humane terms. Our stance as female workers, who are especially weak, is that this exploitation is greatly threatening to our daily health."[170] The column further includes an excerpt from a letter written by four of the women after they were fired for their attempts at political organizing, including the line "All you students and intellectuals, we're praying that you will look at us like

[169] Chang Ok, "Kankoku josei no shakaiteki chii," *Ajukkari* 5 (June 1977): 13.

[170] Student T.K., "Jokōtachi no utagoe," in *Kankoku kara no tsūshin*, 12.

your daughters and little sisters."[171] This image of the women's labor movement in South Korea elides more radical protests happening at the time, such as the nude sit-in staged by women workers at the Tongil Textile Factory in July 1976, who were met with beatings, sexual assaults, and arrest by riot police. In her analysis of these protests, Ruth Barraclough points out that the kinds of pleas quoted in "Letters from South Korea" might have been strategic: "women workers also made use of culturally salient images of female vulnerability even as they pursued militant demands in their collective actions."[172] And yet, *Ajukkari* seems to adapt the translated female voices presented in "Letters from South Korea" uncritically, and similarly curates an image of South Korean and Zainichi Korean women who speak from the subject position of mothers, daughters, and sisters in need of rescue, as I will examine in more detail below.

Beyond these overt allusions and shared thematic content, there are also structural similarities between *Ajukkari* and "Letters from South Korea," most notably the use of anonymous collective authorship to obscure the origins of reprinted materials presumably smuggled to Japan from South Korea. The "Preface" section often takes the form of Japanese translations of statements or declarations from activists in South Korea, and the "Sanzenri"[173] section features anonymous commentary on conditions on the ground in South Korea, activism in Japan, and other solidarity movements among diasporic Korean communities in the U.S. and elsewhere. Many of the articles featured in the main body of the journal are also left anonymous, attributed to names that are clearly pseudonyms, or credited simply to the "editorial division" (a

[171] Ibid., 13.

[172] Seung-kyung Kim, quoted in Ruth Barraclough, *Factory Girl Literature* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), 85.

[173] The term *sanzenri* (3,000 *ri*) refers to the approximate length of the Korean peninsula before it was divided into North and South Korea and is frequently used in Zainichi Korean media to invoke hope for a reunified Korea, most notably in the title of the journal *Kikan Sanzenri* (1975-1987).

fact that also obscures exactly how many regular contributors to the journal there were, as demonstrated by the three different names used by Won Sooil). While some of the materials purported to be from South Korea are clearly reprinted from other, larger journals, those whose origins are left unclear speak further to the robustness of the underground networks circulating banned texts. For example, the preface to issue 6, published in January 1978, features a Japanese translation of an excerpt from the "Declaration of Readiness for Death," a statement released by the Seoul Peace Market Worker's Association on September 9, 1977. This indicates the speed with which such a text could make it from South Korean workers to the pages of a small-scale, local political journal in Japan, presumably passed through many sets of hands along the way at a time when the only way to get print materials out of South Korea was to have a volunteer physically smuggle it onto a plane or boat.[174]

The ubiquity of translation throughout *Ajukkari* is another aspect that both highlights and obscures the ways in which *Ajukkari* is largely constructed through acts of quoting, intertextual allusion and appropriation of real or imagined voices on the ground in South Korea. The journal constantly features translations of poetry by Kim Chiha, other Korean poets, and Pablo Neruda (appearing as a translation of an English translation); political statements and other texts by activists in South Korea; and scholarly essays translated from Korean. Like "Letters from South Korea," the status of large swathes of the journal as translations without clear source texts makes it a piece of media that exists only already in translation. For example, the article "The Social Position of South Korean Women" is written from the authorial position of a young woman in South Korea, and is attributed to the author "Chang Ok" with "translation by the editorial division" – and yet, the fact that this article quotes directly from Japanese-language reportage

[174] "Kantōgen: Kesshi sengen (bassui)," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 1.

from *Sekai* makes it hard to imagine an "authentic" Korean-language source text. We can only conclude that the article was either fabricated by an author located in Japan to begin with based on information obtained from South Korea, much like the mythological "Student T.K.," or perhaps actually written in Korean through multiple layers of translation – the *Sekai* material, which already claims to be a translation from Korean to Japanese of testimony from an anonymous student activist, would have had to be translated back into Korean from Japanese and smuggled back into South Korea, then translated back into Japanese again for the version that finally appears in *Ajukkari*.

The vocabulary of *Ajukkari* itself at times contributes to the obscuring of any notion of an "original" authorial voice. While we can also find instances of more geographically objective terms like *Kankoku* (韓国, South Korea), *sokoku* (祖国, the homeland), and sometimes even *Chōsen* (朝鮮, Korea), by far the most preferred term for Korea used throughout the journal is *honkoku* (本国), a term that might be interpreted as either "this country" (where I am located) or "my/our country" (the distant homeland). The slippage between these two possible meanings leaves room for deliberate vagueness about the positionality of the many anonymous voices that speak through the journal. For example, the "Sanzenri" column in issue 7 begins with very detailed information about student protests in Seoul and Gwangju but in the final paragraphs speaks from the perspective of "we who are located within the foreign power of Japan."[175] These constant shifts in the location (or even locatability) of the journal's anonymous and collective authorial voice create a sense of the journal as perpetually both in translation and in transit, speaking from within the complex network of solidarity activism that stretches between Japan and South Korea – a process of both representation and construction of "authentic" voices that

[175] "Sanzenri," *Ajukkari* 7 (March 1979): 1-2.

becomes even more fraught when it comes to *Ajukkari*'s stated interest in the "liberation" of Korean women.

Ajukkari's "Feminist" Discourse

Over the course of *Ajukkari*'s run, the issue of "Women's Liberation" (*josei kaihō*) emerges as an unexpectedly consistent theme, demonstrating the extent to which the Japan-Korea solidarity movement, and specifically the investment of the Zainichi Korean youth of Hanch'ŏng in both the democratization and Korean reunification movements, was entangled with emergent feminist movements in Japan, Korea, and elsewhere. The question of how democratization and anti-colonialism are related to feminism is a near constant preoccupation for the young, mostly male authors of *Ajukkari*, starting with an essay on the Park regime's complicity in the "kisaeng tourism" phenomenon (the sex industry in South Korea catering to Japanese tourists) in Issue 2 (May 1975),[176] continuing through a series of essays devoted to reporting on feminism and women's oppression in South Korea in issues 4[177] and 5,[178] and culminating in Issue 6 (January 1978), a special issue entitled "What does Women's Liberation mean to us?", which features five essays by Hanch'ŏng members (including one anonymous, one by Won Sooil, and only one that is clearly written by a female author, Yi Sakang / Ri Fumie 李史江), in addition to a translated article by a Korean scholar presenting a history of women's social status in South Korea. The specific iteration of feminist discourse enacted within *Ajukkari* is often heavy-handed, relying on nationalist tropes of the exploited female body as a metaphor for the subjection of the Korean

[176] Han Ch'ungang / Kan Harue, "Pak dokusai, kokka kenkryoku ni yoru 'kīsen kankō,'" *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 12-13.

[177] Han Hwi / Kan Ki, "Josei Kaihō no tegakari," *Ajukkari* 4 (February 1977): 21-24.

[178] Chang Ok, "Kankoku josei no shakaiteki chii," 7-13.

peninsula at the expense of amplifying the actual voices of Zainichi women writers. Nevertheless, the prevalence of writings that attempt to take up the question of feminism within both Zainichi society and the Korean solidarity movement at large indicates that gender and feminist discourse played a more central role within the transnational political consciousness developing alongside the Japan-Korea solidarity movement than has been generally acknowledged. A detailed reading of exactly how the *Ajukkari* authors attempt to engage with the concept of "women's liberation" throughout the journal's run sheds light on not just the pressure these young intellectuals apparently felt to connect their work to the rhetoric of feminism, but also the specific delineations they set up around what kind of "women's liberation" might be useful (rather than threatening) to the overall cause of democratization and ethnic liberation.

It's no coincidence that young Zainichi intellectuals interested in the leftist Japan-Korea solidarity movement turned their attention toward feminist discourse in the mid-70s. In addition to the increasingly prominent role of female factory workers in the democratization movement in South Korea, *Ajukkari*'s debut in January 1975 coincides with the peak of the radical feminist *ūman ribu* (Women's Lib) movement in Japan, which similarly emerged from the New Left movements of the 1960s and received a great deal of media attention in Japan between 1970 and 1975. While *ribu* activists engaged extensively with domestic discourses on motherhood, reproduction, and sexual freedom, they sought to establish a transnational, anti-imperialist orientation for the movement that connected the postwar Japanese state's regulation of women's bodies with the Japanese Empire's eugenicist ideology and violent exploitation of female colonial subjects. Setsu Shigematsu has detailed how early *ribu* protests and texts "intervened in and sought to articulate the political relationality between gender and the formation of imperialist projects" through critiques of the wartime "comfort women" system and continued sex tourism

in South Korea. Figures such as Matsui Yayori and Iijima Aiko, who interacted with but did not identify as members of the *ribu* movement, devoted themselves to building solidarity between Japanese feminists and third-world Asian women by developing a conception of "Asian Women's Liberation."[179] These attempts at pan-Asian solidarity and self-critique of Japanese women's continued complicity in neo-imperialist structures of power might be understood within the context of various postcolonial feminist or "Third-World feminist" discourses beginning to emerge around the globe by the late 1970s, as women of color in the US, India, and elsewhere questioned the imperialist and white supremacist ideologies underpinning mainstream second-wave feminism in America and Europe.

The most immediately striking element of *Ajukkari*'s engagement with these various feminist discourses is the obvious contradictions inherent to this group of young intellectuals, not exclusively but still predominantly male, seeking to define and explain the usefulness of the concept of "women's liberation" for the greater democratization and reunification movements. A great deal of energy and page space is devoted to praising the central role of young women textile and factory workers within the South Korean labor movement and the involvement of female students and the mothers and wives of imprisoned activists in the democratization movement, as well as bemoaning the economic and social exploitation of women in South Korea, which is attributed to Korea's Confucianist past and the Park regime's embrace of Japanese neocolonialism. Yet not much mention is made of the experiences of women within the activist movement in Japan or in Zainichi society more broadly. Both Won Sooil's and Ch'oe Hŏnsu's essays in the "Women's Liberation" special issue do attempt to capture the ways in which second-generation Zainichi Koreans are uniquely positioned with respect to ethnic

[179] Setsu Shigematsu, *Scream from the Shadows* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 69-75.

liberation and women's liberation movements. For example, Ch'oe makes the argument that Zainichi society is in fact more sexist than both Japanese and Korean societies due to the ways that Confucianist conceptions of cultural tradition have become entangled with resistance against Japanese discrimination within the popular Zainichi imagination, a sentiment that is echoed both elsewhere in *Ajukkari* and in earlier Zainichi publications in Ikaino.[180] However, this is generally presented as a reason why Zainichi Korean youth should turn their gaze towards the political fight in Korea rather than engage directly with feminist politics at home. In Won's words:

> The women's liberation movement on Zainichi soil must take the perspective of asking how both sexes, who contribute to the class struggle=ethnic struggle, can overcome "sex-based domination" … on a case-by-case basis, in practice. Furthermore, just like the class struggle, this can't be limited to Zainichi soil. In other words, we must support a total ideology (*tōtaru na shisō*) that keeps in view the fight to unite "the land where our ancestors' bones are buried" and finally overcome the bonds of Zainichi.[181]

In this way, *Ajukkari* continually and predictably falls back on the familiar logic of the need to subsume the feminist movement into the larger movement for liberation through democratization and reunification, neglecting the lived experiences of their female peers in favor of an argument that participation in the democratization and reunification movements is the ultimate form of liberation for women both in Korea and Japan:

> What can it mean that amidst these conditions, currently countless women have become aware of the fact that they are being oppressed, and have awakened to their selves who can revolt against it? The very act of women entering themselves

[180] The female essayist Won Yŏngae made a similar critique of "tradition" being used to further misogyny among first-generation Zainichi Koreans in her essay "Father's Fascism" in the poetry journal *Jindare* in 1955. For a detailed analysis, see Julia Hansell Clark, "Father's Fascism, Mother's Ruined Hands: An Overview of Gender Issues in the 1950s Journal *Jindare*," *The Journal of Comparative Media and Women's Studies* no. 5 (September, 2020): 126-145.

[181] Won Sooil, "Richō no bōrei o oikkakete mitsuketa mono," 22.

> into the fight cannot be achieved without a clash with the old family system, with the feudal system. And it can't be achieved without conflict with the mistaken view of women that exists within women themselves, which is to say conflict with the self. Therefore, the democratization and reunification struggle in the homeland, where even now Korean women are throwing away everything – their bodies, their youths – as they fight, is precisely women's liberation in practice, and the victory in that fight will not be possible without women's liberation.[182]

The rhetoric of subsuming the fight for women's liberation into the political struggle in South Korea by claiming that they have the same teleological end point bears the obvious influence of the logic of earlier communist movements in colonial and postwar Japan, in which "tensions quickly emerged between the anticolonial independence movements espoused by colonial writers and the goals of Japanese organizations such as the JCP, which demanded that international proletarian revolution take precedence over Korean national independence."[183] The author Kim Sŏkpŏm has described how a similar tension arose within Zainichi political organizations formed under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party in the immediate postwar period, quoting from a 1946 directive instructing members of *Chōren* (*Zai nihon chōsen renmei* or "League of Koreans in Japan", an early Zainichi organization from 1945-1949 that had close ties with the JCP's Committee on Ethnic Matters) that they need to "restrain the blatant ethnic tendencies of the suborganization, and work out the orientation of that ethnic struggle as one part of the joint struggle for the democratic revolution of the people of Japan. This will also be beneficial for Koreans themselves."[184] It is somewhat ironic to find that logic reproduced within the *Ajukkari*

[182] "Warera ni totte josei kaihō to wa," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 5-6. The opening essay of the special issue is unattributed and presumably written by the editors.

[183] Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language,* 5.

[184] Kim Sŏkpŏm, '*Zainichi' no shisō*), 12-13.

authors' attitude towards feminist discourse, both because it inserts the rhetoric that was once used to dismiss "narrowly ethnic" concerns within an argument for the broad value of the struggle for "ethnic liberation," but also because *Ajukkari*, true to its roots as a Mindan-affiliated organization, is careful to distinguish between the movement for democratization they are arguing for and communism, which they frame as a form of violent revolution that veers dangerously towards "proletarian dictatorial regimes."[185] Nevertheless, the structural similarity of the two arguments speaks to how the influence of this earlier postwar discourse of joint struggle has seeped through to even the firmly anti-communist, South Korea-affiliated members of the younger generation of Zainichi.

In fact, the tendency to use women's liberation as a metaphor for the political fight in Korea at times veers into overt misogyny, as in the article "In the Teahouse," the final article of the "Women's Liberation" special issue, which starts out describing the significance of the local café culture for working women in Ikaino after 12-hour factory shifts, but ends in a bizarre comparison of a mother hitting her three crying children in a local café to the Park dictatorship's neglect of the desires of Korean citizens, with the final line: "Mr. President, you are truly a hysterical old hag (*Daitōryō kakka yo, anta wa mattaku hisuterii babaa da yo*)."[186] Significantly, the female author Yi Sakang/Ri Fumie, whose essay "Father and Daughter" addresses the frustrations and miscommunications of living with an overtly sexist first-generation Zainichi father, is the only contributor to the "Women's Liberation" special issue who does not draw an explicit metaphor between the suffering of women and ethnic oppression. It's also significant that Yi is the only contributor to the special issue who is specified to be female. There are a

[185] Ri Tokuzō / Yi Dŭksam, "Zainichi minshu minzoku undō ni tsuite," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 30.

[186] Yi Rip-sam / Ri Ryūsan, "Taban nite," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 27.

number of other women contributors to other issues of the journal, including two articles by an author named Yi Myŏngsuk (李明淑) in issues 2 and 3, which take a nuanced approach to issues of identity and class in describing her observations of the separate course of study for Zainichi students in an Osaka public school and the intersection of Zainichi activism with disability activism, respectively.[187] These remarkable earlier contributions by Yi, considered alongside the editor's afterword to the "women's lib" special issue, in which someone attributed with only the character 秋 bemoans, "For this special issue, only the start was excellent. We held so many editors' meetings, and just the girls would stay up late debating… But then, we didn't collect as many manuscripts as expected. Even I had trouble putting what I'm thinking these days into written words,"[188] hint at both the potential of a different kind of engagement with ideas of "women's lib" that could have emerged from this group of young intellectuals, as well as the extent to which the flawed version that is presented here was shaped by the discursive limits the editors have placed around what counts as "feminist" writing.

The tension between the journal's stated value of pursuing women's liberation in tandem with Korean democratization and reunification, and its simultaneous refusal to engage seriously with feminist activism outside the framework of ethnic liberation or even challenge the sexist logic prevalent within the solidarity movement itself, is also manifested in the journals' visual and literary aesthetics. Many issues of the journal feature cover art with drawings of stereotypically "traditional" Korean women dressed in *hanbok* and performing femininity in some way. For example, Issue 2 shows a young woman with a long braid playing the flute outside a traditional-style house, Issue 5 shows a partially undressed young woman combing out

[187] Yi Myŏngsuk, "Nagahashi shōgakkō no minzoku gakkyū ni sanka shite," *Ajukkari* 2 (May 1975): 20-22; Yi Myŏngsuk, "Itetsuita watashi," *Ajukkari* 3 (December 1975): 19-22.

[188] "Editors' Postscript (*Henshū kōki*)," *Ajukkari* 6 (January 1978): 40.

her long hair by a river, Issue 6 (the "Women's Lib" special issue) shows a woman with a long braid and a handkerchief on her head picking fruit, Issue 7 shows a mother and young daughter in traditional dress holding hands and pointing toward the Korean peninsula in the distance, and Issue 10 shows a group of women covering their smiles with their hands as they balance bowls of food on their heads. These visual tropes are repeated in the filler images throughout the journal's pages, so that the special issue title "What Does Women's Liberation Mean to Us?" is positioned directly next to a print of a young Korean woman in *ch'ima chŏgori* and a long braid. Many of the articles in the special issue are similarly accompanied by images of young women that play into the very tropes of Confucian-inflected innocence and obedience that the articles' authors are ostensibly railing against. These stylized depictions of "traditional" Korean women, which position them as objects of but not participants in the project of "liberation," persist throughout the journal's run, even beyond a general shift towards including collage and reportage photos in the later issues. A similar tension is at play throughout Won Sooil's "Ikainokō" series, in which he consistently (and somewhat uniquely, for a male Zainichi Korean writer of this time period) centers the stories, speech, and inner thoughts of working women in Ikaino, yet never quite moves beyond a narrative voice that blatantly renders these female characters as objects of sexual desire and/or helplessly in need of rescue from the men around them.

Despite the many pitfalls of *Ajukkari*'s attempts to link feminist discourse with the Japan-Korea solidarity movement, the careful delimitations they place around the concept of "women's liberation" shed light on both their desire to distinguish themselves from the Japanese *ūman ribu* movement and the surprising extent to which the two share the same fundamental logic, contributing to a particular conception of transnational feminism that was beginning to take shape at this time. The *Ajukkari* authors go to great lengths to insist on the importance of

"Korean" feminism while scornfully dismissing emergent Women's Lib movements in Japan and elsewhere, with statements like, "The fight of these [Korean] women is not touting slogans like 'equality for men and women' or 'the same rights for men and women' in the workplace and society, or one-sidedly attacking men, as can be seen in the women's movements in Japan and various countries in America and Europe."[189] The derision of feminist movements in Japan and "the West" as hysterical and one-dimensional is perhaps belied by the obvious influences of these very discourses on the *Ajukkari* authors: Won Sooil's contribution to the "Women's Lib" special issue quotes extensively and approvingly from Simone de Beauvoir, and Issue 2's article on the "kisaeng tourism" phenomenon actually contains material reprinted from Matsui Yayori's essay, "Why Do I Oppose Kisaeng Tourism?" from *Onna · erosu* (*Woman/Eros* 1973-1982), one of the key journals of the *ūman ribu* movement.[190] In fact, the same 1974 issue of *Onna · erosu* quoted by *Ajukkari* also features a reprint of one of the seminal essays of the *ribu* movement, "Liberation from the Toilet," which argues that the sexual oppression and objectification of Japanese women lay at the center of both the imperial ideology of the model family and the wartime justifications for the "comfort women" sexual slavery system.[191] The resemblance between this rhetoric of comparing the plight of contemporary Japanese women to the (mostly non-Japanese) colonial subjects enslaved as "comfort women," as well as *Ajukkari*'s later reliance on analogy in discussing Korean women's bodies as an allegory for the neo-imperialist exploitation of the South Korean nation as a whole, suggests the journal's conception of

[189] "Warera ni totte josei kaihō to wa" 5.

[190] Matsui Yayori, "Watashi wa naze kisaeng kankō ni hantai suru no ka," *Onna • erosu* 2 (April 1974): 68-85.

[191] Gurūpu tatakau onna, "Benjo kara no kaihō," *Onna • eros* 2 (April 1974): 188.

"women's liberation" might not be as far removed from contemporary feminist discourse in Japan as it claims.

Rather, we can see the insistence on delineating "Korean women's liberation" from these other forms of feminism as a rhetorical gesture that seeks to center the suffering of Korean women in particular as a locus of transnational solidarity. The *Ajukkari* authors foreground very specific forms of female suffering while rendering others invisible, even when it comes to the "Korean women's lib" that they praise: while nearly every article on women's liberation or the oppressive conditions endured by women in South Korea under the Park regime features extensive discussion of both "kisaeng tourism" and the exploitation of young women workers, both of which are attributed to Japan's neo-colonial presence in the South Korean economy, no mention whatsoever is made of the camptown sex industries centered around the U.S. military base, which were equally a site of gendered violence and exploitation throughout this time period and gave rise to their own protest movements among camptown sex workers in the 1970s.[192]

Ajukkari's repeated references to the "kisaeng tourism" problem also hints at the widespread influence of the "Association of Women Against Kisaeng Tourism," a group founded in 1973 by Christian women already deeply involved with the Japan-Korea solidarity movement in Japan. This group of activists eventually rebranded as the "Asian Women's Association" (*Ajia no onnatachi no kai*) in 1977, which published a journal, *Asian Women's Liberation*, focused explicitly on Third-World feminist movements in Korea and Southeast Asia. Lee Misook has analyzed the activism of the "Ajia no onnatachi no kai" as demonstrating how feminists in Japan

[192] For an extensive discussion of shifting U.S. and ROK policies regarding the South Korean camptowns, and protest movements among sex workers trying to resist the exploitative policies of both states, see Katherine H.S. Moon, "Prostitute Bodies and Gendered States in U.S.-Korea Relations," in *Dangerous Women*, ed. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 141-174.

have tended to utilize the stories of South Korean women's struggles as an "opening" or "angle" (*kirikuchi*) through which to approach the larger issue of anti-colonial feminism in Asia[193] – a phenomenon that I would argue both effectively contributed to the spread of awareness and engagement in a transnational feminist movement in East Asia, but also carries the risk of erasing the voices of the women that are ostensibly being "liberated." Recent work by Setsu Shigematsu has similarly considered how the "anti-imperialist understanding" that informed the early *ribu* movement both contributed to an interest in pan-Asian solidarity with Third World women abroad while simultaneously resulting in analogies of Japanese women as "colonized slaves" (as in "Liberation of the Toilet," mentioned above) which ultimately ignored questions of racial difference and deprioritized the political needs of actual former colonial subjects living in Japan.[194]

This tendency toward abstraction and instrumentalization of the actual experiences of South Korean women, which frequently appears in the pages of *Ajukkari* as anti-colonial nationalist discourse dressed up in the language of "women's liberation," can perhaps be traced through to the resurgence of transnational feminist discourse surrounding the so-called "comfort women" issue in the 1990s, which has similarly been criticized for using the testimonies of former comfort women towards purely political ends that have grown increasingly distant from the lives and wishes of the surviving victims.[195] We can already find the same language within

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[193] See Lee Misook, "*Nikkan rentai undo" no jidai*, 121-125.

[194] Setsu Shigematsu, "Rethinking Japanese Feminism and the Lessons of *Uman Ribu,*" in *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, ed. Julia C. Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), 220.

[195] For an example of this kind of critique, see Chapters 3 and 4 of Lisa Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016). Shigematsu's article in *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, cited above, also discusses critiques of Ueno Chizuko and other Japanese feminists for their "universalist" language that elided questions of race and ethnicity when discussing the "comfort women" issue.

the pages of *Ajukkari*, in its framing of the "kisaeng tourism" problem as a new kind of sexual slavery enacted upon the Korean national body by Japanese imperialists, and in Won Sooil's evocation of "the tragedy of the body of a *sonyŏ* ["young girl" in Korean] forced to fall into the life of a prostitute or comfort woman, pierced through with countless lusts."[196]

In seeking to trace the connection between these two discourses, I do not wish to imply there is something inherent to the historical or cultural situation of Korean women that has made them the transhistorical target of this kind of politicized imagination of "Asian Women's Liberation." Rather, I wish to foreground the continuity of intellectual lineage between the images of "Korean Women's Liberation" that appear in the media of the Japan-Korea Solidarity movement of the 1970s, and the 1990s discourse of redress and transnational justice. Indeed, many of the early members of the "Association of Women Against Kisaeng Tourism" went on to be influential participants in the later redress movement, and in particular Matsui Yayori, the main author behind the feminist journal *Onna • eros*'s coverage of the "kisaeng tourism" phenomenon (excerpts of which were included in *Ajukkari*'s first foray into "women's lib" discourse), went on to found the Asia-Japan Women's Resource Center and the Violence Against Women in War Network, two of the main organizations behind the Tokyo Women's War Crimes Tribunal in 2000, a central moment in the transnational comfort women redress movement.[197] Moreover, beyond these material links, I would argue that it was the insistence on framing the emerging concept of Korean "women's liberation" as always already a minor movement subsumed by and in service to the broader struggle for democratization that enabled this kind of

[196] Won Sooil, "Kurayami o mitsumeta shijin -- Yun Dongju ron ni sakigakete," *Ajukkari* 5 (June 1977): 24.

[197] The current website of the Asia-Japan Women's Resource Center provides a very clear explanation of the historical lineage of these organizations and Matsui Yayori's central role within that lineage, as well as resources such as a reprint of the original founding declaration of the Asian Women's Association in 1977. See "*Ajia josei shiryō sentā to wa,*" Asia-Japan Women's Resource Center, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.ajwrc.org/about-us/outline/.

transnational politicization of women's suffering to begin with. In observing the young authors of *Ajukkari* as they struggle (and, often, fail) to reconcile the various discursive influences of the Japan-Korea solidarity movement, the political messaging of local Zainichi organizations such as Hanch'ŏng, emergent Japanese and "Western" feminist movements, and a Korea-centered transnationalist conception of "women's liberation", we can perhaps better understand how transnationally-oriented movements aimed at building pan-Asian feminist solidarity came to be so seemingly disjointed from mainstream feminism in Japan, and so often instrumentalized by nationalist discourses in both Korea and Japan.

Chapter 3.
"Poems on/of Flesh":
Rethinking Zainichi Women's Literary History Through the Works of Sō Shūgetsu

The Osaka-based Zainichi Korean poet, novelist and essayist Sō Shūgetsu (宗秋月, 1944-2011) published her first poetry collection, *Sō Shūgetsu shishū* (Collected poems of Sō Shūgetsu), in 1971, at a time when the Tokyo literary establishment was showing a renewed interest in institutionalizing discourses of both women's and minority literature.[198] Later that same year, the author Ri Kaisei (Lee Hoesung) would become the first Zainichi author to receive the Akutagawa Prize for his novel *Kinuta o utsu onna* (The Woman who Fulled Clothes), leading the way for a new canon of male, second-generation resident Korean authors in Japan. Female authors were relatively late to gain visibility and acknowledgement within the Zainichi literary scene, a fact often attributed to the low literacy rate and lack of access to education for first-generation Zainichi women. However, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, female authors such as Yi Yang-ji and Yū Miri[199] came to dominate the critical discourse on Zainichi literature. In fact, Yi and Yū became the second and third Zainichi Korean authors ever to win the Akutagawa Prize, in 1988 and 1997, respectively, officially marking the acceptance of Zainichi women into the Tokyo literary establishment.

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[198] Previous scholarship on Sō in English has typically referred to her by the Korean reading of her pen name, Chong Ch'uwŏl. Here, I use the Japanese pronunciation in keeping with her stated preference in a 2009 interview, and her former editor's assertion that she rarely heard Sō use the Korean pronunciation during her lifetime. Sō Shūgetsu, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 563 and 588.

[199] Yū has at times insisted that she does not identify as a "Zainichi author" and famously refused to be included in the 18-volume "*Zainichi" bungaku zenshū* (Collected Works of "Zainichi" Literature, ed. Isogai Jirō and Kuroko Kazuo, 2006). However, given the continued media and scholarly focus on her ethnic background, including in U.S. reporting on the success of the English translation of her novel *Tokyo*, *Ueno Station,* it seems safe to say that she continues to have a huge influence on the perception of women writers within the Zainichi literary world. See Tracey Gannon, "Controversy as Context: Yū Miri and the Critics," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal,* No. 34 (2008): 92-93.

Meanwhile, scholarly interest in Zainichi Korean cultural production was taking off in Japan, with the influential works *"Zainichi" to iu konkyo* (The Foundation of "Zainichi," 1995) by Takeda Seiji,[200] *Umaretara soko ga furusato* (Home is Where You're Born, 1999) by Kawamura Minato,[201] and *"Zainichi" bungaku ron* (On "Zainichi" Literature, 2004) by Isogai Jirō[202] laying the groundwork for a growing body of research on Zainichi authors in both Japan and the U.S. by the 2000s. Within the generational paradigms laid out by these early literary histories, women's writing was linked with the "third generation" of Zainichi literature, with Kawamura Minato in particular asserting that the spread of naturalization within Zainichi society was correlated with the emergence of serious writing by female Zainichi authors. This critical narrative glosses over the intellectual contributions of earlier writers such as Sō. These earlier writers struggled against the system of representation established by the canonical works of male Zainichi authors from the postwar period onwards, which denied Zainichi Korean women characters full interiority and positioned them as cultural objects of representation rather than as subjects with the potential to write or speak their own narratives.

Further groundbreaking scholarship by Song Hyewŏn[203] and others in recent decades has sought to create a fuller picture of postwar literary and intellectual activity by Zainichi Korean women, and explore the complex and varied ways in which their writings navigate the politics of identity. However, I argue that the categories established by the earliest volumes of scholarship on Zainichi literature – which were in turn shaped by which Zainichi authors were already

[200] Takeda Seiji, *"Zainichi" to iu konkyo* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1995).

[201] Kawamura Minato, *Umaretara soko ga furusato: Zainichi chōsenjin bungakuron* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999).

[202] Isogai Jirō, *"Zainichi" bungakuron* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2004).

[203] For example, see Song Hyewon, "*Zainichi chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni: koe naki koe no porifonī* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2014).

recognized within the Tokyo literary establishment – led to a lingering preconception that Zainichi women's writing lacked the explicit engagement with Zainichi domestic activism and other political issues that were praised in the works of canonical male authors, influencing which texts receive the most critical attention as well as how they are taught and interpreted within the discipline of Japan Studies.

Melissa Wender has discussed how the first- and second- generation male Zainichi writers that received critical acclaim in Japan wrote "fiction of a decidedly political tenor," while "authors who did not write work that focused explicitly on the political dimension of Resident Korean identity… did not receive such critical accolades."[204] The reverse dynamic seems to be at play in the initial reception that female Zainichi authors were greeted with in the 80s and 90s – those who were embraced by the literary establishment were often viewed by their contemporaries as having moved away from the overt politics of their male predecessors. Wender describes how early critical commentary on Yi Yangji's work "revolved around the perceived apoliticality of her fiction," arguing instead that Yi drew together the bodily, the linguistic, the existential and the historical in complex ways that were simply not legible within "a single model of identity that was intensely political."[205] Some of the critical reception of Yū Miri has also focused on the perceived "deemphasis of ethnicity" in her writing, with Tracey Gannon arguing that the "deferral of serious literary appraisal relates, at least in part, to Yū's identity as a *zainichi* Korean."[206]

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[204] Melissa Wender, "Fleshly Inscriptions of History: Yi Yang-ji's *Koku,*" *Korean and Korean American Studies Bulletin* 11 (2000): J28.

[205] Ibid., J27-28.

[206] Gannon goes on to discuss the critical fascination with Yū's perceived "deemphasis" of Koreanness in her work, as well as Yū's own complicated and shifting relationship with the category of "Zainichi." Gannon, "Controversy as Context," 90-93.

The normative criteria initially imposed on Zainichi women's narratives by the Tokyo literary establishment continue to shape which authors reach a general audience today, both in Japan and globally. Yū Miri has gained mainstream popularity internationally since her novel *Tokyo Ueno Station* won the National Book Award for Translated Literature in the U.S. in 2020, and publication of the English translation of another of her novels, *The End of August,* is currently slated for 2023.[207] Yi Yangji remains a similarly dominant figure in the domain of scholarship and criticism of Zainichi literary production, with two separate volumes of her works issued in 2022 to mark the thirtieth anniversary of her death. The first, *Kotoba no tsue: Yi Yangji essei shū* (The Cane of Words: Yi Yangji Essay Collection) presents a variety of Yi's prose pieces organized under the subcategories of "travel," "Korean dance," "literature and culture," and "living in the interstice" (*hazama o ikiru*); the second, *Yi Yangji serekushon* (Yi Yangji Selection), is a collection of four novels and three essays edited and with an afterword by the contemporary Zainichi Taiwanese author On Yūjū (also romanized as Wen Yourou).[208] These new publications seeking to reappraise Yi's previously published work indicate the intellectual and capital value still attached to her name within the literary establishment in Japan. At the same time, more "minor" Zainichi authors, such as Sō – who spent her entire life in ethnically segregated Korean neighborhoods in Saga and Osaka, participated in the domestic anti-fingerprinting movement, and incorporated explicit critiques of the Japanese, South Korean, and American governments into her works – have been largely excluded from the mainstream literary canon. To date, none of

[207] Yū Miri, *Tokyo Ueno Station*, trans. Morgan Giles (New York: Riverhead Books, 2020).

[208] Yi Yangji, *Kotoba no tsue: Yi Yangji essei shū* (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 2022) and On Yūjū, ed., *Yi Yangji serekushon* (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 2022). The "walking stick" or "cane" (*tsue*) of the title refers to a metaphor Yi uses for the disorienting experience of living between two languages.

Sō's novels have been translated into English, and her name is rarely recognized outside of those specializing in research related to Zainichi Koreans in either U.S. or Japanese academia.

In this chapter, I read the works of Sō Shūgetsu as the source of a potent critique of the system of Zainichi knowledge production that enforced normative criteria about how Zainichi women were represented in literature and determined which voices were seen as legitimate writers by the Tokyo literary establishment – a system that shaped the makeup of the canon of Zainichi authors that are most widely read and taught in Japan Studies today. I argue that Sō's literary experiments sought to subvert the Zainichi literary canon in terms of narrative structure, literary aesthetics, and the medium of written language itself. Although Sō was not the first female Zainichi writer to produce literary works with an overtly political bent, her critique of the aesthetic and ontological underpinnings of the "Zainichi literature" genre suggests an alternative framework for understanding the purpose and potential of a literary history of Zainichi women writers.[209] In particular, I am interested in Sō's idea of the *jōsetsu* (情説, "feelings-text," as opposed to *shōsetsu* 小説, novel) as an experimental literary form "written on/of flesh" that blurs the boundaries of poetry and prose and sets forth an alternative mode of writing that positions *jō/chŏng* 情 (affect/emotion) as a concept weaving together the embodied and intellectual lives of working women in the resident Korean neighborhood of Ikaino, Osaka. Focusing on the short story "Ikaino nonki megane*"* (Ikaino Rose-Colored Glasses*,* 1987), the essay "Waga ai suru chōsen no onnatachi*"* (Korean Women I Love*,* 1974), and the poem "Tanomoshikō" (Mutual

[209] Sō's 1971 poetry collection is sometimes credited as the first published volume of literature by a female Zainichi Korean author. See, for example, Kim Huna, *Zainichi chōsenjin josei bungakuron* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2004), 29. However, resources such as the 1950s Zainichi poetry journal *Jindare* demonstrate that Zainichi women were certainly writing about political engagement earlier, and I find that the necessarily amateur nature of women's writing and publishing during the Japanese empire and immediate post-war period makes the attribution of "firsts" somewhat arbitrary.

Financing Association, from *Sō shūgetsu shishū,* 1971), I will examine Sō's depictions of Ikaino as both a landscape imbued with intersecting structures of oppression and a site of possibility for fleeting moments of resistance. By reading Sō's works as critiques of the objectifying representation of women in the works of canonical Zainichi authors, the oppressive forces that worked to silence women within Zainichi society, and the limitations of emergent feminist conceptions of women's empowerment for Zainichi women, I consider Sō's conception of Ikaino as a space constituted through women's labor as a literary motif that continues to reappear in later works of Zainichi literature and offers a new perspective on the ongoing reevaluation of canonical Zainichi women writers of the past.

Sō Shūgetsu and the Project of Writing *Jōsetsu*

Sō Shūgetsu (birth name Son Chunja; Japanese name Matsumoto Akiko) was born in Ogi, Saga in 1944. She was a second-generation Zainichi Korean, her parents having met in Osaka after each independently moved to Japan from their homes on Cheju Island in South Korea to look for work in 1934.[210] Sō chose to retain her South Korean citizenship throughout her lifetime, showing no interest in naturalization. After graduating from middle school in Saga prefecture in 1960, Sō followed in her parents' footsteps by moving to the Ikaino area of Osaka, the largest resident Korean community in Japan, to look for employment. Her relocation to Ikaino would come to shape the entirety of her future literary career, and before long she found herself writing poetry in the bathroom of the sandal factory where she worked. This was the first of many jobs she held in Ikaino, including factory work, door-to-door sales of makeup and

[210] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 596.

contraceptive devices, and eventually opening her own snack bars and food stands. These various work experiences often provided direct inspiration for her writing.

In 1966, she began studying at the Osaka School of Literature (*Osaka bungaku gakkō)*[211], where she became deeply involved in the local poetry scene through close relationships with both fellow Zainichi writers such as Kim Sijong and other Osaka poets such as Ono Tōzaburō. Her first poem was published in the journal *Shinbungaku* in 1967, with English translations of her poetry appearing in print as early as 1973 through the Afro-Asian Writers Association. She was primarily considered a poet, with the 1971 *Sō Shūgetsu shishū* followed by the collection *Ikaino/onna/ai/uta* in 1984. However, she was also a prolific prose author, publishing frequently in both local newspapers and journals and in the essay collections *Ikaino taryon* in 1986 and *Sarang he/Ai shitemasu* in 1987, and completing six novels over the course of her career.

Probably because her works were written both at a physical remove from and in direct opposition to the Tokyo literary establishment, Sō did not gain mainstream critical recognition in the way that authors such as Yū Miri or Yi Yangji have done. She is mentioned only briefly in the Zainichi literary histories by Kawamura Minato and Isogai Jirō mentioned above, and remained relatively obscure during her lifetime, outside the sphere of Zainichi Korean literature and activism in Osaka. However, scholarly interest in her work has grown in recent decades, especially after the publication of the *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū* (Collected Works of Sō Shūgetsu) in 2016. Recent scholarship in Japanese by Kim Huna[212] and in English by Norma Field,[213] Melissa

[211] The Osaka School was also home to Kaikō Takeshi, who wrote the novel *Nihon sanmon opera* (1958) about a multicultural group of young scrap metal thieves living in a Korean shantytown next to the Osaka Arsenal ruins, an interesting indicator of the porous border between the literature of Zainichi Korean authors and the larger Osaka literary scene.

[212] Kim, *Zainichi chōsenjin josei bungakuron.*

[213] Norma Field, "Beyond Envy, Boredom, and Suffering: Toward an Emancipatory Politics for Resident Koreans and Other Japanese," *positions* 1-3 (1993): 640-670.

Wender,[214] and Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka,[215] has provided insightful analyses of Sō's representations of motherhood, her resistance against narratives of cultural assimilation, and her relationship to first-generation Korean women in her writing. Here, expanding on these earlier examinations of Sō's depictions of Zainichi domestic life, I will focus on the way she writes women into the economic and social space of Ikaino, outside of the household.

While Sō's writing spanned prose, fiction, and poetry, and often ambiguously blended the three within a single piece of writing, a central concept that ties her range of work into a single writing project can be found in a 2009 interview, where she stated bluntly, "*Shōsetsu* [小説, novels] can eat shit, I always say that mine are *jōsetsu* [情説]."[216] This neologism had already shown up in the afterword of her essay collection *Sarang he/Ai shitemasu* in 1987, where Sō wrote, "In poetry and in novels, I want to write our real existence as contained within the Zainichi *jōsetsu* [情説], our *jōkyō* [情況, conditions], even eros – Ah, I want to write it quickly."[217] Her editor Shimizu Noriko elaborates on this concept of the *jōsetsu* in her essay "From Poetry to Prose: What Sō Shūgetsu Wanted to Write," included in Sō's posthumous volume of collected works. Shimizu explains the meaning of *jōsetsu*, and the particular valence of Sō's use of the character 情 (emotion/affect/sentiment) as follows: "Once, the South Korean poet Kim Chiha called his own long-form works not *shōsetsu* [小説, novels] but '*daisetsu'* [大

[214] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 91-125.

[215] Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka, *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 202-211.

[216] "*Shōsetsu nante kuso kurae,watashi no wa jōsetsu da to itteimasu ga.*" Sō Shūgetsu, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 567. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[217] Sō Shūgetsu, *Sarang he / Ai shitemasu* (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1987), 249.

説], and Sō Shūgetsu emulated that in terming her own prose '*jōsetsu'* [情説]. She painstakingly scooped up women's memories that could not be forgotten in order to survive daily life deep in the alleyways of Ikaino, and expressed that *han* [恨, resentment] that could not be put into words in her '*jōsetsu.* "[218] Shimizu's (obviously complimentary) understanding of Sō's concept is somewhat problematic here – by linking 情 (*chŏng* in Korean) to 恨 (*han*), she unfortunately risks reducing both to romanticized stereotypes of Korean anguish, which, as I will show below, is precisely the kind of category Sō sought to overcome in her complex, category-defying deployment of affect throughout her body of work.[219] However, her comments also shed light on the origins of the neologism: whereas Kim Chiha's wordplay emphasizes the need for a "grand" narrative, replacing the character for "small" (小) in the word for *novel* with the character for "large" (大), Sō's similar rhetorical gesture of inserting the character for "emotion" (情) emphasizes the centrality of the affective in her work, which sought to unearth and give voice to the "unspeakable" emotions and repressed experiences of Ikaino women.

This idea of creating a new language, built from women's affective and embodied experiences of daily life, for that which "cannot be put into words" reoccurs throughout Sō's body of work, although the concept of the *jōsetsu* has yet to be explored within previous scholarship on her writing. Sō's insistence on the potential of language that transcends the limiting logic of "words" is most clearly expressed in her 1985 essay "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo" (Mother Mun Konbun's Apple), a meditation on the power of writing and the hybridity of Zainichi language as mediated through Sō's encounter with a first-generation Zainichi woman

[218] Shimizu Noriko, "Shi kara sanbun e: Sō Shūgetsu ga kakitakatta koto," in *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 588.

[219] Thank you to Jonathan Zwicker for pointing out the fraught nature of Shimizu's use of the term *han* here.

learning to write for the first time. In it, she declares, "I decided to live composing poetry only of flesh. / How painful are poems written on the body… After I parted ways with words, my encounter with true words began."[220] Melissa L. Wender has read this passage as the narrative of Sō abandoning and then "coming back to" writing during the decade that passed between her first and second poetry collections, using the translations "I decided to live my poetry with my flesh" and "After having parted [once] with language." However, I argue that we should interpret these lines instead as positing a definitive and final break with received forms of literary language, as differentiated by the "true words" (*shin no kotoba*) that come from the embodied act of "writing on/of flesh." Sō is not describing a return to a previously abandoned writing practice, but the generation of an entirely new literary form that she would later come to term *jōsetsu,* a form unencumbered by oppressive systems of rationalization, representation, and objectification.

The distinction Sō draws between the "true words" (or "poems on flesh") that she writes and the oppressive world of mere "words" is emphasized by her repeated questioning: "For the Korean women, Zainichi women who kill their own selves just to get by for one more day, how much meaning could letters – words – have?... Supporting a 'home' on this archipelago where you're sane because you're stupid, you'd go mad if you got sharp, bracing your legs, hands, and neck, what strength can words provide? What meaning can words have?"[221] As we will see in the next section, Sō carries out this process of deconstructing the established system of "words" – which we might understand as the same system of representation that framed women as aesthetic objects rather than writing subjects – by subverting the conventions of the Zainichi literary canon and re-centering the affective and visceral experiences of working women in Ikaino. The quality

[220] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 258.

[221] Ibid.

of Sō's poetic language, which Isogai Jirō has characterized as "flesh-words" (肉体コトバ), or "words overflowing within the flesh, filtered by the flesh, spoken through the flesh,"[222] might be understood as an aesthetic technique that Sō deploys as part of a larger campaign against the objectifying logic of a literary establishment that failed to recognize women like her as legitimate writing subjects.

This idea of "words of flesh" or "writing of/on flesh" resonates with the theoretical work of Alexander Weheliye, who in *Habeus Viscus* builds on earlier critiques of humanism by scholars such as Sylvia Wynters (discussed below) and Hortense Spillers in positing a system of "racializing assemblages" that are constitutive of modern personhood and subjectivity. Weheliye's larger theoretical project attempts to think through "historical relationality and conceptual contiguity" between all forms of biopolitical subjugation that have historically been used to define the category of the human, including things like gender and sexual difference, allowing for a relational approach that does not privilege one form of oppression or particular traumatic event over all others.[223] One of the strategies he deploys in his exploration of how representations of materiality and the body factor into these categories of "the human" is a seeking out of moments of "enfleshment," or bodily "surplus" and "excess" within literary texts, as demonstrated in his statement that, "The particular assemblage of humanity under purview here is habeas viscus, which, in contrast to bare life, insists on the importance of miniscule movements, glimmers of hope, scraps of food, the interrupted dreams of freedom found in those spaces deemed devoid of full human life." Much like Sō, Weheliye is similarly invested in an exploration of the fleeting experiences that cannot be rationalized through existing systems of

[222] Isogai Jirō, *"Zainichi" bungaku ron*, 42.

[223] Alexander G. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 59.

knowledge production: "Beyond the dominion of the law, biopolitics, and bare life they represent alternative critical, political, and poetic assemblages that are often hushed in these debates."[224] For example, in discussing the potential of moving beyond conceptions of "bare life" in our understanding of Holocaust narratives, Weheliye emphasizes one Auschwitz survivor's description of a "strange sweetness" – which he describes as the "beatitude" of an "untidy and opaque enfleshment."[225] There's something powerful in this notion of the "enfleshed" as what exists in excess of (and in defiance of) structures of biopolitical subjugation, and as a source of secret joy amidst abject conditions. I think it's possible to read Sō's idea of "writing on/of flesh" as a method of writing down "that which cannot be put into words" through a similar lens – the flesh is a site of suffering, but it can also be a source of pleasure, providing "miniscule movements, glimmers of hope… uninterrupted dreams of freedom" despite the poverty and violence her characters experience as part of daily life.

It is not difficult to prove that Sō was highly attuned to the issues of her day that were conventionally considered political within the politics/culture binary outlined earlier—one need only consider the fact that the contents of her works touch on topics ranging from the Gwangju Uprising to the Gulf War, or that she herself actively participated in the movement to resist the mandatory fingerprinting of Zainichi Koreans until the law was ultimately abolished in 1993. Although she did not explicitly affiliate with either Chongryon or Mindan, the two primary political organizations for Koreans living in Japan, she spoke out consistently against both dictatorship in South Korea and America's interventionism in global politics. More importantly, however, her constant centering of the interior monologues of the women of Ikaino challenges

[224] Ibid., 12.

[225] Ibid., 131.

this model of the "political" and the "cultural", insisting on the political stakes inherent in lived experience, personal memory, and quotidian working life. In stories such as "Ikaino nonki megane," Sō's emphasis on both the rich interiority of her female working class Zainichi characters as well as their power within the local economy acts as a sharp critique of the utter lack of prior literary representations that depict resident Korean women as characters with fully formed subjectivity and agency (or in Sylvia Wynter's words, as I will explain below, representations that include them in the category of the "human").

Overcoming the Zainichi Canon

As mentioned in the introduction, the prominent literary scholar Kawamura Minato's groundbreaking Zainichi literary history *Umaretara soko ga furusato* (Home is Where You're Born, 1999) links the emergence of women's writing with the increasing rate of naturalization among members of the Zainichi community by the 1980s and 1990s, framing it as one of the conditions that enabled Zainichi women to begin writing critically successful literature about their life experiences. Kawamura says, "Coupled with the fact that there were hardly any female Zainichi Korean writers up until that point, hardly any 'naturalized women' had appeared within the world of Zainichi literature… Yi Yangji and Fukasawa Kai each appeared within the world of 'Zainichi Korean literature' as just that kind of 'naturalized' second-generation Zainichi Korean female author."[226] He continues:

> I think we can say that the activity of the 'third generation' of Zainichi Koreans first started when 'naturalized' Zainichi Korean women writers, bearing the dual disadvantage of being 'Zainichi Koreans' among the overwhelming majority of 'Japanese,' and moreover being 'naturalized citizens' who were called fourth-rate

[226] Kawamura, *Umaretara soko ga furusato*, 278.

> 'Koreans,' and even further being (what was looked down upon as) the inferior gender of 'women,' acquired their own 'words' and began to speak. [227]

It is true that gradually rising naturalization rates[228] within the Zainichi community, as the number of second-generation Zainichi Koreans who were born in Japan grew to outnumber first generation immigrants, coincided with an increase in the number of published Zainichi women writers. It is also true that both Yū Miri and Yi Yangji were so-called "third-generation" Zainichi born into naturalized families. However, this framing seems to suggest a causal relationship between naturalization and the possibility of women's writing, leading to a number of problems within these early attempts at writing Zainichi women's literary history. Melissa Wender aptly summarizes the underlying assumptions that enabled to an initial (mistaken) reading of these female authors as writing at a remove from politics: it was widely believed that "women have less to lose by giving up all associated with Korea, for women's position in Korean culture is usually thought to be even more subordinate than in Japanese."[229]

Aside from being factually incorrect, the assertion that there were "hardly any" Zainichi women writers until Yi's debut in the 1980s is problematic in that it both reifies the literary establishment's disinterest in earlier narratives by working-class women writers who did not come from families with naturalized citizenship and primes readers to understand these literary narratives of the "third generation" as expressing an already circumscribed form of engagement with the multiple facets of Zainichi identity. In the introduction to her literary history of Zainichi

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[227] Kawamura, *Umaretara soko ga furusato,* 280. It's worth noting that both Yi and Fukasawa were technically second-generation Zainichi Koreans; Kawamura's "generational" model of Zainichi literature is only loosely associated with the literal generation of the authors in question.

[228] The number of Koreans naturalizing to Japanese citizenship grew from less than 2,500 a year in the 1950s to 3,600 per year in the 1960s, 4,700 per year in the 1970s, and 5,400 per year in the 1980s. See Sonia Ryang, *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.

[229] Wender, *Lamentation as History*, 17-18.

women's literature, Kim Huna continues this line of thought in describing the works of Zainichi female authors in general as categorically different from their male predecessors, stating, "To some extent, we can say that [these female authors] are positioned at a distance from the racial ideology and politics that can be seen in the works of many male authors. This was partly due to their exclusion from male society, but these works, which were written to maintain that distance, expand the breadth of Zainichi literature (and its criticism and research), which has tended toward the conceptual and the ideological."[230] Melissa Wender has similarly contextualized Yi's generation of authors in terms of "two general trends: first, that within Japanese mainstream literature toward a focus on interiority; second, that within the Resident Korean community toward a self-definition based on culture rather than politics," although, as I stated in the introduction, she has also sought to question any simplistic notion of "politics" in regards to Yi's works.[231]

A deeper problem that has shaped the discursive formation of Zainichi Korean women's literary history is the effacement of Zainichi Korean women from political movements carried out not by critics or scholars but by the early canonical works of Zainichi Korean authors themselves. The notion that Zainichi Korean women were inherently non-political has precedents in the work of critically acclaimed first- and second-generation male Zainichi authors, who made first-generation Zainichi women the subjects of literature at a time when they were largely precluded from writing themselves due to high rates of illiteracy and lack of access to education for women in their communities.[232] Ko Youngran details the ways in which women are excluded

[230] Kim, *Zainichi chōsenjin josei bungakuron,* 20.

[231] Wender, *Lamentation as History,* 19.

[232] In a 1980s survey, over 40 percent of Zainichi Koreans older than 60 had not attended school, compared to less than one percent among Japanese people in that age group. See John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 77-78. The opportunities for

from political discourse in the first-generation Zainichi Korean author Kim Talsu's short story "Pak Tal no saiban" (The Trial of Pak Tal), written in 1958. The story is set in a village near an American military base in South Korea in the aftermath of the Korean War, and follows the protagonist Pak Tal, an illiterate indentured servant who is taught to read by fellow inmates after he is mistakenly arrested as a political dissident. He begins a cycle of ideologically "converting" (*tenkō*, 転向), being let out of jail, and then deliberately being arrested again in order to continue his education within the Korean jail, gradually awakening to the political struggle unfolding around him. At the end of the novel, Pak Tal, his fellow dissidents, and his lover Tansŏn are arrested and taken to trial after they organize a massive strike among Korean workers at the nearby American military base. Ko points out that although they were all complicit in the act of political resistance and are all interrogated violently by the Korean police, only Tansŏn remains silent throughout, refusing to participate in the performance of political "conversion" that has become Pak Tal's main tactic.

In Kō's reading, Tansŏn is not offering an ideological alternative to Pak Tal's repeated acts of repentance, but is in fact situated outside of the novel's ideological system itself: "In this text, which places such a high value on the repetition of 'conversion,' her 'non-conversion' is structured not so much as an issue of ideology as it is the protection of the 'integrity' of the Korean man Pak, which is to say, the strength of a woman who has no ideology... If we consider the historicization of 'conversion' as based exclusively on a Japanese male experience, the high value placed on Pak Tal's conversion is complicit in preserving the framework of the discourse of 'conversion' within the Japanese language sphere, a framework which regards the bodies of

education for Zainichi women were even scarcer: a 1934 survey of Osaka schools found that as many as 95.32% of Zainichi women had never been to school. See Song Hyewon, "*Zainichi chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni*, 52.

women like Tansŏn as objects which can be exchanged between Japanese, American, and Korean men, and excludes them from the conversation surrounding 'conversion.'"[233] Although Tansŏn is a Korean woman, Kō convincingly argues that the narrative of political "conversion" in "Pak Tal no saiban" is a commentary on the contemporaneous intellectual discourse on the concept of *tenkō* in Japan, which would suggest that the female character's inability to participate in that system of "conversion" also occurs within a Japanese discursive space.

The second generation of Zainichi Korean authors followed the precedent set by Kim Talsu when writing women into their literature. Kim Huna notes that our access to the experiences of first-generation Zainichi women is essentially limited to their depiction as mother figures in the works of second-generation Zainichi men such as Ri Kaisei (Lee Hoesung) and Kin Kakuei (Kim Hakyŏng), who portrayed them as "ideal women who 'support,' and submissive women who 'endure,'"[234] inscribed within the household and the family. Like Kim's Tansŏn, these female characters lack individual opinions or means of expression, and are defined solely in relation to their male family members. They are often rendered literally voiceless, as when the children in Ri Kaisei's *Kinuta o utsu onna* find their mother after she has been beaten by their father: "She had a huge bandage covering her pale face, and all we could see were her deep, piercing eyes glittering strangely... We stood in the doorway facing our mother, still crouched there with a vacant look in her eyes... We stayed there absolutely still, growing more and more timid as Mother came to seem like a stranger to us. We wanted to cry, it was so awful. I don't know how much time passed. Mother remained crouched there for a terribly long time. Her head was bowed. Then she covered her face with her hands and started to cry. After a while she

[233] Kō Youngran, "Kakumei to tenkō: Yoshimoto Takaaki 'Tenkōron' to Kim Talsu 'Pak Tal no saiban' no aida kara," in *Sengo shisō no hikari to kage*, ed. Miura Nobutaka (Tokyo: Fūkōsha, 2016), 225.

[234] Kim, *Zainichi chōsenjin josei bungakuron,* 23.

got up as if nothing had happened, and put the suitcase away in the back room."[235] Here, the children find their mother's reaction totally impenetrable: she is "like a stranger," and the language used to describe her is almost animalistic. Throughout the text, the mother is denied a direct voice. Instead, her (real and imagined) life experiences are retold through the voice of her son (the narrator) and his grandmother (who incorporates memories of her daughter into her performance of the traditional storytelling form *sinse t'aryŏng*), even in scenes that neither of them was there to witness. Her son rarely remembers her actual words, instead creating speculative dialogue for her in lines like, "Then she said something to me. I wonder if she told me about the girl who had crossed this river barefoot ten years before…"[236] However, he does clearly remember his mother using a *kinuta* (fulling stone) to rhythmically beat the family's laundry, a symbol for him of traditional culture that overlaps with his memory of a childhood trip to Korea: "I think I can also remember seeing women in white clothes here and there along the river's edge beating their laundry on the smooth stones there."[237]

While the female characters in works such as these are portrayed as powerless and lacking any clearly decipherable or rational interiority, Sō turns this trope of the "enduring" Korean woman on its head in works such as *Ikaino nonki megane*, where she places her female protagonist Junko/Sunja[238] in a similarly abusive relationship but centers the narrative on the

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[235] Yi Hoesŏng, "The Woman Who Fulled Clothes," in *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth-Century Korean Stories,* trans. Beverly Nelson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974).

[236] Ibid., 359.

[237] Ibid.

[238] The original *Kikan mintō* publication of this story, the version included in the anthology *"Zainichi" bungaku zenshū*, and the one included in *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū* all leave the characters (順子) of the protagonist's name unglossed, so it is ambiguous as to whether her name is the Japanese "Junko" or the Korean "Sunja," both of which are very common female names. This seems to be a deliberate choice, given that several of her novels have characters with names that are equally plausible in either the Japanese or Korean pronunciations. Because a choice is necessary here for the sake of readability, I have chosen (somewhat arbitrarily) to use the Korean pronunciation Sunja moving forward.

character's complex interiority – for example, the entire first chapter of the novel consists of Sunja's interior monologue as she rides her bike to work at the bar she operates, reflecting on the state of her family, the uncertain future of her son and daughters, and her neighborhood's collective worries about the fate of the local economy in an age of globalization. As a contemporary of Ri Kaisei, publishing her debut poetry collection the same year he finished his Akutagawa Prize-winning story *Kinuta o utsu onna*, Sō was necessarily writing against this trope by continuing to give voice to female characters who exceed the boundaries of the domestic space allotted to them as mothers and wives.

In general, female characters occupy a unique position within the politico-economic landscape of Sō's works: although both men and women are forced to work in order to survive, women are not merely the secondary breadwinners of their respective families. The women who appear in Sō's works are oppressed by the surrounding conditions of violence and poverty in a way that men are not, but they also serve a key role in the socio-economic structure of both family and society at large. Sō deliberately exaggerates this aspect of her community, creating a sort of fantasy space in which the traditional family structure represented in other Zainichi Korean literature is inverted: although, in reality, there was obviously a large male workforce fueling the manufacturing industries of Ikaino, that demographic recedes into the distance in her novels and poems, with the only adult male characters appearing as alcoholic or abusive husbands and brothers, similarly dehumanized, wordless, and often unnamed, who have become unemployable and are thereby restricted to the traditionally "female" spaces of the home and the markets while their wives commute to the factories and restaurants where they work.

Sō similarly subverts the tropes of domestic violence and sexual abuse that are virtually inescapable in the works of male Zainichi authors that were praised by the literary establishment.

Arguing that we should read Sō's portrayal of acts of violence at home not as "romanticization" of Zainichi women's suffering, but as satire based on the hard truths of lived experience, Jackie Kim-Wachutka describes how Sō "views the years of physical abuse by her husband as part of her fate as a woman – a fate that is ironically also her 'muse,' the source of her artistic inspiration."[239] While Sō was unable to change the fact of her husband's abuse in real life, which often interfered with her ability to publish or attend literary events, she frames Ikaino as a space with the potential for that power dynamic to be literally flipped, even if only temporarily. Sō describes Sunja's husband's abuse, but refuses his nameless character any interiority, describing him using animalistic language that echoes the "piercing eyes glittering strangely" of Ri Kaisei's description of the abused mother, quoted above: "Sometimes when he had drunk himself into a stupor, Sunja's husband would creep up beside her with his eyes glittering like a beast, showering her with abusive language, already off the rails … her only way to protect herself was to curl up her body like a shrimp."[240]

For Sunja, this cycle of male violence is a direct product of the delineation of the public world of men from the domestic sphere of women's lives: "Her father who died in Sunja's first year of middle school, her brother, her husband, and possibly even her own son – even in the midst of suffering their blows like sudden sparks from her eyes, she couldn't help but think that even this manifestation of madness, born of men's pride simply in being men, was something they could only accomplish within the safety of 'home.'" This means there is a possibility of subverting this dynamic within a landscape where men are relegated to the home while women work out in the world; in the next chapter, their roles are literally reversed as Sunja climbs on top

[239] Kim-Wachutka, *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan*, 208.

[240] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 177-178.

of her drunk husband during sex and begins to strangle him, then finds herself aroused by her own implicit power as he drifts off to sleep with her hand still on his throat: "Love me. Love me. The throat that unleashed these howling torrents of abuse was swaying peacefully in Sunja's hands. The peace of mind of a selfish man was of Sunja's own volition, easily defeated in the palm of her hand."[241]

Sō's focus on labor as the structuring element of her character's lives stands in sharp contrast to the works of female Korean writers that are generally held up by literary historians (and by Akutagawa prize selection committees) as representing the quintessential model of female Zainichi identity, where naturalized characters experience a nostalgic reconnection to their "Korean roots" through contact with some essentialized aspect of traditional Korean culture, usually an art form that is heavily gendered – the instrument *kayagŭm* or the *salp'uri* dance in the works of Yi Yangji or shaman ritual in Yū Miri. To be clear, this is not to say that these authors are indeed "apolitical", or even that the two authors write the politics of lived experience into their works in the same way – simply that we might identify a trend in the way they have been received by a literary establishment that seeks out a particular kind of cultural difference when engaging with the work of ethnic minorities.

This can be confirmed in the reductive nature of much of the Akutagawa prize selection committee's commentary on the topic of "Koreanness." For example, in discussing Yi Yangji's short story "Kazukime" as a candidate for the Akutagawa prize in 1983, the novelist and judge Junnosuke Yoshiyuki stated, "The overly ornate structure is no good. I'd like to hear this author's real feelings honestly, including what she thinks about being a Korean (*chōsenjin*) in this day and age in Japan." These understandings of "culture" correspond to the representations of culture,

[241] Ibid., 188.

tradition, and Koreanness inscribed within earlier works by male authors, such as *Kinuta o utsu onna*'s portrayal of women as the carriers of Korean culture even in diaspora through the fulling of clothes as a rhythmic and performative collective act, and through *sinse t'aryŏng* as a form of traditional storytelling.

It is my contention that this conception of "culture" as an easily digestible form of identity is a fundamentally imperialist one, traceable to the colonial-era demand that literature, film, and art from the Korean peninsula provide what was then called "local color" (지방색, 地方色), an exoticist rendering of the Korean landscape and people that was easily commodified for consumption by mainland Japanese audiences. Nayoung Aimee Kwon further explains this phenomenon in her exploration of the market forces that brought Korean authors such as Kim Saryang to the attention of the Japanese literary establishment in the late colonial period:

> The imperial desire for colonial kitsch may appear as innocently genuine appreciation for colonial culture, but in fact veils collusion with its domination and destruction. Colonial objects that were circulated during the passing trend of the Korea Boom appeared to conflate far-flung fields: tourism, folk culture, food, fashion, architecture, literature and art. Each object, whether from highbrow or lowbrow culture, was significant only as a commodity symbolizing *Koreanness*, and as such was, for its Japanese consumer, arbitrary and exchangeable among a potentially infinite chain of consumable signifiers.[242]

Janet Poole has remarked on the gendered aspect of the concept of "local color" in the way that these representations "focused on aestheticized but marginal subjects, such as women, children, old people, animals, and landscape... and no sense of the agency of human beings, who are depicted as beautiful but passive"[243] and noting the particular demand for imagery featuring the

[242] Naiyong Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 104.

[243] Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2014), 166.

bodies of "young girls in traditional dress."[244] Dong Hoon Kim has similarly commented on the prominence of the female performer or *kisaeng* within early colonial film narratives that participated in "local color" as an act of self-orientalization that would allow access to a wider audience in mainland Japan.[245]

The nostalgic theme of women performing Koreanness through the material practices of food, clothes, musical instruments, *salp'uri* handkerchiefs and other folk crafts in resident Korean literature can be understood in relation to the legacy of this colonialist framework of culture and self-representation, which demanded that identity be reduced to a one-dimensional notion of culture that is easily understood and subsumed into a larger hierarchy of personhood within the imperial nation. This model of cultural identity persists into the postcolonial period in the conflation of language, culture, and ethnicity into the single referent of "Koreanness." The emphasis on an exoticist aesthetic of otherness while refusing any engagement on an intellectual level resembles what Karatani Kojin has described as the structure of orientalism, in which the viewer or reader's pleasure is derived from the bracketing of the intellectual in favor of the aesthetic.[246] This does not mean that the works of later authors such as Yi Yangji who suggest a similar connection between folk traditions and selfhood or hybrid identity did not seek to complicate this model of Zainichi personhood, but it seems possible for the larger literary establishment to read these works without engaging beyond a surface appreciation of the text as a pure representation of cultural difference. This flattening of the concept of cultural identity to the exotic tokenism of "local color" exists in a mutually reinforcing relationship with the empty

[244] Ibid., 28.

[245] Dong Hoon Kim, *Eclipsed Cinema: The Film Culture of Colonial Korea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 86.

[246] See Karatani Kojin, "Uses of Aesthetics: After Orientalism," *boundary 2* 25, no. 2 (1998): 145-60.

interiority of Korean women as represented in canonical works of Zainichi literature: women exist as aesthetic ornaments or symbols of suffering within the text, legible as motherly bearers of Korean culture but never as writing or thinking subjects.

Sō Shūgetsu's writing undermines both sides of this equation. Her recentering of narratives of female labor and the affective experience of daily life within a landscape of abject poverty can be read as both a critique of the male authors such as Ri Kaisei and Kim Talsu who were writing women as silent and empty symbols of "Koreanness," as well as a rejection of the reductionist category of "culture" that those images implied. She rebels against the systems of representation, rhetoric, genre and form that govern literature as a culturalist institution through her conception of the "*jōsetsu*" – a deliberate tactic for subverting the expectations the literary establishment holds toward a so-called "doubly minor" female and Korean author. This is carried out not just through the narrative structure of her work, which insists on dwelling within the emotional and erotic life of women who challenge the constraints imposed on them by Zainichi society, but also at the level of the text itself. On the *obi*[247] for her 1984 poetry collection *Ikaino*/*onna/ai/uta*, prominent intellectual Tsurumi Shunsuke acknowledged the defiant nature of Sō's relationship with language, describing her poems as "written with words that aren't wearing the uniform of the literary establishment."[248]

Echoing Sō's insertion of the character 情 (*jō* or *chŏng*; emotion/feeling) into the conventional term for novel, her prose writing similarly plays with the instability of language to create a new literary form that renders visible the deep affective experiences hidden with the mundane aspects of everyday labor. For example, when describing Sunja's family's screw

[247] An *obi* is a slip of paper wrapped around the dustcover of a book, usually containing blurbs and other promotional material selected by the publisher.

[248] Sō Shūgetsu, *Ikaino/onna/ai/uta* (Osaka: Burēn Sentā, 1984).

manufacturing business in *Ikaino nonki megane*, the narration riffs off the visual similarity between the character for screw (捩) and the character for tears (涙): "Sunja, as the youngest daughter of six siblings, often wondered if the characters for *screw* (捩子) in the screw shop that was her family's business were not a misprint of *child of tears* (涙子)."[249] In her first poetry collection, the title of her poem "Tanomoshikō," which I discuss in the next section, replaced the character 講 (*kō*, group/association) in the term for a female-run mutual aid group with the homonym 考 (*kō*, thought/to think), further linking women's labor to the production of knowledge.[250] This kind of wordplay seems related to Sō's formulation of the *ningo* as a mispronounced term that exists somewhere between the Japanese *ringo* (apple) and the Korean *nŭnggŭm* (wild apple), representing the accented speech of first-generation Zainichi women in Sō's poem "Ningo" (1971) and essay "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo" (1985). Both Wender and Kim-Wachutka have drawn attention to the way the *ningo* is linked to the weathered bodies of Zainichi women through imagery of the "drip of blood" after biting into an apple and the flavor "filtered through flesh."[251] In each of these cases, the deliberate use of "incorrect" or "mistaken" language works against the representing logic of institutionalized literature, destabilizing the received meaning of "words" and positing an alternate form of writing that seeks to make new connections between the emotional, the visceral, and the intellectual within the working lives of Ikaino women.

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[249] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 173.

[250] Ibid., 22. The title was changed back to standard spelling when the poem was re-printed in her second poetry collection, but given the other instances of her manipulating *kanji* orthography, the choice of 考 in the first version seems deliberate.

[251] See Kim-Wachutka, *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan*, 203-204 and Wender, *Lamentation as History,* 104-105.

Tanomoshikō: Female Structures of Power and Exploitation

Although the image of the Ikaino woman working to support her multiple children and unemployable husband is perhaps the primary motif of Sō's *jōsetsu*, we can also find economic systems that are built and run by women on a broader scale. One such economic power structure is the *tanomoshikō* (頼母子講), or mutual financing association, an informal, locally organized financial institution wherein participating members would contribute small sums of money at regular intervals, thereby providing the group funds to loan out that they would then collect interest on (usually at exorbitantly high rates). *Tanomoshikō* were a necessary fixture of public life in Ikaino, where many residents were excluded from more traditional financial institutions, and they appear throughout Sō's works as exclusively female spaces – for example, Sunja's brother in *Ikaino nonki megane* must ask his mother to go to the *tanomoshikō* to raise funds, rather than participating directly himself.[252] Sō's essay "Waga ai suru chōsen no onnatachi" (The Korean Women I Love) describes the functioning of the Ikaino *tanomoshikō* as a women's institution as follows:

> The *tanomoshikō*, the sole financial institution available to the Korean women of Ikuno Ward,[253] does not require collateral, or a guarantor, or a personal seal, or complicated language, or troublesome administrative procedures.
>
> Women who don't have the literacy required for administrative forms or the Japanese fluency to speak in jargon, to say nothing of collateral, lend and borrow on the female spirit that has enabled them to live and work here.
>
> Ok-hee folds up the scrap of paper on which she had her son write the interest amount "9,999.999 yen" until it's small, then holds it out among the gathered women.

[252] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 173.

[253] Ikuno Ward is the modern name for Ikaino. Sō uses both names in her work.

> The scrap of paper Ok-hee presented and all the other bits of paper that have already been collected are placed in front of the woman who is leader of the *tanomoshi*. The children of the *tanomoshikō* watch with bated breath as the girl who has been summoned to read for them, in perhaps her fifth year of elementary school, unfolds a scrap of paper and calls out.
>
> The goddess of fortune smiles upon Ok-hee, and thus she has ended up with a rounded-down interest of 9,900 yen on each loan of 10,000 yen.
>
> There were 30 people at the *tanomoshikō*, so Ok-hee puts the 290,000 yen that remain after the leader is paid into her pocket and makes her triumphant leave. Starting next month, she will have to repay 19,900 yen every month for 29 months.
>
> "If the jobs start coming in, everything will go fine..."[254]

The *tanomoshikō* as portrayed by Sō is a complex social ritual involving strategic bidding tactics on the part of potential borrowers. She emphasizes the way in which the financial institution enfolds all generations of women in Ikaino society, from the elderly woman acting as leader (literally 親, "parent," in the original Japanese) and the adult "children of the *tanomoshikō*" vying for funds, to the schoolgirls who read for members of the illiterate older generation. The emphasis here is on the *tanomoshikō* as a structure in which local women wield power, with references to "the female spirit" and "the goddess of fortune" framing it as a mechanism through which women of Ikaino who are excluded from conventional financial institutions due to illiteracy or lack of personal identification are able to access the resources that enable them to survive within the local economy. The extremely high interest rates that accompany these resources are openly acknowledged, but not directly commented upon.

Much like Sō's framing of Ikaino as a space constituted solely through women's labor, and her fantasy of women reversing the power dynamics of sexual violence in novels such as

[254] Sō, *So Shūgetsu zenshū*, 223.

"Ikaino nonki megane," the portrayal of the *tanomoshikō* here is not entirely realistic. Sō hints at the possible risks Ok-hee is shouldering in accepting these funds to give to her son with the final line, "If the jobs start coming in, everything will go fine..." The consequences if things don't go her way are left unstated. Other Ikaino authors have written more bluntly about the *tanomoshikō* as an exploitative and even violent force within local Zainichi communities. For example, the author Won Sooil's short story "Kikyō" (Going Home, 1987) centers around a first-generation Zainichi woman who has used over 300,000 yen in *tanomoshi* funds to buy up black market goods she plans to resell at a profit in South Korea during a government-sanctioned visit to her ancestral grave.[255] The driving dramatic tension of the story is the looming threat of the *tanomoshi* as her plans fall apart – the trip is ultimately cancelled because of the assassination of the South Korean president, leaving the main character in a state of frantic despair about ever being able to repay the loan.

An even blunter portrayal of the *tanomoshi* as an oppressive force within the local community can be found in Gen Getsu's novel *Kage no sumika* (Dwelling in the Shadows), which won the Akutagawa Prize in 2000. The novel plainly states the stakes of the *tanomoshi* for its participants: "If you ran away with the money of the *oya* [boss] of the *tanomoshi*, you couldn't complain even if you were killed for it, but if you returned the money and begged for your life with your head on the ground, you might just be allowed to leave the village still able to walk."[256] The narrative, which is set in a Korean enclave that seems to be a fictionalized version of Ikaino, is haunted by the lingering figure of Sukja, a woman who was once group-tortured as

[255] Won Sooil, *Ikaino monogatari: Chejudo kara kita onnatachi* (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1987), 96-110.

[256] Gen Getsu, *Kage no sumika* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 2000), 69. Thank you to Sonia Ryang for pointing me toward this text. Ryang analyzes *Kage no sumika* in detail in Sonia Ryang, "Dead-End in a Korean Ghetto: Reading a Complex Identity in Gen Getsu's Akutagawa-Winning Novel *Where the Shadows Reside*," *Japanese Studies* vol. 22, no. 1 (2002): 5-18.

punishment for stealing money from the local *tanomoshi*, forced to kneel on ice and beaten by the villagers until she was left permanently disabled. The narration specifies that virtually everyone in the enclave participated in the torture, including both men and women, belying Sō's vision of the *tanomoshi* as an exclusively female space and laying bare the almost ritualistic brutality of the group's extra-legal methods of enforcement. (It is worth nothing that *Kage no sumika* is similarly frank in its portrayal of the working lives of women in the Korean neighborhood – the main character's wife has died from blood loss after getting her arm caught in a machine at the shoe factory where she works, and the factory owner has a reputation for sexually harassing and assaulting his female employees.)

While Sō does not portray the *tanomoshikō* with the level of brutality captured in Gen's novel, she does acknowledge that while females hold power within the structure of the *tanomoshikō,* they cannot truly be empowered by it – the *tanomoshikō* does not provide a solution to the multiple layers of oppression faced by women in Ikaino, but rather contributes to the suffering of the less fortunate participants while further enriching the *oya,* who already occupy a position of power. In her poem "Tanomoshikō," Sō's portrayal of the local financial institution is far more ambivalent than in the essay quoted above, emphasizing that women placed into positions of power inevitably end up perpetuating the same cycles of poverty and debt that they are attempting to overcome.[257]

In lines like "from ancient times / here / women / went to / war," the poem ambiguously suggests that the *tanomoshikō* might be a site of either female resistance or institutionalized violence. Sō is openly dismissive of the naiveté of drawing a connection between this institution and feminist movements of the time: "obscene transaction / women's lib / etc / idiotic / drum-

[257] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 21.

bellied women." As the list in the opening lines of the poem indicates, the "obscenity" of the *tanomoshikō* lies in the fact that they exploit the community's women through extremely high interest rates even as they provide financial opportunities to women who otherwise would not be able to participate in the economy at all. As a result, the woman chosen as recipient of *tanomoshikō* funds is part victor, part victim, and immediately complicit in the cycle of violence: "the woman, shot through by / white-feathered arrow / strange, look of / luck and / pain / first of all / today / she kills someone and / survives / alone."[258]

Sō's disdainful references to "women's lib" show that she sees the contemporaneous feminist movement as limited in its applicability to her community, hinting at one of the reasons her work may have been pushed aside at a time when both minority literature and women's literature were being established as genres within the Japanese literary establishment. She had a complex relationship with feminist discourse, expressing her excitement at witnessing the rise of feminist movements in Japan and Korea in the 1970s while also maintaining skepticism about the limitations of any concept of women's empowerment within the intersecting structures of oppression that constituted daily life in Ikaino. Sō's portrayal of Ikaino as an economic space reliant on and controlled by working women was a new one that redefined the way women could be represented and given voice within Zainichi literature. However, in insisting on the impossibility of disentangling issues of gender from those of ethnicity and class, she defines a landscape that defies any simplistic notion of "female empowerment." In Sō's Ikaino, cycles of poverty and violence can be participated in but not overcome, and surviving means inevitable complicity in the oppression of others.

[258] The phrase "*shiraha no ya"* 白羽の矢 literally means "a white-feathered arrow" but simultaneously evokes the saying "*shiraha no ya ga tatsu*" 白羽の矢が立つ, meaning "to be chosen."

Sō Shūgetsu's Ikaino: Language, Body, Landscape

Sō's attempts to destabilize language as a function of larger structures of power through her *jōsetsu* rely heavily on the technique of situating the embodied experiences of her Korean women characters within the broader landscape of Ikaino, the ethnic Korean enclave in Osaka where she lived and wrote. "Ikaino nonki megane" demonstrates how the landscape of Ikaino as constructed by Sō ties the politics of language to the bodily experience of female labor. Much of the narrative follows Sunja's daily commute to and from work by bicycle along an Ikaino side street she nicknames the "Galaxy Road," against the backdrop of a plotline about a series of mysterious arson incidents in the neighborhood. The "Galaxy Road" road connects all the important locations within the novel, and the very name of the road implicates the space in the entangled politics, economy, and culture of Ikaino: "galaxy" refers to the tiny bits of scrap metal that have over time become a part of the road itself, drifting from the metalworking shops that display "the Japanese names borne by Koreans ever since s*ōshi-kaimei*, such as Kanaumi Ironworks and Takayama Metalworks, hidden away under the train tracks much like the chipped-off paint itself, and yet clinging to the shutters with a stubborn presence."[259] At the same time, the term "Galaxy Road" also hints at the otherworldly spiritual presences Junko projects onto the road as she commutes each night, a "belief her mother brought with her from Cheju Island to Japan."[260] While the road is where Junko perpetually navigates the transition between home and workplace, it also traces a path straight through the center of Ikaino as it "meanders along from Fuse to Imazato and from Imazato to Tsuruhashi," offering her glimpses into the red-light district

[259] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 172. The names "Kanaumi" (金海) and "Takayama" (高山) are examples of last names that were frequently used to transform Korean surnames such as Kim (金) and Ko (高) into Japanese-sounding names under the imperial name-change policy between 1939 and 1945.

[260] Ibid., 170.

of the so-called "world of the Japanese" and the restaurants and pachinko parlors of what she calls the "Korean street,"[261] as well as the many people in constant circulation between the two.

The focus on the economy of Ikaino allows Sō to shift scope effortlessly from the minutely personal to the broadly sociopolitical, as when she moves from the day-to-day financial struggles of Ikaino women to the demographics of how Ikaino residents identify their permanent residences on their alien registration cards within a single paragraph.[262] In the same way, Junko's careful inventory of the prices at the stall on the bridge that sells expired food products, and her memories of all the times she has attempted to serve her children spoiled food,[263] are one infinitesimal part of the same economic system that gives rise to Zainichi-owned companies that resort to "subcontractors, sub-subcontractors, and even sub-sub-subcontractors" but are still so strapped for cash that they must rely on "mothers scraping together funds from the *tanomoshi*"[264] to survive.

"Ikaino nonki megane" sheds light on some of the larger structures of exploitation that continued to oppress working class communities even in the midst of the bubble economy of late 1980s Japan, portraying globalization as a force that is both inescapable and unforgiving in its unequal distribution of wealth and power. For example, Junko sees her own family as victims of the global competition for cheap labor, since their poverty is at least partially a result of her husband's inability to find work: "Junko thought that the slump of even those marginal positions being steadily stolen away by cheap labor in Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines was spurring on

[261] Ibid., 171.

[262] Ibid., 176.

[263] Ibid., 175.

[264] Ibid., 173.

the depression in this city."[265] However, she also sees herself and her family as complicit in political violence on a global level, thinking that "her family's screw manufacturing factory, as a subsidiary of a large Japanese company, supported the arms industry."[266] In short, Sō makes it clear that participation in the local economy, necessary for both men and women in Ikaino in order to survive, inevitably equates to participation in global politics.

In her essay "1492: A New World View," the Caribbean theorist Sylvia Wynter writes about a relationship between race and landscape that stretches back centuries in various parts of the world including medieval Europe and the Ottoman empire, suggesting that a neat division of the world into categories of "habitable" and "uninhabitable," while proven not to be literally true by the Colombian Exchange, continued to mark those who resided in the so-called "uninhabitable" areas of the earth as people who "necessarily lived like 'beasts'" and "conceptually other peoples."[267] In Wynter's view, this geo-racial configuration of the world is one of the underlying discourses of knowledge that throughout history have repeatedly defined the human through opposition to a constructed category of subhuman or nonhuman Other, what Wynter calls the "ethnoclass genre[s] of the human." In keeping with Wynter's positing of the habitable/uninhabitable divide as an early form of this type of onto-episteme, she calls the ontological space to which those deemed nonhuman or subhuman are relegated the "archipelagoes of Human Otherness,"[268] suggesting that we might expect the discursive inferiority of those marked as nonhuman to be manifested in the spaces they are made to inhabit.

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[265] Ibid., 177

[266] Ibid.

[267] Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World View," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, ed. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995): 5-57.
[268] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation -- An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 321.

Within this schema, the only way for those inhabiting an "archipelago of Otherness" to enter the category of the "human" is through complicity in the systems of power that structure that category to begin with. Instead, Wynter argues for a radical praxis that she calls "being human," which involves interrogating the foundations of our current onto-episteme rather than seeking to make it more inclusive. In an essay published the same year as Sō's "Ikaino nonki megane," Wynter places the potentiality of minority literature within this overall theoretical project of "being human," and argues that the role of minority writers is not to not to represent or allegorize one uniform minority experience but to help bring the current "onto-episteme" to a close and suggest alternative modes of understanding humanness, stating that "the unifying goal of *minority* discourse... will necessarily be to accelerate the conceptual 'erasing' of the figure of Man,"[269] which will "entail the transformation both of literary scholarship and of our present organization of knowledge."[270]

Although developed within an entirely different historical and geographic context, I believe Wynter's notion of a habitable/uninhabitable spatial divide in relation to the category of the human can help us understand what Sō seeks to achieve in writing her female characters into the material space of Ikaino, rife as it is with poverty, addiction, and exploitation. Sō emphasizes the historical transformation of the land from literally uninhabitable to habitable through the reclamation work of Korean laborers (as I discuss in Chapter 1), and then back towards a type of uninhabitability in the form of widespread poverty and violence within the community. In doing so, she creates a specific configuration of time and space that by the conclusion of "Ikaino nonki megane" is linked with an explicit evocation of the precarious sense of humanity within the

[269] Sylvia Wynter, "On Disenchanting Discourse: "Minority" Literary Criticism and Beyond," *Cultural Critique* No. 7 (1987): 208.

[270] Ibid., 234.

community of Ikaino residents. Throughout the novel, the protagonist Sunja finds herself repeating the same words over and over again at the men who wreak havoc and perpetrate violence against the women around her, represented by an anonymous arsonist who strikes repeatedly in the neighborhood: "Are you human?"

In the final pages of the novel, Sunja's scorn towards the men committing violence in the community turns into a confrontation with the self as she questions what it would mean for a dehumanized Zainichi woman to finally become fully human. The repeated question, "Are you human?", first intended as an insult in response to a stranger's bad behavior, is first redirected towards herself, then finally made into a statement:

> "Are you human?"
> "Are you human?"
> "Are you human?" she had asked that day – and when faced with the same circumstances she would surely again ask again, "Are you human?" Sunja wondered why she herself was somehow unable to be "human."
> "I want to become human," Sunja thought. She wondered how many wrongs one would have to commit to become a human, deeply sinful.[271]

I here juxtapose Wynter's notion of "being human" with Sō's repeated line, "I want to become human," not to suggest a perfect correspondence between Wynter's use of the term "human" and Sō's human (*ningen,* 人間), but to point to the noticeable reverberation between these two ideas as a starting point for thinking about the larger implications of these texts. It is crucial that Sunja here is not merely looking to expand the limitations of who is allowed to be human, but actually questioning the complicity in systems of power and exploitation that is demanded of those who would seek to be accepted into the category of the human.

[271] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 202.

This line, "I want to become human," is representative of a larger project that can be found throughout Sō's body of work, one that continuously asks what it means to be human within a landscape that is constantly threatened with erasure. The resulting writing practice hints at the possibility of an alternative literary history of resident Korean women writers, one centered on the material and symbolic space of Ikaino as a site of both oppression and empowerment that exceeds the models of culture and identity that have long been used to define these women's voices. Can we understand Sō's focus on the local material history of the space of Ikaino, and the resulting destabilization of prior systems of ethnic and cultural identification, through Wynter's suggestion that the notion of "habitable" and "uninhabitable" geographic spaces is one of the discursive structures of power that have historically informed our understanding of who gets counted as human? How does this discursive construction of the "human," as described by Wynter, shed light on the image of the passive, voiceless Korean woman bereft of subjectivity that Sō sought to subvert? And moreover, can we understand the aesthetic and political stakes of Sō's writing practice in terms of Wynter's argument that the role of so-called "minority writers" is not to represent or allegorize one uniform minority experience, but to break down both oppressive orders of knowledge and the aesthetic, rhetorical, and literary systems that support them? These questions point the way forward towards new modes of engagement with authors like Sō who write embodied, affective, and "radically human" forms of subjectivity that can't be subsumed into pre-existing categories of culture, ethnicity, or identity.

Sō's Legacy: A New Perspective on Zainichi Women's Literature

Sō's work and her vision of an Ikaino where women are fully incorporated into the political and economic fabric of society had a clear influence on the Zainichi women who wrote

after her. Her most obvious legacy can be found in the work of other Ikaino writers such as Kim Ch'ang Saeng, who joined Sō in the project of writing Ikaino through the lens of female experience in works such as *Watashi no Ikaino* (My Ikaino, 1982),[272] as well as Kim Kaeja (a.k.a. Kim Yuchŏng), a contemporary author I will discuss at length in the final section of this chapter. However, it is also possible to trace the concept of Ikaino as a space of female political and economic engagement through works that gained greater recognition from the Tokyo literary establishment, indicating that this alternative reading of women's role in Zainichi literature and society extends beyond the physical boundaries of Ikaino itself.

Fukasawa Kai's 1992 novel *Yoru no kodomo* (Children of the Night) provides one such example of Sō's Ikaino as a space of female networks of power appearing in an unexpected place, albeit in a somewhat modified form. On the surface, Fukasawa's novel seems to conform to the narrative of naturalization as a phenomenon that empowered women to write through engagement with cultural issues rather than political ones. The protagonist, Akiko Hayama, is a naturalized second-generation Zainichi Korean woman who begins to work for a Tokyo lifestyle magazine aimed at a Zainichi Korean readership. She is initially drawn to the job due to the magazine's staunch commitment to publishing lifestyle and culture content rather than political articles, and she desperately avoids engaging in political debate with her non-naturalized male colleagues, citing her own naturalized status as her reason for remaining at a remove from "politics": "Within Akiko lay the alienated feeling that it had nothing directly to do with her own existence in Japan. She could only feel that she was viewing the series of incidents at a distant remove from the linked concepts of 'homeland,' 'ethnicity,' and 'Zainichi.'"[273] However, as she

[272] Kim Ch'ang-saeng, *Watashi no Ikaino: Zainichi ni totte no sokoku to ikoku* (Nagoya: Fūbaisha, 1982).

[273] Fukasawa Kai, *Yoru no kodomo* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 12.

grows closer with her colleagues and begins to discover that she is not truly as apolitical as she once thought, she begins to view her status as a naturalized citizen as something that further entangles her in the politics of identity, eventually viewing her naturalization as a form of social pressure exerted onto her and her mother by her father rather than a personal choice to exist outside of the politics of identity and ethnicity.

Crucial to Akiko's transformation is her relationship with Sunja, a friend of Akiko's colleagues who is also a naturalized Zainichi woman but who has reclaimed her Korean name. Sunja struggles with alcoholism, and the two end up in long phone conversations about their respective insecurities surrounding identity despite not knowing each other well. Towards the end of the novel, Akiko receives a letter from Sunja saying that after failing her college entrance exams, she finally acted on her long-held fantasy of moving to Ikaino and found work in a sandal factory there:

> Now I'm studying the mother tongue three times a week through the Ikaino Korean Language Course. And once a week, I'm the Japanese language teacher for the *Ŏmŏni* [Mothers] School. The *Ŏmŏni* School is a course that teaches Japanese to *ŏmŏni* and *halmŏni* [grandmothers] in their 50s and 60s who can't read or write even though they can speak Japanese. These *ŏmŏni* are people who can't even write in *hangul*, much less in Japanese. Right now, I'm working with four of them, but they all say they've never held a pencil before until now. When I see these *ŏmŏni* licking their pencils, concentrating with all their might on writing characters with their shaking, bony, sun-baked hands, I'm truly moved, and sometimes I feel like I'm going to cry. My own studying for the entrance exams... it makes me wonder what the hell that was for. I'm really immature, and it's shameful to have someone like me teaching people like these, but I'm really happy to be able to help compatriots.
>
> I'm so incredibly happy to be of use to someone for the first time in my life... You always told me to go study at university, but even without going to

college, I think I'm managing to study by being here. I've also come to understand some things about myself, little by little.[274]

Ikaino here serves the same essential purpose that it does in Sō's work: while Sunja is rejected by the traditional education system, Ikaino emerges as a refuge where she can not only find work as a young woman, but also educate herself while effecting real change within her community. As with the *tanomoshikō* in Sō's writing, the education system portrayed here is an informal one comprised entirely of women: the younger generation of Zainichi women who make use of the Korean-language education resources then become a resource themselves for spreading literacy among the older generation. The choice of Ikaino as the location of Sunja's miraculous recovery from alcoholism and the resolution of her tortuous insecurity surrounding her identity is a deliberate one – Akiko makes a point of noting that Sunja has long spoken of running away to Ikaino. The fact that Ikaino is available for use as a fantasy space where women can escape the oppressive contradictions of the discourse surrounding naturalization and fully engage with their Zainichi Korean identity is undoubtedly thanks to the precedent set by Sō's body of work. Although Sunja's transformation is not explicitly political in nature, there are echoes of Sō's female structures of power in Sunja's remark that she has begun to feel a sense of purpose for the first time in her life as she helps the elderly Zainichi women of the community gain their own sense of power through literacy. Her letter ultimately serves the purpose of inspiring Akiko to achieve her own explicitly political transformation, finally allowing herself to engage with her male colleagues as equals and give expression to her own personal politics of identity.

It is also possible to find echoes of Sō's unique female image in the writing of Yi Yangji (and it is worth noting that Yi was familiar with Sō's work, since the two apparently met before

[274] Fukasawa, *Yoru no kodomo,* 150-151.

Yi's debut as an author).[275] In Yi's essay "Sanjo no ritsudō no naka e*"* (Into the Rhythm of *Sanjo*), published for the first time in the journal *Sanzenri* in 1979, she describes both visiting relatives in the seemingly foreign environment of Ikaino as a child and working in a sandal factory[276] alongside other Zainichi Koreans in Tokyo as important events in her process of maturing as a *kayagŭm*[277] player, as a writer, and as an adult aware of her own Zainichi Korean identity. Her experience working in the factory is linked in her memory to her growing involvement in the movement to free Yi Tŭkhyŏn, a Zainichi Korean man falsely convicted of murder in a case known as the Marushō Incident. She says in the essay that her current dedication to and level of accomplishment on the *kayagŭm* is because "I was made aware of my own position in places outside of the *kayagŭm*, through my involvement in the Marushō Incident and my encounter with Yi Tŭkhyŏn... The me washing dishes in a Kyoto *ryokan* overlaps with the figure of me working in a sandal factory, and the me riding on the limited express train to Sendai [to visit Yi Tŭkhyŏn] overlaps with the figure of me biting my lip in hatred before my father. All of this is connected to the way that I am right now."[278] I read these lines as a direct rebuttal of the way Yi's writing was initially received – as Wender notes, she was initially criticized by other Zainichi intellectuals as "devoid of the political consciousness seen in earlier Zainichi fiction" and as "a 'woman writer' more strongly than … a 'Resident Korean' writer."[279]

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[275] See Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 608.

[276] Sō herself described the work of pasting soles on shoes at a hep sandal factory as the "prototypical job" of the women of Ikaino, and portrays this labor in detail in works such as the poem "Hariko aishi." See Sō, Sō Shūgetsu zenshū, 325 and 27.

[277] A *kayagŭm* is a traditional Korean instrument analogous to the Japanese *koto*. Yi trained as a *kayagŭm* player while studying abroad in Seoul, and the instrument shows up frequently in her fiction.

[278] Yi Yangji, *Yi Yangji zenshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 600.

[279] Wender, *Lamentation as History,* 126-128.

Here, however, she clearly states that her immersion into the world of Korean music and dance would not have been possible without her experience as a laborer or her participation in domestic political activism, and that the three experiences are inextricably linked to each other. This complex model of the politics of daily life, to borrow Wender's words, aspires to encapsulate "aspects of existence at once much narrower (that is to say, about unique personal experiences of particular historical conjunctures) and much broader (about universal aspects of human interaction) than ethnicity," while remaining engaged with the relationship between the personal and the historical, as in the narrator of *Kazukime*'s obsession with the massacre of Koreans during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.

The echoes between Sō's portrayal of Ikaino and the engagement with women's labor and activism in the works of Fukasawa and Yi indicate that even these authors do not fit within the critical narrative discussed at the beginning of this article, in which Kawamura Minato framed them as pioneers of Zainichi women's literature due to their ability to speak about Korea from their subject positions as women from naturalized families. If even the prototypical authors of this version of literary history do not fully conform to it, then this concept within the critical discourse has not described the actual reality of how Zainichi Korean women came to produce literature, instead acting as a standard by which the literary establishment determines which works of literature should be circulated and considered representative of the whole. By returning to the works of overlooked authors like Sō and performing close readings of the ways in which they diverge from the gendered expectations of the conventional literary histories that first shaped the canon of Zainichi literature, we can come to a better understanding of the true influence of intersecting issues of gender, age, class, and ethnicity on the formation of a critical

discourse of Zainichi Korean literature over time, questioning the normative criteria through which texts like Sō's came to be excluded from that canon in the first place.

After Sō: Cheju Island and Kim Yuchŏng's Feminist Critique

In closing, I would like to examine one more author who bears the obvious influence of Sō's writing project: the contemporary Osaka-based author Kim Yuchŏng (a.k.a. Kim Kaeja). I am interested in highlighting Kim here as someone who performs a similar critique of systems of Zainichi Korean knowledge production that have oppressed Korean women over time, but even more importantly, as an author who can be read as directly challenging some of Sō's narratives of empowerment, pointing to radical feminist critique in Ikaino as a project very much still in progress in the present day. Kim Yuchŏng was born in an ethnic Korean enclave in northern Osaka in 1950. Her parents had both immigrated from Cheju Island to Japan as children. At nine years old, she switched from the public school system in Osaka to the ethnic Korean school system run by the North Korea-affiliated organization Ch'ongryŏn, which she attended through the end of high school. Her high school graduation marked the end of her formal education until she started auditing classes at Otani University in Kyoto in her 60s. In the mid-1960s, her father moved to North Korea as part of the Ch'ongryŏn repatriation project, but the rest of her family chose to remain behind in Osaka, an experience that provided the inspiration for her short story "Tanpopo" (Dandelions, 2000).[280]

Kim has long had her finger on the pulse of the Ikaino literary scene. In 1981, she opened an *izakaya* called Buaisō a few doors down from Ikaino's Tsuruhashi station, which became a

[280] Biographical information about Kim that is not otherwise cited is taken from my informal interview with the author on February 11, 2020. To my knowledge, there has been no previously scholarly work about Kim's writing in either Japanese, Korean, or English.

gathering spot for local intellectuals such as Kim Sijong. Today, it remains a common destination for after-parties following lectures, public readings, and other events related to Zainichi literature in the area. She says the name of the establishment, *buaisō* (mannerless or unfriendly), is a nod to her spirit of rebellion against societal expectations of Zainichi women to be polite and submissive, a sentiment that also comes through in her writing. Buaisō also led her to discover her passion for writing – she initially became interested in the local literary scene when the *izakaya* was solicited to place advertisements in some local Osaka *dōjinshi* (small-scale, amateur literary journals), a connection that eventually resulted in her being encouraged to try her hand at writing herself. While she initially published under her birth name, Kim Kaeja (金啓子), she eventually switched to a pen name after Kim Sijong suggested the name Kim Yuchŏng (金由汀) to her in 2007. The character *chŏng* (汀, shore) was intended as a reference to the landscape of Cheju Island.[281]

Kim started out writing poetry, and was first published in the late 1980s in local *dōjinshi* such as *Hi no kai,* an Osaka women's poetry journal, and *Akebono daichi*, a literary journal published by the Osaka furitsu josei sōgō sentā (The Osaka Prefecture Women's General Center). She eventually began writing essays and short stories in the 1990s, contributing the essay "Me" (Eyes, 1997) and the short stories "Ushinau mono wa nani mo nai" (There is Nothing Lost, 1998), "Karasu" (Crow, 1999), "Tabū" (Taboo, 2000), "Ika tsuri" (Squid Fishing, 2001), and "Sanbashi" (Wharf, 2003) to the Zainichi women's journal *Hōsenka*. In the 2000s, the primary venue for her short stories was the literary journal *Hakua*, which was affiliated with the Osaka bungaku gakkō (Osaka School of Literature), the institution that had also served as the starting point for Sō Shūgetsu decades earlier. The short stories she published in *Hakua* include "Chi"

[281] Kim Yuchŏng, "Tokushū: Naze kanojotachi wa kaku no ka?" *Chi ni fune o koge*, no. 3 (2008), 81.

(Blood, 1999), “Tanpopo” (Dandelions, 2000), “Shunrai” (Spring Thunder, 2001), “Kanadarai” (Basin, 2002), “Kage” (Shadow, 2002), “Tobenai gachō” (Geese that Can’t Fly, 2003), “Mogura, mogura” (Eat, Eat / *Mŏgŏra, Mŏgŏra,* 2004), and “Yōan” (Fade Out, 2005). In 2002, she won the 28th Buraku Kaihō Literature Prize for “Murasame” (Passing Shower), a revised version of her earlier story “Shunrai.” Kim was also a contributor to the Zainichi women’s literature journal *Chi ni fune o koge*, where her serial novel “Yume no wada” (Sea of Dreams) was published in three installments between 2009 and 2012. More recently, she published the short story “Tamayura” (Fleeting Moment) in the first issue of the Zainichi journal *Hangno* in 2015, and released her novel *113ban* (Number 113) as a self-published e-book in 2020. In February 2023, a substantially revised and expanded version of her earlier work “Yume no wada” was published as a standalone novel under the title “Set chamae / San shimai” (Three Sisters).[282]

While Kim rarely names Ikaino explicitly in her stories, readers already familiar with the place and its significance within Zainichi Korean history and literature will immediately recognize it from her frequent allusions to the distinctive landmarks of the neighborhood. Momodani Station, the Miyukidōri shopping street (now known officially as “Ikuno Koreatown”), and the Tsuruhashi International Market often provide the landscape for the daily lives of Kim’s working women, who work in local businesses, run restaurants, or haggle over prices at the wholesale markets. Much like earlier works of Ikaino literature, the space itself is portrayed as fundamentally precarious, with the apartments and stores of Kim’s characters constantly flooding when it rains. For example, the third-person narration of “Tanpopo” describes the children’s clothing store in Tsuruhashi run by the protagonist’s mother as follows: “The store shook like an earthquake every time a train passed, and when it rained, it would come

[282] Kim Yuchŏng, *Set chamae / San shimai* (Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 2023).

blowing in somehow. She covered the goods with plastic sheets, and caught the rain in buckets. Even so, Tsuruhashi was a place where people came to gather without interruption."[283] The precarity of life in Ikaino takes its toll on the female bodies of Kim's protagonists. Keiko, the protagonist of "Murasame," feels her back stiffen as she struggles to balance her restaurant's accounts, and finds herself unable to produce breast milk when her in-laws expect her to return to full-time work and housekeeping immediately after giving birth. Ishi, the narrator of "Tamayura," jokes that after years of peddling seafood in the cold wetness of the Tsuruhashi wholesale market, "My body froze, and I ended up an *umazume* (石女) who can't have a single kid." (The term *umazume* here, which means "infertile woman" but is spelled with the *kanji* for "stone" and "woman," works as a pun that relates her infertility both to the imagery of coldness and to her own name, Ishi, which also means "stone.")[284]

Here, I would like to explore how Kim's critique of the Zainichi relationship to Cheju Island serves as the basis for a broader feminist intervention in Zainichi literature. Everyday sexism within the Zainichi community is a major theme throughout Kim's body of writing – for example, in "Tampopo," when discussing the father's decision to repatriate to North Korea after his wife begins to find financial success with her local business, she writes: "Once Hyŏnsŏng's power as the head of the household began to waver, he was desperate to recover his authority. Just then, the repatriation project was flourishing. Hyŏnsŏng, who had never doubted the spirit of Confucianism, unquestioningly believed that if he repatriated first and established a basis for their livelihood, his family would follow him."[285] Keiko in "Murasame" is also surrounded by

[283] Kim Kaeja [Kim Yuchŏng], "Tanpopo," *Hakua,* no. 7 (October 2000), 71.

[284] Kim Yuchŏng, "Tamayura," *Hangno*, no. 1 (September 2015), 225.

[285] Kim, "Tanpopo," 71.

casual misogyny – when we first see Keiko in the story, she is wishing she had worn pants after a passing stranger in the Tsuruhashi market reaches up her skirt. She also has memories of being groped by another local shopkeeper, and her 60-year-old friend is denied work at the Miyukidōri kimchi stands due to her age. This pervasive sexism causes the loss of Keiko's sense of self, as she is unable to distinguish between her own desires and values and those forced on her by society. After catching herself admiring some delicate flowers at the market, she thinks, "Flowers peeking through branches – did she really like that restrained kind of flower? No, wasn't Keiko's original personality a fierce temperament? Didn't she really like velvety crimson roses? Hadn't Keiko's parents, worried about her fierce nature, done such a terrible job raising her that they seemed to deny her very existence? Just like the teachings of Confucianism, saying, obey your parents, serve your husband, love your children… Women are mere women, submissive to men…"[286] This initial imagery, in which different types of flowers are used to represent what Keiko sees as the different forms of Zainichi femininity currently available to her, is repeated throughout the rest of the story.

While many of Kim's works make reference to Cheju Island as both a setting and a cultural touchstone for Zainichi Koreans, it is in "Murasame" that she most explicitly takes the Zainichi fetishization of Cheju as an object of critique and links it to the issue of women's oppression within Zainichi society. Keiko connects her own conflicted sense of self to her frustration with the gendered stereotypes of Cheju Island culture within Ikaino:

> Simply put, Keiko hated Cheju men, who drank during the day and never worked, just gambling or lecturing about politics. And then there were Cheju women, who never looked for the cause of their misfortune and poverty despite their backbreaking work, simply cowering in fear, blaming it on their *p'alcha* (fate).

[286] Kim, "Murasame," 40.

> Either because of that or in spite of that, Cheju women would use their children as the outlet for their resentment, or scream loudly, and Keiko just hated them. Did Keiko herself like subdued flowers, or was she convincing herself to like them? No, that can't be it. Even if she hated Cheju women with their strong self-assertiveness, she was also seeing herself somewhere, so she probably viewed these flowers with a sense of caution. Didn't she also like crimson roses and often display them?... Keiko was muttering to herself.[287]

The stereotype of the lazy and chronically unemployed "Cheju man" is a common trope repeated throughout the literature of Ikaino, including in works by Sō Shūgetsu, Kim Ch'angsaeng, Won Sooil, Yang Sŏgil, and others.[288] However, because this passage extends Keiko's scorn to the image of the "Cheju woman," we might see it as directly writing against authors like Sō Shūgetsu, who saw the symbol of working women in Cheju as a source of strength for poor women struggling to survive in Ikaino. In pointing out that notions about the "fated" suffering of the "Cheju woman" ultimately serve as the justification for irresponsible behavior within her community, Keiko's complaint reads as a direct critique of the potential romanticism embedded in a similar passage from Sō's "Ikaino nonki megane":

> On the island that was said to have three abundances (*samta)* – wind, crows, and rocks – women who worked were called 'Cheju women,' but behind that tale no one spoke of the way homes must have been in the old days on an island so poor that women absolutely had to work. Only the laziness of the men was emphasized. But, for most of the men in this town [Ikaino] who have roots in

[287] Ibid., 40-41.

[288] For one concrete example of this trope widely available in English translation, see the following quote from a Yang Sŏgil novel: "No wonder Cheju Island men are so lazy – who needs to work? All they got to do is kick back and drink local brew, play chess and nap. Let the industrious womenfolk plough the soil and dive the sea and bear children." Yang Sŏgil, "In Shinjuku," trans. Alfred Birnbaum, *Granta*, April 14, 2011, https://granta.com/in-shinjuku/.

> Cheju, even if they worked diligently, they wouldn't be able to find the kind of job where they could support a family with their earnings.[289]

While Keiko's opening salvo takes place at a remove from Cheju itself – she is both critiquing and participating in stereotypes of Cheju that circulate within the Zainichi community – her understanding of the island and its significance is soon is soon complicated by a more direct encounter with the reality of modern-day Cheju Island. Upon returning to her restaurant from the Tsuruhashi market, Keiko gets a phone call from a distant relative who once worked for her in Ikaino, asking if she and her mother will come to her son's wedding on Cheju Island.

While their trip to Cheju represents a happy homecoming for Keiko's sickly mother, it's the first time Keiko has ever set foot on the island, and she immediately finds that it fits neither her own preconceptions of Cheju nor the tales she has heard about it from her elders in Ikaino. As Keiko navigates the unfamiliar landscape around her, she is constantly renegotiating her evaluation of the island and its culture, in terms of both the inaccuracies of the legends told by first-generation Zainichi Koreans from Cheju and the blind spots caused by her own personal prejudices.

> What Keiko realized once she disembarked at Cheju Airport was that this was not the image of the island as a symbol of misfortune and poverty, which her parents had spoken of with heavy mouths, but nor was it the image of the island where many villagers had been massacred without reason in the 4·3 Incident. She had been told of the black volcanic rock, and ah, she noticed anew that this was indeed a volcano island. The air was dry, and the island was overcast. Cheju

[289] Sō Shūgetsu, "Ikaino nonki megane," *Zainichi bungei mintō*, no. 1 (January 1987), 216. This characterization of Sō's engagement with Cheju Island in her works is necessarily reductive, and I tend to agree with Jackie Kim-Wachutka's assertion that critics who have accused her of "romanticizing" Zainichi women's suffering are misreading her work. Nevertheless, I think Sō's obvious admiration of the iconic Cheju working woman provides an important context for what Kim is trying to accomplish here. See Kim-Wachutka, *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan,* 202.

> Airport had become touristy, to the extent that it was hard to believe that there were hundreds and thousands of peoples' bones buried under this airport.
>
> It was as gloomy as Mt. Halla was today – the homeland that her parents had spoken of as a synonym for misfortune and poverty. For Keiko, it didn't feel like a real homeland. She had always thought she didn't want anything to do with it. Pigs fattened on human waste. Men producing children as though scattering seeds in the fields, women raising those kids while thinking of their births as a sin, and for that reason, diving naked in the ocean, even in winter… Hiding behind the beautiful names of "heroine" or "maiden," they just cowered fearfully, and rotted away, doing backbreaking work. Serving men who were binge drinkers, gamblers… No, not all Cheju men were like that, but Keiko had an unshakeable prejudice toward Cheju Island. What was demanded of Keiko had converged with the traditions of Cheju Confucianism.[290]

Immediately upon stepping off the plane, Keiko finds that Cheju Island has become a thriving tourist destination, rather than the gloomy, poor, and primitive island community that she was expecting based on the stories of her relatives and her knowledge of the Cheju 4·3 Uprising as a historical event. As she takes in her surroundings, she reflects on the various stereotypes of Cheju she has carried with her from Japan – images of extreme poverty and gendered exploitation. Over the course of this trip, her continued interrogation of the relationship between Zainichi identity and the concrete space of Cheju Island comes to be symbolized on multiple levels by her fixation on the "pigs fattened on human waste," or *ttongdwaeji*, a breed of pig now more neutrally known as the Cheju black pig (*hŭktwaeji*), which is just one of Keiko's expectations of the island that ultimately fail to come true.

Initially, the *ttongdwaeji* is an obvious symbol of how much modern-day Cheju Island has been misrepresented within Zainichi Korean folklore. Keiko comes to the island expecting to

[290] Kim, "Murasame," 51-2.

find the primitive, exotic customs she has long imagined, to the bemusement of her hosts. Upon seeing a pig's head being prepared for the wedding feast, Keiko's misconceptions are immediately exposed:

> Wondering if this was the *ttongdwaeji* (dung pig) that eats human excrement, Keiko tried asking.
>
> "*Ttongdwaeji yo?*"
>
> The *ajumma* exchanged glances, and denied it with an, *anii*.
>
> Flaring her nostrils as if amused, Takada-san said, "Nowadays, we raise the pigs on hog farms." She looked bashful, as though something private had been exposed. When Keiko was young, the subject of *ttongdwaeji* had come up without fail in the stories of people who had visited Cheju Island to visit ancestral graves or to cut the grass around the gravesites, which was called *pŏlch'o*.
>
> …
>
> When they saw signs of a human, the pigs would gather underneath [the outhouse] and look upwards, waiting for their feed to drop down. When it didn't come out quickly, it was said they would start to clamor, crying out *buu, buu.* The second generation from Japan wasn't used to it, and they said they would get so surprised while squatting they would suddenly jump out. However, on the mainland, the deliciousness of *ttongdwaeji* was spoken of like a legend.[291]

In Keiko's memory, the *ttongdwaeji* were both an object of fascination and a source of humor, but for her hosts, her interest in the pigs seems outdated and fetishistic. These moments of revelation about the inaccuracy of Zainichi mythologies of Cheju Island are repeated again and again in slightly different forms – for example, Keiko is caught off guard to learn that a cousin from Cheju works for Samsung, that young people in Cheju enjoy spending time at computer gaming cafes, and that the relatives that inherited her father's parents' mandarin orange farm have grown so rich that they only have to work a few weeks a year. She thinks, "from their

[291] Ibid., 54-55.

figures as sunburned peasants, they didn't look like wealthy people who would travel the world, but it's possible they could comfortably enjoy their idle time despite Keiko's image of them."[292] Keiko is similarly shocked when she sees the female divers that Cheju is famous for: "The diving women were not naked as Keiko had heard, but were wearing black diving suits… the flickering of the open fire, which was probably there to warm the female divers' wet bodies, overlapped with the divers' gourds floating like seafoam on the ocean, and before she knew it her eyes had become the eyes of a tourist."[293]

This debunking of received knowledge about Cheju is tied to much deeper structural issues in Zainichi society. From Keiko's perspective, this romantic fantasy of the Cheju homeland is directly complicit in the Zainichi community's conservative notions of tradition, and their obsession with maintaining distinctions of familial lineage that stretch back to premodern times. The way the older generation clings to tradition opens them up to exploitation, as in a scene recounting a Cheju shamanist ceremony held over the course of three days for Keiko's mother at a Korean temple in Osaka. Keiko watches in horror as the shamanesses (*mudang*), supposedly possessed by her mother's relatives who were killed in the Cheju 4·3 Massacre, thrash her mother with a ceremonial sword, then refuse her 1,000-yen offerings, demanding 10,000 bills instead due to her alleged aristocratic lineage.[294]

Furthermore, these notions of tradition and ancestral lineage directly lead to the continuous reproduction of nesting structures of oppression within Zainichi society. Keiko has been frustrated in the past by the way that even second-generation Zainichi who have never left

[292] Ibid., 60.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Ibid., 49-50.

Japan are expected to segregate themselves, with "Cheju Islanders" marrying other "Cheju Islanders" and "mainland people" marrying other "mainland people." In her own marriage, Keiko discovers further categories of discrimination within that system: when a Ch'ongryŏn official arranges a match between her and a man from another Cheju family, the other family opposes the marriage because of the specific village her parents came from on the southern end of Cheju. Based on a cultural taboo surrounding "villages that worship the white snake," women from her parents' hometown were considered ineligible for marriage because they were thought to send husbands to an early death. Keiko is shocked to find this "tradition" not only propagated among first-generation Zainichi Koreans from Cheju, but readily internalized by second-generation Zainichi who have never even been to Cheju.

> Keiko could not believe that her "hometown" village, a place she had never seen or been to, was the problem, and she was even more shocked that her own fundamental existence would be denied for that very reason. She was furious that she had to feel indebted about it, but she was moved by the chivalry of her husband, who made it clear that he wanted to marry her. However, the way her husband denied it had always bothered her. Even as he said it was no big deal, when it came to his brother's marriage, he made it an issue. He said Keiko was the exception…. It was the same as saying that just because a woman was born a woman, she could only be understood as a man's possession.[295]

For Keiko, the reliance on often misunderstood or inaccurate "cultural traditions" from Cheju is just a mechanism for controlling Zainichi women, punishing them for arbitrary factors entirely beyond their control. She compares the white snake taboo to outdated beliefs that "adding water to a cup full of earth from the pigsty and drinking the clear fluid at the top" would prevent the spread of cholera, once again evincing the specter of the *ttongdwaeji*. The Zainichi fantasy of

[295] Ibid., 56.

Cheju Island becomes linked to the cycles of domestic violence and forced submission she has long experienced at home in Japan, where she has already tried and failed to extract herself from her abusive marriage:

> Not just in Korea, but every ethnicity who cultivated rice fields must have treasured excrement as fertilizer. In Japan, too, it was said that peasants kneaded fertilizer with their hands, and measured its maturation with their tongues. But even taking that into account, pigs eating human waste and humans eating those pigs… it's a cycle, Keiko thought. While imagining the *ttongdwaeji*, she was thinking about her life with her husband.[296]

By the end of "Murasame," Keiko has come to fully identify herself with the *ttongdwaeji* as a creature, thinking, "Who could possibly understand this feeling? The *ttongdwaeji* has committed no sin."[297] Marked by a tradition to which she can't relate, she feels she is forced to consume and be consumed by societal forces outside of her control. By this point, "Keiko could feel that, having come to Cheju Island, the image of her hometown she had drawn inside her own heart was gradually crumbling."[298] She is inspired to visit her mother's hometown, the supposed source of the discrimination she has experienced. Her family friend Takada, who is also from that town, agrees to take her. Keiko thinks of this journey as one of "searching for her true self." According to the logic of the travel narrative, we expect this journey towards her origins to result in some sort of revelation, a coming to terms with her roots – and yet the text refuses any easy resolution to the tension Keiko feels between her conception of herself and the expectations of Zainichi Korean womanhood imposed upon her by her family and society.

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[296] Ibid., 55.

[297] Ibid., 57.

[298] Ibid., 61.

Instead, on their way to Keiko's mother's hometown, her family friend tells her the folk story that is the origin of the white snake taboo. Observing that Keiko seems to be suffering, they stop in front of a makeshift shrine, where Takada begins to narrate her experience of living through the Cheju 4·3 Massacre (1948-1949) and the Korean War (1950-1953), historical truths of life in Cheju that cannot be exoticized. They are suddenly caught in a violent rainstorm, which once again presents us with dual flower imagery, although this time the emphasis is on how both types of flowers are equally subject to the whims of nature:

> Rain began to fall with an intensity that would have been unimaginable just a moment ago. The camellia blooming between the old *enoki* trees shed their flowers as though being beaten. The red petals were swept creeping across the ground. On top, the cherry blossoms scattered, intertwined like a ribbon in the strong wind ... This strange scenery had the effect of sweeping away Keiko's fogginess. The corpses of camellia and cherry blossoms before her eyes…She had been surprised by the simultaneous blossoming of winter camellia and spring cherry blossom, but she felt dazed before this truly sudden pile of flower corpses.[299]

As they find refuge on a bus, and Takada-san jokes to the fellow bus passengers about the unexpected rain shower in Cheju dialect that Keiko can't understand, she is struck by a vision that finally brings together the image of the flowers, the snake, her family history and her present feeling of turmoil:

> Outside the bus, the cherry blossom petals caught up in the wind crept delicately across the ground, crawling in the same direction as the wind. They looked just like a snake. When she slowly turned her gaze to the interior of the bus, there was suddenly a huge crowd of people with their mouths open wide, laughing and closing in so as to cover Keiko completely. Their faces looked like the faces of the people who had ignored her, the faces of the *mudang*, the faces of her father and

[299] Ibid., 64.

> mother. When Keiko turned to peer at Takada-san's face, Takada-san as a young girl was there. A chaos of past and present, the crowd was looking at Keiko, pointing and laughing. Wahaha, wahaha… Keiko felt like she heard her own voice among them. Even though she called it her hometown, her hometown wasn't calling to her, was it? The beaten down camellia and cherry blossoms would both sprout new buds when the new year came. She couldn't call it a delusion, but she could see that her own self, bound by tired tradition, would be bound up in it forever, and it made her want to laugh. Keiko was suddenly bored with the flow of time that she had lived so far. She thought of herself as the bleached grain of the wood of the small boats washed up in the ocean bay, visible in the distance. Wood grain worn and discolored by the wind and rain, splintered joints. Only the hardest grain remains… Keiko's stubborn heart grew dark. But, she thought. The homeland, stained with the stories of the parents who bore and raised us, living rootless in a foreign country. Keiko certainly couldn't embrace the same thoughts as her parents, and yet the scent of the wind, the stone-walled houses, the barley fields, the green smell of the fragrant bean fields, the masses of rapeseed flowers, the scent of seagrass beaches – they were following her now.[300]

This chaotic final passage reads as a culmination of the many societal pressures Keiko has been fighting against, as she finds herself becoming both spatially and temporally disoriented. It is no coincidence that the flowers, which have been used consistently as symbols for different models of femininity throughout the story, here in Cheju become cherry blossoms (*sakura*) and camellias (*tsubaki*), both plants that are native to Japan. The flowers are both out of place and out of time: Keiko remarks how strange it is to see the two varieties of petals violently mixed together as they are destroyed by the rain, given that they typically represent two opposite seasons in Japan. She also observes that their movement in the rain resembles a snake, the legendary symbol of the ancestral hometown Keiko has come to visit – both a symbol of her family's cultural identity and

[300] Ibid., 64-65. Ellipses are in the original.

the source of the marriage discrimination experienced by the women in her family. In her disorientation, the atmosphere inside the bus, which Takada clearly experiences as warm and pleasant, feels threatening to Keiko. She has ultimately failed to find any sense of belonging from her journey to her "hometown," and she still can't fully understand the language being used around her. The crowd suddenly encompasses figures from throughout Keiko's life, and significantly, Keiko herself is among them. For the first time, she is able to view her life from the outside, and observe not only the aspects of her that have been worn down or broken by the societal expectations she can't conform to, but also the "hard-grained" parts of her that have persisted. As the story ends, Keiko and Takada disembark from the bus and walk into the village as the sun sets, with "the wind beating at Keiko's cheeks."

There is no sense of inner peace to be found here, and no tidy conclusion – Keiko is left with the knowledge that her struggle for autonomy will continue, and she can neither fully embrace nor fully let go of the Cheju landscape. And yet, the reader is left with the sense that in confronting the realities of the spaces that have long plagued her as abstract symbols of her oppression, some of her pain has been eased. The idea of "new buds" forming amidst the scattered "corpses" of the old, and Keiko's final sense that the actual scents and sights of Cheju are now a part of her, suggest the potential for Keiko's struggle to someday exceed the terms set by her parents' generation.

Chapter 4.
Ikaino as a Multilingual Literary Landscape: Language Ideology, "Ikaino-go," and the Politics of the Borrowed Voice

In this chapter, I turn to the local literary production of Ikaino as a site of literary multilingualism. Ikaino literature encompasses a variety of writing practices that grapple with the legacy of colonial and postwar language ideologies in ways that depart from the approaches of more established authors such as Kim Talsu and Kim Sŏkpŏm. In particular, I will explore the way that authors have seized on the voices of first-generation Korean women in Ikaino as source material for new forms of literary multilingualism that foreground the material and historical concerns often left out of the earlier debates on language ideology. I will consider the productive potentials of "Ikaino-go" (Ikaino dialect) as a literary language, as well as the complicated politics surrounding first-generation Zainichi women as (frequent) objects of literary representation and (often dismissed or overlooked) subjects of writing themselves. In the process, I hope to not only look back at the historical, political, and ideological foundations of *Nihongo bungaku* ("Japanese-language literature") as an ongoing intervention in the framework of Japanese national literature as an academic discipline, but also to consider the politics of reclaiming the voices of those historically rendered voiceless.

Resident Korean authors have always grappled with the issue of language use: to write in Korean, or to write in Japanese? And beyond that, where are the borders to be drawn around the categories of (standard Tokyo or non-standard dialects of) "Japanese" and (North, South, or regionally specific) "Korean"? While the question of language choice is in some sense a direct legacy of the ideologies and administrative policies of empire, it has also long been framed as an aesthetic and political choice inherent to the practice of writing "Zainichi literature."

The politics of language choice in literature were explicitly foregrounded with the emergence of the *Zainihon Chōsenjin sōrengō kai* (General Association of Korean Residents, K: *Chaeilbon chosŏnin ch'ongryŏn hap'oe,* hereafter referred to by its common Korean abbreviation *Ch'ongryŏn*), a North-Korea affiliated political organization for resident Koreans in Japan, in 1955.[301] Ch'ongryŏn effectively replaced the earlier, Japanese Communist Party-affiliated organization *Zainichi Chōsenjin tōitsu minshu sensen* (United Democratic Front of Koreans in Japan, K: *Chaeil chosŏn t'ongil minju chŏnsŏn* or *Minjŏn*, hereafter referred to by its common Japanese abbreviation *Minsen*, founded 1952), which in turn had taken the place of the initial resident Korean organization *Zainichi chōsenjin renmei* (League of Koreans in Japan / K: *Chaeil chosŏnin yŏnmaeng*, hereafter referred to by the Korean abbreviation *Choryŏn*) after it was suppressed by the Japanese government and the U.S. Occupation in 1949. While Minsen and Choryŏn each served a core constituency of leftist-oriented Koreans residing in Japan, both of these earlier organizations were largely centered around domestic issues and the broader political landscape of Japan. By contrast, Ch'ongryŏn sought to refocus the political energy of the resident Korean community in Japan away from postwar domestic struggles and towards a new Zainichi intellectual consciousness centered around the ideological divide of the 38th parallel in the aftermath of the Korean war. Ch'ongryŏn declared all resident Koreans in Japan citizens of North Korea, advocated for immediate "repatriation" of all Zainichi Koreans to North Korea, and

[301] While Ch'ongryŏn originally declared its support for and received funding from the DPRK government, its material and ideological relationship with North Korea has grown much less straightforward over time, especially once Ch'ongryŏn membership began to sharply decline in the 80s and 90s. For example, the curriculum for the Ch'ongryŏn-run ethnic Korean school system in Japan has been revised over time to shift focus away from content on North Korean history and culture and towards discussions of Zainichi Koreans as a permanent minority community in Japan. See Min Hye Cho, "Joseonhakgyo, Learning under North Korean Leadership: Transitioning from 1970 to Present," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies* 29, No. 1 (2020): 184.

promoted Korean-language education and literary production as part of their larger ideological project in support of North Korea.[302]

While Ch'ongryŏn became increasingly adamant that all Zainichi Korean literary production should be carried out in the Korean language (with accompanying scrutiny of the ideological content of these texts), the rival organization Mindan (the Korean Residents Union in Japan, J: *Zainihon Daikanminkoku mindan,* K: *Chaeilbon Daehanmin'guk mindan*, established 1946) provided some refuge for authors continuing to write in Japanese, while vocally supporting the dictatorships of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung-hee in South Korea. As political and ideological beliefs became further entangled with language choice within these two political organizations, the pressure on resident Korean authors to choose between Korean and Japanese in many ways came to resemble not only the earlier language ideology of the Japanese imperial administration, but also the "language purification" policies instituted within the "liberation space" of post-World War II Korea. Both the forced use of the Japanese language in the colonial period and the post-war return to a "purified" Korean language enforced a "monolingual paradigm"[303] that relied on an underlying logic of "an internally homogeneous language unit whose boundaries coincided with the boundaries of the community interpellated as the nation."[304] Janet Poole has discussed the inadequacy of these kinds of language policies to account for the actual conditions of literary production in "liberation space" Korea, in which the majority of the intellectual class was educated within the Japanese imperial school system and

[302] Sonia Ryang, "The Rise and Fall of Chongryun – From Chōsenjin to Zainichi and beyond," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 14, issue 15, no 11 (August 2016), 1-4.

[303] Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue*, 2.

[304] Serk-bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013), 148.

were therefore more comfortable writing in Japanese than Korean: "To talk of choice is to ignore the institutional pressures, the weight of history, and contingency of the present moment."[305] The ideological discourse surrounding language use in postwar Japan arguably created a similarly false logic of choice for the Zainichi Korean community, at a time when access to Korean-language education was extremely limited and basic literacy rates were still a major issue, especially for women and first-generation resident Koreans.[306]

The ideology of choice perpetuated by these political organizations has greatly influenced the historiography of Zainichi Korean literature, creating a perception of two distinct bodies of writing: those who "chose" Korean, publishing in journals affiliated with Ch'ongryŏn and often dismissed today by literary critics as pure propaganda; and those who "chose" Japanese, whose works have generally been positioned in relation to (although at the margins of) the Japanese literary establishment. When the first Zainichi Korean literary histories started to appear in Japanese in the 1980s, and when scholarship about Zainichi Korean cultural production took off in English in the late 90s and early 2000s, virtually all of the authors that received scholarly attention were those who wrote primarily in Japanese. As Song Hyewon has observed, this scholarly neglect of Zainichi Korean texts written in the Korean language disproportionately affected the representation of women and working-class people in Zainichi literary history. Many working-class Korean women living in ethnic enclaves like Ikaino in the postwar period still lived and worked primarily in Korean, and would have found it difficult if not impossible to

[305] Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears*, 198.

[306] In a 1980s survey, over 40 percent of Zainichi Koreans older than 60 had not attended school, compared to less than one percent among Japanese people in that age group. See John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 77-78. The opportunities for education for Zainichi women were even scarcer: a 1934 survey of Osaka schools found that as many as 95.32% of Zainichi women had never been to school. See Song Hyewon, "*Zainichi chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni: koe naki koe no porifonii* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014), 52.

write in Japanese for practical reasons. Song states, "These studies have focused only on what was written or spoken in the Japanese language. Even though *ilse* women inhabited a linguistic space between Korean and Japanese, the aspect of their Koreanness has been ignored in favor of a focus on oral history collected in the Japanese language."[307] This heavy scholarly focus on Japanese-language writings have enabled the perpetuation of the common misconception that there are no extant writings produced by first-generation Korean women in Japan, as well as a broader attitude that treats Zainichi Korean women in the postwar period more as ethnographic informants than full subjects capable of expressing themselves through literature.

In addition to having a lasting impact on later understandings of Zainichi Korean cultural production, the writing practices of Zainichi Koreans themselves were shaped by the ideology of language choice in the postwar period, through the pressure that Ch'ongryŏn directly exerted on authors. The author Kim Talsu, a widely recognized first-generation Zainichi writer who was adamant about writing in Japanese both because he insisted on the importance of communicating the experiences of Koreans to a Japanese audience,[308] and because he believed in prioritizing issues of class over issues of ethnicity for the sake of solidarity within the Communist Party,[309] was eventually removed from Ch'ongryŏn membership in the early 1970s as a result of his continued defiance. Other authors had literary texts entirely suppressed from publication by Ch'ongryŏn, such as the poet Kim Sijong, whose poetry collection *Nihon fūdoki II* reached the

[307] Song Hyewon, "Literature of Migrant Women in the Postcolonial Period: On the Writings of First-Generation Korean Women in Japan," *UrbanScope* 13 (2022), 16. *Ilse* refers to the first generation of Korean immigrants to Japan, who mostly arrived in Japan between 1910 and 1945.

[308] Isogai Jiro, "*Zainichi" bungaku ron* (Tokyo: Shinkansha), 120.

[309] Song Hyewon, *"Zainichi chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni,* 141.

typesetting phase before its publication was cancelled due to Ch'ongryŏn exerting pressure on his publisher.[310]

Meanwhile, the desire to escape the rigid logic of this discourse on language politics led the author Kim Sŏkpŏm, who similarly cut ties with Ch'ongryŏn in the late 60s, to propose the category of *Nihongo bungaku* ("Japanese-language literature," often styled by Kim as "*Nihon(go)bungaku*") as a way for resident Koreans to engage with the historical and material "entanglement" (*motsure*) of Koreans with the Japanese language. Kim emphasizes the precarity of *Nihongo bungaku* authors who are always positioned on the brink between deconstructing the Japanese language and being assimilated or subjugated by it, a condition he calls the "binding spell of language" (*kotoba no jubaku*). When Kim first proposed this concept in his 1970 essay "Gengo to jiyū: Nihongo de kaku to iu koto," (Language and Freedom: Writing in Japanese), he declaring his intention to dismantle the system of state language from within, and "chew through the stomach of the 'Japanization' of the Japanese language that eats me."[311] In the decades since, the notion of *Nihongo bungaku* (translated in English as either "Japanese-language literature" or "Japanophone literature") has been taken up within academia as a framework for analyzing "minority" or "border-crossing" literatures with a focus on the defamiliarization of the Japanese language, although this discourse today is often not contextualized in relation to its origins within Kim Sŏkpŏm's philosophy of writing.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I discuss the wide range of ways in which this framework of *Nihongo bungaku* or "the Japanophone" has been used in academic scholarship on Zainichi Korean literature in recent decades, including some of the potential pitfalls inherent to

[310] Kim Sijong, "'Zainichi o ikiru' genten," in *"Zainichi" to 50nendai bunka undo*, ed. Jindare kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Jimbun shoin, 2010), 68.

[311] Kim Sŏkpŏm, *"Gengo to jiyū: Nihongo de kaku to iu koto,"* 80.

the broadness of this category when removed from its original historical context. In this chapter, I consider how Ikaino literature further tests the limits of *Nihongo bungaku* as a conceptual framework, through a range of attempts to capture the daily speech of local residents as a literary language. I argue that these texts and their focus on place destabilize the binary of "Korea(n)" vs "Japan(ese)" by foregrounding the material conditions shaping working-class literary production in Ikaino, especially when it comes to the first-generation Zainichi Korean women that were represented within literature but often dismissed as writing subjects. This "politics of the borrowed voice" exposes a need to rethink the way we assign meaning to both *Nihongo bungaku* and conceptions of "the border" as a form of epistemological resistance.

The *Jindare* Debates and the Locality of Language

A lesser-known part of the postwar debates on Zainichi Korean language choice took place in the pages of *Jindare*, a poetry journal published from 1953 to 1958 by the Osaka Korean Poets Society (*Osaka Chōsen shijin shūdan*).[312] *Jindare* featured primarily Japanese-language poetry and essays on the lives of Zainichi Koreans in postwar Japan. Over the course of its twenty-issue run, the journal featured literary criticism and debates on the purpose and future direction of Zainichi Korean poetry, in addition to a wide range of poems addressing contemporaneous issues including the Korean War, local struggles to secure the civil rights of resident Koreans in the Kansai area, America's postwar nuclear weapons testing, and the continuing American military presence in East Asia. Its dozens of regular members seem to mostly have been comprised of young second-generation Zainichi Koreans living in or near

[312] The title is spelled in both *katakana* and *hangul* on the covers of most of the journal's issues, and it has been transliterated variously as "Jindare," "Chindare," and "Chindallae" in previous English-language scholarship.

Ikaino, including many young factory workers. However, the journal also had close ties to the local Osaka poetry scene led by Ono Tōzaburō, and by the end of its run, it attracted the attention of both influential Zainichi Korean authors (such as Hŏ Namki) and Japanese poets (such as Tsuboi Shigeji and Okamoto Jun).[313] The journal was printed using *gariban* (ガリ版, mimeograph) for the majority of its run and therefore had limited circulation numbers, making it hard to find in subsequent decades.[314] It was long known simply as the "phantom journal"[315] from which the prominent Zainichi writers Kim Sijong and Yang Sŏgil emerged, until its republication by Fuji Shuppan in 2008 gave critics and researchers the opportunity to once again access the journal's contents directly. In the years since, *Jindare* has attracted renewed critical interest, with the contemporary poet Zhong Zhang describing its launch as the "birth of Zainichi Korean literature,"[316] and the scholar Song Hyewon stating that "*Jindare* is a poetry journal that should be remembered as the first space of expression that was open to ordinary Zainichi Korean women."[317]

Situating *Jindare* within the sociopolitical context of leftist Zainichi Korean political organizations outlined in the introduction is a deceptively difficult, yet necessary task for

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[313] Unoda Shōya, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undō," in *"Sākuru no jidai" o yomu*, ed. Kawaguchi Takayuki, Nakaya Izumi, Sakaguchi Hiroshi, Toba Kōji and Unoda Shōya (Tokyo: Kage shobo, 2016), 72.

[314] Kim Sijong has recalled that there were probably "about 800" copies printed per issue, but the exact figures for circulation are unknown. See Unoda Shōya, "*Jindare, Karion, Genten, Kōkai* kaisetsu," in *Jindare/Karion bessatsu 1* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2008), 6.

[315] Jindare Kenkyūkai, ed., *"Zainichi" to 50-nendai bunka undō* (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2010), 1. *Jindare* was not originally in the holdings of Japan's National Diet Library and was long thought to be lost to history, but its issues survived in the personal collections of Zainichi writers and intellectuals.

[316] Zhong Zhang, "'Zainichi' no 'gensho no toki' o tazunete," in *"Zainichi" to 50-nendai bunka undō,*, 33.

[317] Song Hyewon,*"Zainichi chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni*, 91. For my extended analysis of gender representation and women's writing in *Jindare,* see Julia Hansell Clark, "Father's Fascism, Mother's Ruined Hands: An Overview of Gender Issues in the 1950s Journal Jindare," *The Journal of Comparative Media and Women's Studies* no. 5 (September 2020): 126-145.

understanding the journal's role in the discourse on Zainichi Korean language politics. Unoda Shōya has written in detail about the nuanced interactions between the Japanese Communist Party, the JCP's Committee on Ethnic Matters (*Nihon kyōsantō minzoku taisakubu* or "Mintai"), and Minsen in the period leading up to *Jindare*'s founding.[318] Perhaps most pertinently, after the number of JCP representatives in the National Diet dropped from 35 to zero in the 1952 election, a reaction to some of the more violent acts of sabotage promoted by the Party's controversial 1951 platform, the Party and its affiliated organizations saw a general shift in focus from "on-the-ground struggle" (*jitsuryoku tōsō*) towards "cultural struggle" (*bunka tōsō*). It was under the influence of this 1952 "cultural" directive, which was promulgated by both Mintai and Minsen, that Kim Sijong, a member of both the Japanese Communist Party and Minsen, decided to found the Osaka Korean Poets' Society and its journal *Jindare*.[319] Just before starting *Jindare,* Kim had been living in and working to reopen a defunct ethnic Korean school in present-day Ikuno ward that had been forcibly closed by the U.S. Occupation in 1949.[320]

Part of what complicates any analysis of *Jindare*'s participation in Zainichi Korean political discourse is its own obfuscation of these political ties in the journal's early years. In issue 8, an essay from the editors attempts to make *Jindare*'s political position explicit, stating plainly: "We clearly hold a political position. We hold high the flag of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and we despise the fascism of America, Japan, and South Korea, who have divided and brought the ravages of war to our homeland. Our society has taken this position

[318] Unoda, "*Jindare, Karion, Genten, Kōkai* kaisetsu," 7-9. For further details on the journal's founding, see also Unoda, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undō", 72-77.

[319] Unoda, "*Jindare, Karion, Genten, Kōkai* kaisetsu," 10.

[320] Unoda, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undō", 73.

since the time we were founded."[321] Yet it is just as telling that the journal needed to make such an explicit declaration to its own members more than a year into its run, and it is unclear to what extent the journal's political affiliations were known or even mattered to the average member of the group. The journal itself never explicitly acknowledges the Osaka Korean Poets Society's origins as a cultural activity ordered by Minsen and the JCP, and Kim Sijong states in an earlier essay that *Jindare* "brought together a large number of amateurs – this term is misleading, but people with no particular involvement in Minsen as an organization, and no clear awareness of our homeland of Korea, especially youths – around our shared identity as 'literature lovers.'"[322] Likewise, Chŏng In, who joined *Jindare* with its seventh issue and went on to become the main editor during the journal's later years, has said, "I didn't know this until later, but *Jindare* was not simply a literary circle, but was something organized by Kim Sijong, who was a member of the Communist Party at the time, at the request of the organization. It seems that before the joint review meetings, Kim Sijong and others were holding briefing sessions with activist types about how to proceed with the meetings and other issues. It was an unpleasant business."[323] The fact that even deeply involved members of *Jindare* were not initially aware of the journal's political position, even as activists and intellectuals from Minsen, and later, Ch'ongryŏn, actively sought to shape the journal's literary production, makes it difficult to speak of *Jindare* in terms of one unified political discourse.

Jindare maintained its (loose) affiliation with Minsen until 1955, when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's acknowledgement of all resident Koreans as DPRK citizens led to

[321] "Shūdan no ayumu michi,"*Jindare* 8 (June 1954): 2.

[322] Kim Sijong, "Tadashii rikai no tame ni," *Jindare* 6 (February 1954): 4.

[323] Jindare Kenkyūkai, *"Zainichi" to 50-nendai bunka undō,* 64.

the removal of resident Koreans from the JCP, the dissolution of Minsen, and the formation of Ch'ongryŏn. A number of scholars have talked about this historical moment within resident Korean political discourse as representing a shift from the domestically-oriented politics of Minsen, which prioritized the JCP platforms of anti-American, anti-Yoshida administration, and anti-remilitarization activism and conceptualized resident Koreans as an ethnic minority within Japanese society, to the North Korea-oriented politics of Ch'ongryŏn, which conceptualized resident Koreans as North Korean citizens temporarily residing abroad and was focused on promoting repatriation to North Korea.[324]

The pages of *Jindare* serve to complicate our understanding of this transition, in part because the very nature of a journal founded by resident Koreans in Japan during the later days of the Korean War underscores the impossibility of clearly separating domestic from international politics; the very tangible presence of the American military in Japan linked the material politics of everyday life to the authors' more abstracted ideas about what was happening to their imagined homeland. Furthermore, the early issues of *Jindare* demonstrate the extent to which vocal support for the DPRK was always a central priority for leftist resident Korean activists, long before the foundation of Ch'ongryŏn. For example, the 1953 poem "To the Students of the First Graduating Class," by Im Taesu, proudly describes students of the newly reopened ethnic school "all together, without fail, yelling *manse, manse*[325] / when the flag of the Republic flutters / high in the school's courtyard."[326] At the same time, *Jindare* to some extent

[324] For example, see David Chapman, *Zainichi Korean Identity and Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 29-30; John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan*), 39-41; and Song Hyewon,*"Zainichi Chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni,* 156.

[325] The Korean pronunciation of *banzai* (万歳).

[326] Im Taesu, "Dai ikkai sotsugyōsei no minna san e," *Jindare* 2 (March 1953): 19. "Im Taesu" is actually one of Kim Sijong's pennames.

can and has been read as an illustration of the practical effects of this political transition; while the journal and its members were initially supportive of Ch'ongryŏn after the dissolution of Minsen, growing criticism and political pressure from Ch'ongryŏn contributed directly to the gradual dissolution of *Jindare*, with only three members remaining in 1958.

Much of the friction between Ch'ongryŏn and the writers of *Jindare* (as well as internal conflict among the journal's authors) revolved around the issue of language ideology. The idea that it was the responsibility of Zainichi Korean writers to participate in the creation of a new (North) Korean national literature, and therefore necessary for them to write in the Korean language, emerged with the formation of Ch'ongryŏn, which represented a larger attempt by North Korea to recategorize Zainichi Koreans as North Korean citizens temporarily residing in Japan. As Unoda states, "In the leftist Zainichi Korean movement after the policy changes directly linked to the DPRK, speaking in terms of poetry composition, it was thought that 'Koreans should sing the praises of the homeland in Korean.' Starting in Issue 13, when the influence of the policy change began to emerge tangibly in the journal's pages, the necessity of studying the 'national language' started to be emphasized, and there was a developing opposition between Kim Sijong, Chŏng In, and Yang Sŏgil versus Hong Yunp'yo, Song Ikchun, and Hŏ Namki over whether they should be starting from the realities of 'Zainichi' or be oriented towards the as-yet-unseen homeland."[327] Song Hyewon similarly sees the transition toward *Jindare's* "late period," which she defines as starting with issue 15 in 1956, as centered around the linked issues of language choice and the aesthetics of portraying the "homeland" of North Korea for the mostly second-generation Zainichi authors who were not necessarily fluent in Korean and had never set foot on the Korean peninsula, much less North Korea. Song's reading

[327] Unoda, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undo," 81.

links the foregrounding of language politics with a broader shift in content related to the transition from Minsen to Ch'ongryŏn. The journal's early years featured an aesthetics of realism, portrayals of labor and everyday life, and domestic issues such as women's liberation, Japan's involvement in the Korean War, and Osaka's relationship to Cheju Island, while the later issues veer away from politics altogether and feature a much narrower range of poems that focus on the moody, abstract, and intellectualized introspection of the young members who remained, perhaps demonstrating their unwillingness (or inability) to conform to Ch'ongryŏn's expectations on the level of both form and content.[328] The consensus among previous scholarship on *Jindare* and the later reflections of the contributors themselves is that the journal's insistence on continuing to publish in Japanese was as much a practical matter as an ideological one, since most of the journal's working-class poets were simply not comfortable writing in Korean.

Initially, core members of *Jindare*, including Kim Sijong and Yang Sŏgil, seemed willing to submit to Ch'ongryŏn's ideology of Korean-language literature. While both Kim and Yang comment on their conflicted feelings about writing in Japanese as former colonial subjects of the Japanese empire, *Jindare* most explicitly aligns itself with Ch'ongryŏn language ideology in issue 13, which opens with the essay "Bokokugo o ai suru koto kara" (From Loving the Mother Tongue), not clearly credited to a specific author but likely written by Kim Sijong. The essay clearly states, "I now realize that we have committed a grave mistake. We young Koreans who live in Japan – some of us from birth and some of us from childhood – we have been raised on Japanese land and therefore have been quite friendly with the Japanese people, but in reality, they still don't understand anything about the true form of our homeland. So we aren't really close with a broad class of Japanese citizens." According to the author, this problem of

[328] Song, *"Zainichi Chōsenjin bungakushi" no tame ni,*155-163.

superficial friendship between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese citizens lies in the Zainichi community's own shallow understanding of the homeland, and therefore can only be "overcome" through immersion in the Korean language: "Without knowing the mother tongue, we cannot truly know our homeland, or understand the history and traditions of the Korean people, or love our compatriots."[329] Around the same time, *Jindare* temporarily instituted a Korean-language poetry section titled the "National Language Composition Column" (Kokugo sakuhin ran). Plans to publish a parallel Korean-language journal were announced in issue 15, but it never materialized. It seems that the practical impossibilities presented by the sudden demand on working-class poets to produce poetry in a language other than their native tongue became gradually harder to ignore, and Kim Sijong ultimately defended the value of writing in Japanese in an essay titled "Hebi to mekura no oshimondō" (The Dispute of the Snake and the Blind) in issue 18.[330]

The initial internal friction among the journal's members over the question of language choice eventually developed into a full-scale campaign against *Jindare* by Ch'ongryŏn loyalists, who saw the journal as a symbol of the previous era of Minsen politics. The journal even became an open target of criticism from North Korean media at the time.[331] This public criticism drove many young poets away from *Jindare* (including all of its once-numerous female contributors), eventually leaving only the three core members of Kim Sijong, Yang Chŏng-ung (Yang Sŏgil),[332]

[329] "Bokokugo o ai suru koto kara," *Jindare* 13 (September 1955), 3.

[330] Kim Sijong, "Hebi to mekura no oshimondō," *Jindare* 18 (July 1957), 2-8.

[331] Unoda, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undo," 83.

[332] Yang Chŏng-ung is the birth name of Yang Sŏgil, who went on to become the first major commercially successful Zainichi Korean author of popular literature. He started contributing to *Jindare* under his birth name and first used the pen name Yang Sŏgil in the journal's final issue.

and Chŏng In. As it rapidly lost members, the journal which had previously served as an after-work gathering place for a wide variety of leftist Zainichi youth in Ikaino was transformed into a small circle of elite and like-minded "radicals," then ultimately disbanded.[333] Kim Sijong has directly attributed the journal's abrupt end in 1958 to the Ch'ongryŏn pressure campaign, saying it was "essentially forcibly dissolved with issue 20" after years of systematic criticism.[334] Nevertheless, the lasting intellectual legacy of the journal is at least partially a result of the resistance against Ch'ongryŏn orthodoxy that led to its own demise. Ko Youngran has described how Ch'ongryŏn's denunciations of the Japanese-language writings of *Jindare* and other texts, combined with the JCP's decision to exclude Zainichi Koreans from party membership in 1955, worked together to produce a new consciousness of Zainichi Koreans as a distinct ethnic category, separate from these political organizations' understandings of either "Japanese" or "Korean" categories of identity.[335]

While the struggle to reconcile ideology with actual lived conditions in terms of language use was highlighted explicitly in the final issues of *Jindare*, I am even more interested in the way the poems of the "early period" of the journal portray actual language praxis within the resident Korean community of Osaka in the 1950s. These poems of *Jindare*'s early years reveal a multilingual landscape that defies the Japanese/Korean binary set forth by Ch'ongryŏn, years before the question of language choice was raised explicitly in the journal's pages. In the early issues, when the journal was still affiliated with Minsen and oriented towards domestic

[333] Unoda, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no sākuru undo," 82.

[334] Jindare Kenkyūkai, *"Zainichi" to 50 nendai bunka undō,* 53.

[335] Ko Youngran, "The Korean War and Disputed Memories: Kim Dal-su's *Nihon no fuyu* and the 1955 System," in *Literature among the Ruins, 1945-1955: Postwar Japanese Literary Criticism*, ed. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018), 54-55.

politics, the physical space of Ikaino plays a central role in the representation of the material realities of everyday life for the journal's members, who were mostly working-class youth with high school-level educations, born in Japan to first-generation resident Korean parents (with the notable exception of Kim Sijong, who immigrated from Cheju Island in 1949).

Ikaino emerged as a central trope within *Jindare*'s literary representation of everyday life in poems such as Kang Sunhŭi's "Kaerimichi" (1954)[336], Kim Ch'ŏlli's "Ikaino monogatari" (1955),[337] and Kim Hŭigu's "Tsuruhashi eki yo!" (1953)[338] and "Ikaino," (1954)[339], and the place name itself and the names of its landmarks also served as a site of linguistic hybridity reflecting the lived language politics of working-class resident Koreans. Kim Ch'ŏlli's decision to render "Ikaino" in *katakana* throughout "Ikaino monogatari" can be read as an acknowledgement that the Ikaino captured in his poem is populated by the poorest echelons of the working class, with low literacy rates that would have rendered the complicated Chinese characters of the place name (which includes an irregular reading of the not very common *kanji* for "boar," 猪) inaccessible to many of those living in the area.[340] Likewise, in "Tsuruhashi Eki yo!" Kim Hŭigu renders the name of Tsuruhashi Station in the Korean-accented Japanese of his mother in the lines, "On windy days and rainy days, *Dzuruwashi Dzuruwashi /* she called you. You blushed and scratched

[336] Kang Sunhŭi, "Kaerimichi," *Jindare* 6 (1954): 12-13.

[337] Kim Ch'ŏlli, "Ikaino monogatari," *Jindare* 11 (1955): 31-32.

[338] Kim Hŭigu, "Tsuruhashi eki yo!" *Jindare* 4 (1953): 29-30.

[339] Kim Hŭigu, "Ikaino," *Jindare* 6 (1954): 25-26.

[340] Later Ikaino poetry, including the work of Kim Sijong in the late 1970s, plays with the distinction between *katakana* and *kanji* renderings of the place name in discussing the erasure of "Ikaino" from city maps. For my analysis of this technique as a commentary on both class divisions and the embodied experience of Ikaino landscapes, see Chapter 1.

your head."[341] This accented speech comes immediately after the lines, "My mother, with her body like an old rag / lifted her big suitcase / and walked across your long back." As the distinction between body and landscape is blurred through the personification of the station and the comparison of the mother to an inanimate object, Tsuruhashi Station is simultaneously framed as both linguistically and geographically liminal, a portal between the national spaces of Japan and Korea. These extremely localized, accented place names, combined with frequent use of Korean terms such as the *hangul* "동무" (*tongmu,* comrade) or *ŏmma* (mother) in *katakana*, used throughout the journal's pages, creates a hybrid language that transcends the binary between Korean and Japanese. As a member of the recent *"Jindare" o koe ni dashite yomu kai* (the Group for Reading *Jindare* Out Loud) stated, "'Terms of address' such as '*ŏmma*' or *'tongmu'* appear often in *Jindare* written in *katakana* according to their pronunciation, but within *Jindare* it feels like these terms are functioning as mysterious words that are neither Japanese, South Korean, or North Korean language."[342]

It should be emphasized here that the form of multilingualism that can be glimpsed in the early issues of *Jindare* differs significantly from the strategic defamiliarization of language advocated for by Kim Sŏkpŏm in his original conception of *Nihongo bungaku* (Japanese-language literature). While both writing practices cast doubt on the notion of linguistic purity and monolingualism, the experimentation with language proposed by Kim Sŏkpŏm is a deliberate, ideologically motivated attempt to emphasize ethnic "difference," while *Jindare*'s approach to language is grounded in the (lack of) resources offered up by a material space where ethnic

[341] "風の日も　雨の日も　ヂュルワシヂュルワシと／お前を呼んだ。赤くなってお前は頭をかいたよ." Kim Hŭigu, "Tsuruhashi eki yo!," 29.

[342] Jindare Kenkyūkai, *"Zainichi" to 50 nendai bunka undō,* 86.

identity, local politics, and the economic conditions of everyday life are all equally important. At times, one can see the effortful labor involved in these young, working-class poets inserting fragments of Korean into their writing, inscribed visually into the page. For example, in Kim Chunghak's poem "Yagaku" (Night School), which describes the joyous experience of learning the Korean language for the first time, the one Korean term included in the poem, "조선" (*Chosŏn*, Korea) is written with a malformed second *hangul* character, where the consonant ㅅ has instead been drawn as something closer to the *katakana* character イ.[343] The presence of this kind of linguistic "mistake" in the journal hints at the extent to which Japanese inevitably intervenes between the poets and their genuine longing for contact with the Korean language – not just for the poem's author, but for the anonymous transcriber of this issue of the journal, as well. These unmediated attempts to incorporate the Korean language, and the act of language learning, into depictions of daily working-class life seem more fluid, and on some level more organic, than the more formulaic Korean-language poems about the homeland that appear in the journal's Korean-language poetry column in the journal's later years.

Kim Hwabong's poem "Shinchi no asa" (Morning in the Red Light District) captures the pragmatics of this hybrid language use at the intersection of ethnicity, class, age, and gender, describing the narrator's early-morning encounter with an older first-generation woman scavenging through the trash as he heads to work in a factory.[344] Each character is dressed in the markers of class and social status: the young man feels the cold through his thin work *tabi*, the old woman wears patched work pants and tattered rubber boots, and both shoulder charcoal sacks. The narrator struggles against his own impulse to turn away from the elderly trash

[343] Kim Chunghak, "Yagaku," *Jindare* 8 (1954): 33.

[344] Kim Hwabong, "Shinchi no asa," *Jindare* 14 (1955): 24-25.

collector before the two have the following exchange: “「お早うございます」／「오—어데가는길이야」／「工場です」” (“Good morning” / “Oh – where are you going?” / “To the factory”). The young man speaks in Japanese and the old women speaks Korean, and the exchange crosses the divides of generation, gender, and economic status, but the overall effect is not one of two distinct languages in opposition. The conversation is clearly mutually understood, and even the man’s Japanese is inflected with the marks of hybridity: in the first line of the poem the Japanese word for “heel” is spelled *kagato* instead of the standard *kakato*, hinting at a Korean accent. This blurring at the edges of the language divide suggests that the realities of communication and expression within the Ikaino represented in *Jindare*’s early poems adapts to the lived experiences of its speakers in ways that cannot be reduced to ideological distinctions between Japanese and Korean.

Won Suil and Ikaino “Creole”

While the poets of *Jindare* hinted at the possibilities of a multilingual literary language based on everyday speech in the streets of Ikaino, it was several more decades before an author attempted to fully realize that potential in fiction by foregrounding the local dialect sometimes called “Ikaino-go” (Ikaino language), which incorporates aspects of both the Cheju Island dialect of Korean and local Osaka speech, as a medium for storytelling. Won Sooil (元秀一, 1950-) a second-generation resident Korean born in Ikaino, began publishing a series entitled “Ikainokō” (Thoughts on Ikaino) in the journal *Ajukkari* in the mid-1970s, under the pen name Kim Ha (金可).[345] By the 1980s, he was publishing under his real name in Zainichi journals such as *Kikan*

[345] *Ajukkari* was a Japanese-language journal published by the Ikuno North branch of the political organization Hanch’ŏng starting in 1975. For an extended analysis of *Ajukkari* and its broader sociopolitical context, see Chapter 2.

sanzenri (1975-1987) and *Kikan zainichi bungei mintō* (1987-1990). In 1987, he published the short story collection *Ikaino monogatari: Chejudo kara kita onnatachi* (Ikaino Stories: The Women Who Came from Cheju Island), which included revised versions of a number of his earlier stories.[346] When it first came out, the collection garnered attention from critics such as Kawamura Minato and Uchiyama Hideo, with the story "Lee-Kun's Blues" (Rikun no yu'utsu) eventually being adapted into a film called "Lee-Kun's Tomorrow" (Rikun no ashita) broadcasted by NHK in 1990.[347]

As indicated by the subtitle of *Ikaino Stories: The Women Who Came from Cheju Island,* Won's writing practice is heavily focused on the lives of first-generation immigrant women in Ikaino, with virtually all of his short stories featuring at least one middle aged or elderly resident Korean woman in a central role. Throughout *Ikaino Stories*, the amount of narrative prose is equaled or at times even surpassed by a large volume of dialogue representing first generation women's speech, rendered in thick Ikaino dialect that combines vocabulary and grammar from Osaka dialect and Cheju Island dialect. He not only incorporates Korean vocabulary into this dialect, but also emphasizes the accented nature of this speech by adding extensive *furigana* to the Japanese vocabulary, such as his rendering of "小学校何年(そかっこうなねん)" ("what year of middle school", which should be pronounced *shōgakkō nannen* but here becomes *sokakkō nanen*).[348] By the time Won published his follow-up work *Ikaino t'aryŏng* (Ikaino Ballad) in 2016, he had fully adapted this stylized speech into a literary style to be used in prose narration, writing the whole novel in

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[346] Won Sooil, *Ikaino monogatari: Chejudo kara kita onnatachi* (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1987).

[347] "Lee-Kun's Blues" is also the first short story of Won's to be translated into English. See Won Soo-il, "Lee-Kun's Blues," trans. Nathaniel Heneghan, in *Zainichi Literature: Japanese Writings by Ethnic Koreans*, 121-138.

[348] Won, *Ikaino monogatari,* 15.

the voice of a first-generation mother telling stories to her son. For example, the novel starts as follows:

> ま、話聞きや。
> 男付いててるもんえらそにふらさげてるゆだけで、北がどの、南がどの
> チャン(屁)ソリ(理)並べたがる。甲斐性の一つでもあったら納得やけど、お前のお
> トさん(父)ときたら、紳士服製造親方背負ってるゆのに、アイゴ、チッチ、
> チャンサペケ(商売)や。チャンサゆもん付いてるもんぶらさげてるみたい頭下げ
> て仕事もらわなあかんやげ。そやのに、「ヤンバン(両班)がそんなみっともない
> ことできるか」とほざく。[349]

My rough translation of this passage, which is necessarily insufficient in its representation of the multilingualism of the original, is as follows:

> Well, listen to what I'm saying.
> Men love to swing their *you-know-what*s around like they're something special,
> but they really just want to *chansori* (quibble) about the North this and the South that. If
> they had even an ounce of self-reliance I could accept it, but y'know your *pa* (father),
> he was supposedly the boss at a menswear company, but *aigo, tsk tsk*, he was a
> real *changsa* (business) loser. When it comes to *changsa* (business), you just have to get a job with
> your head bowed down the way men dangle their *you-know-what*s. But he'd just
> go on about "how could a *yangban*[350] (nobleman) do such a pathetic thing?"

[349] Won, *Ikaino t'aryŏng* (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 2016), 7.

[350] The term *yangban*, which Won spells phonetically and glosses with the *kanji* 両班*,* refers to the traditional ruling class in Korea under the Chosŏn dynasty.

This opening passage, and the rest of the novel that proceeds from it, features heavy use of Osaka dialect, as in the use of the sentence ending *ya*, the use of *yage* in place of *deshō* (indicating the speaker's conjecture), the negative ending *akan*, and other slang such as the term *peke* (failure or "loser" in my translation). Korean phrases (and in other parts of the novel, sometimes whole clauses) are rendered in *kana* in the main text and glossed with much smaller *kanji*, flipping the usual conventions of Zainichi literature, in which Japanese *kanji* are often glossed with *katakana* indicating the Korean pronunciation in order to add a bit of authentic flavor to the text. By contrast, Won's multilingual writing is visually overwhelming, challenging readers from outside the Ikaino community to put in the slow labor of puzzling through a defamiliarized writing system, while emphasizing the aural rhythms of local speech.

This linguistic experimentation seeks to accurately capture a hyperlocal language while refusing to reduce that linguistic diversity to mere "local color" that can be easily consumed by a broad audience. Won's approach to language in literature might be understood through the Caribbean theorist Édouard Glissant's insistence on the "right to opacity," an argument that the preservation of (linguistic and cultural) difference should not require the reduction of that difference to an easily digestible or readily understandable form. According to Glissant's logic, if we are to move beyond the commodifying logic of imperialism, everyone must have the right to be understood on their own terms, or to refuse to be understood at all.[351] In Wŏn's novels, the laborious process of reading this multilingual literary language seems to demonstrate a similar refusal of transparency, constantly drawing the reader's attention to the unfamiliar, category-

[351] Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), 111-120 and 189-194.

defying qualities of this community's living language. In doing so, his texts gesture towards the persistent legacies of the colonial history that gave rise to this hybrid language in the first place.

The unique voice first captured in *Ikaino monogatari* gained immediate attention for its linguistic experimentation. Kawamura Minato praised it as an early example of "Japanese as a creole."[352] Isogai Jiro has similarly described *Ikaino monogatari* as "a group of stories fully portraying the jumbled lives of the Zainichi *ajumŏni* (aunts) that are both strong and tearful, both wise and foolish, and using the first generation as a pretext for the author's 'Zainichi,' but he also makes full use of Ikaino-go as a *bibimbap* of Cheju dialect and Osaka dialect."[353] Won himself encouraged this interpretation of his writing project, stating in the afterword, "In my earliest memories [*genfūkei*, literally "original landscape"] there were flickering glimpses of a 'vitality' something like *Arirang*, just like the women of Cheju. I should have written Ikaino just how that 'vitality' dictated… I think I'd like to fixate on Ikaino just as Joyce was obsessed with Dublin."[354] This description of his early work does a great deal in terms of illuminating Won's lifelong project, both in terms of the allure of an ineffable "vitality" (*seiri*, a word that literally means either "physiology" or "menstrual cycle") that keeps drawing him to the lives of first-generation Zainichi women, but also his desire to keep improving on this first attempt to tell their stories. At the same time, his comparison of Cheju Island immigrants to "*Arirang,*" the prototypical Korean folk song, hints at a tinge of essentialist thinking about gender and ethnicity embedded in his gaze. The fact that Won compares himself to James Joyce here speaks to his desire to frame his writing as "pure literature" worthy of serious literary critique. At the same

[352] Kawamura Minato, "Kureōru toshite no Nihongo," in *Kankoku • Chōsen • Zainichi o yomu* (Tokyo: Impact Shuppankai, 2003), 211.

[353] Isogai Jiro, *"Zainichi" bungaku ron,* 266.

[354] Won, *Ikaino monogatari*, 244-245.

time, the choice of Joyce in particular seems significant – Joyce was not simply part of the modernist canon, but also a writer who sought to critique the British occupation of Ireland and contribute thoughtfully to the formation of a new Irish sense of national identity in his depictions of the local space of Dublin.

Indeed, one could say that Won's work is crucial in illustrating the significance of the material landscape of Ikaino for resident Korean literary and intellectual history. He often emphasizes the relationship between this material space and its unique "creolized" language, as in the beginning of the story "Rebirth" (Saisei), where he begins with the etymology of the "*tottonari*" (トットナリ) tenements that serve as the backdrop to the story before he even introduces the main characters:

> Facing the canal that runs north and south through Ikaino, there were once many row houses called *tottonari*. Of course, *tottonari* is a word made up by the Cheju Islanders. *Tottonari* can be broken up into "*tot"* and "*tonari.*" The *"tot*" should really be "*tok*" (トック), which would be spelled in *hangul* as "*talk"* (닭), and pronounced "*tak"* (タック). This means "chicken." "*Tonari*" is clearly Japanese, meaning "next to" (隣), as in the word *tonarikinjo* (隣近所, neighborhood). Basically, "*tottonari*" refers to the row houses as homes just like little "chicken" sheds, crowded up "next" to each other. Well, you might say it's the product of the humorous sense of language of the Cheju Islanders who landed en masse in Ikaino.[355]

In the process of carefully deconstructing this hyperlocal term, Won frames it as a material link between the physical spaces of Cheju Island and Ikaino, in addition to a blend of Japanese and Korean. His explanation starts and ends with Ikaino, emphasizing how the *tottonari* as a hybrid

[355] Ibid., 166.

term and hyperlocal space once shaped the landscape of the Hirano Canal at the very center of the neighborhood.

Immediately following this explanation, the third-person narration introduces the protagonists, the Wŏn family, who live in one of the "*tottonari*" tenement houses. Once again, the narrator foregrounds the importance of local language for understanding the story's context: "Speaking of the Wŏn family, in Ikaino or on Cheju Island, they're known as *henkotsu* (Osaka dialect for *henkutsu* [eccentric])."[356] By positioning himself as a de facto translator of "Ikaino-go," for the reader, whether they're outsiders to Ikaino or locals who grew up hearing these terms but never considered their origins, Won creates a hyperlocal context for the story, suggesting that a deep insider knowledge of this space and its history is needed to truly understand the plight of his characters.

While the language of Won's *Ikaino monogatari* is linked to the physical land of Ikaino and its material history, language is also portrayed as deeply gendered throughout the work. Whenever Won goes out of his way to draw attention to the linguistic landscape within his narratives, it is always through the voice of the first-generation "*halman*" (Cheju/Ikaino dialect for *halmŏni*, or grandmother). This distinction is perhaps most apparent in the way Won names his characters: in the story *"*Canal" (Unga), he explains that the focal character actually has two names, based on his mother's "incorrect" pronunciation:

> Hitekacchan had no fixed name, and was called both Hidekazu and Hitekasu. Kim Oksam, who had named Hitekacchan with the characters 英和, could say "Hidekazu" just as fluently as a descendant of Susanō-no-mikoto, but for Sŏnhŭi, whose Cheju Island language was hardened like the basalt of Mt. Halla, no matter how much she trained her tongue, she could only pronounce it "Hitekasu." So,

[356] Ibid.

> you might say the nickname "Hitekacchan" was a condensed version of "Hitekasu-chan." It was only natural that Hitekacchan, who was raised at the breast of Sŏnhŭi, would end up calling his parents "Otochan" [father] and "Okachan" [mother], different from the standard *otōsan* and *okāsan*.[357]

As demonstrated in this passage, not only is Hidekazu's own name affected by his mother's inability to overcome her Cheju Island accent, but when male members of the family demonstrate similarly accented speech as in Hidekazu's way of addressing his parents, it is still seen as a form of "difference" (*ishitsu*) introduced into the family by Sŏnhŭi. Other stories by Won follow a similar naming pattern, with the character Kazuko (和子) in "Rebirth" also being referred to intermittently as "Kasuko" (カスコ) based on her mother's speech. Heavily accented speech is consistently linked in Won's writing to a particular image of the "Cheju Island woman," as in the main character of the story "Kirakuen," whose first words in the story are her mispronunciation of "*irasshaimase*" (welcome), a term that comprises her main act of speech as the owner of a *yakiniku* stand: "'*Irasaimase*.' Sŭngok means to say, '*Irasshaimase*.' However, no matter what she does, her Cheju Island accent interferes with her pronunciation. Even after close to forty years living in another country, the language of that other country was still beyond her grasp. If you were to sum up Sŭngok's life, you could say that she made up for the clumsiness of her speech with the toughness unique to a Cheju Island woman."[358]

Ikaino monogatari has clear value in its commitment to delving into the life experiences of first-generation Ikaino women who were often erased or presented as abject objects of violence in other Zainichi Korean literature, and were not widely considered to be capable of writing for themselves due to high rates of illiteracy. However, there are also a number of ways

[357] Ibid., 6-7.

[358] Ibid., 25-26.

in which Won's writing project conversely exposes the complicated power dynamics involved in coopting the voices of these "voiceless" women. As I mentioned above, Won's third person narrative voice is often positioned as an insider uniquely capable of interpreting both the language and "happenings" of the Ikaino landscape. By contrast, while his female characters are described as being the bearers of linguistic and cultural tradition, their role as speakers is often limited to the performative role of lamentation or comedic relief, rendering them more object than subject within their own stories. While the narration seems to have an omniscient view of the general goings-on of Ikaino, it still presents the inner lives of these female characters as unknowable. For example, the narrator speculates, "There's no way of knowing the details of how Sŭngok came to open Kirakuen. But, judging from the fact that she opened the shop near Babasaki Bridge, at a remove from Ikaino in the outskirts of Ikuno Ward, it seems she was only able to gather a little bit of capital."[359] It is only when it comes to the private lives and inner thoughts of Ikaino's first-generation Zainichi women that the narration shifts from authoritative assertion to a tone of gossip and speculation.

From this slightly detached position, the narrative often finds humor in the exotic unintelligibility of the women's dialect. In the story "Water Cure" (Mulmaji, a Korean term referring to the curative act of bathing in a natural mineral spring), two women vacationing together at a temple in Nukada get in a fight with two men they randomly encounter. Although they discover that all four of them are from Ikaino, it is the heavy dialect of one woman that makes her an object of derision for the men:

[359] Ibid., 24-25.

> "How rude" said 'Pseudo-*Durumagi*,'[360] puffing up his chest. Chaesun, who misheard "*shikkei* (rude)" as "*shikke,*" made an exasperated face.
> "Why would you bring up ceremonies at a time like this?" she criticized him. In *Chejunmal* (Cheju Island dialect), *"shikke"* means "*chesa*" [祭祀, ancestral rights], or in other words, a "ceremony" for the dead.
> "What a weird false accusation!"
> "But you're the one who brought up *shikke*!"
> "I said, *shikkei na* (how rude)."
> 'Pseudo-*Durumagi*' glared at Chaesun indignantly. His eyes seemed to say, *what an uneducated woman*.[361]

This exchange occurs after Chaesun attempts to intervene in a rather slapstick fight between her female friend and this man, in which the man's shorts end up slipping down, leaving him entirely nude. Nevertheless, Chaesun's utter lack of understanding of the man's simple statement causes a shift in tone in which the women are the ones who end up scorned and embarrassed.

The language of first-generation women is similarly exoticized in the story "Going Home" (Kikyō), where the main character Sun-ae and her daughter-in-law Yangja are attempting to sort out the receipts for all the goods Sun-ae has gathered, planning to smuggle them to Korea and sell them on the black market when she returns to Cheju under the pretense of participation in a government-sanctioned ancestral grave visit. A problem arises when Yangja finds an entry in Sun-ae's account book that simply says "망너피" in Sunae's *hangul* handwriting, and neither woman can figure out what the word means. The narrative assigns a kind of mystical beauty to Sunae's poor writing skills, saying, "Sun-ae's *hangul* letters were clumsy and the proportions were off, but they had the allure of hieroglyphics."[362] Yangja takes a similarly romantic view of

[360] A *durumagi* is a traditional Korean overcoat. In the story, the two women give the men nicknames based on their appearance. The man quoted here seems to be wearing a leisure outfit including a top somewhere between a *durumagi* and a Japanese *yukata.*

[361] Won, *Ikaino monogatari,* 86.

[362] Ibid., 98.

the incident – her first response is to praise Sun-ae for being able to write at all, saying, "Oh, but *ŏmŏni*, you didn't get to go to school, did you? The fact that you can write *hangul* this well even so – I think it's wonderful! My own *ŏmŏni* can't write at all, you know."[363] As they continue to puzzle over the problem, Yangja begins to fantasize about possible interpretations of the mysterious *hangul* word that might serve to symbolize her mother-in-law's long and difficult life.

> It was incredible, truly. As Yangja murmured this in her heart, *kanji* matching the sounds of mangnyŏp'i 망녀피 floated into the back of her mind. "The blood of a forgotten woman…"[364] The image of something like a crushed pomegranate reared its head. Huh, that could be an epithet for *ŏmŏni* herself, she thought.[365]

While Yangja muses poetically, it is her husband who steps in to do the interpretive work: "The moment he took the scrap of paper and saw the word, he instinctively knew it was a misspelling of mannyŏnp'il 만 년 필 [fountain pen]."[366]

This moment in the text, in which Chongil effortlessly solves the puzzle, seems representative of the overall schema of Won's "creolized" literary language: while Sun-ae's writing is able to evoke both the poetics and the history of Zainichi women's suffering, it is the

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[363] Ibid.

[364] Here, Yangja is imagining possible meanings for the unknown *hangul* word by stringing together Chinese characters that have a corresponding pronunciation in Korean. The combination she comes up with is "forgotten woman" (忘女, *mangnyŏ*) and "blood" (血, *p'i*). The choice of characters for *mangnyŏ* is particularly interesting – it is perhaps a deliberate misspelling of the more common Korean term *mangnyŏ* 亡女, which is used to refer to someone's deceased daughter.

[365] Won, *Ikaino monogatari,* 99.

[366] Ibid.

male character who ultimately wields the power of creating meaning out of it. This structure in which cultural and aesthetic value is separated from intellectual value resembles what Karatani Kojin has described as the aesthetics of orientalism, in which the viewer or reader's pleasure is derived from the bracketing of the intellectual and moral in favor of the aesthetic, allowing the viewer to valorize the object of knowledge even as he maintains his position of power over it: "An aesthete kneels before something not because he has really submitted to it but because he derives pleasure out of bracketing the displeasure of obeying an object that he can dominate if he wants to…Such appropriation was possible only under the condition that the artists' cultures were or could be colonized anytime. Aesthetes nevertheless think that kneeling before the beauty of the other is the same as respecting the other from an equal position."[367] The persistence of this system of knowledge production, which reifies the (male) author's position of power over the aestheticized (female) object of representation even as he praises its value, suggests the limits of Won's writing project's ability to overcome the gendered stereotypes of previous Zainichi Korean literature that he is ostensibly fighting against.[368]

Under Won's aestheticizing gaze, the hybrid language that he valorizes as the hallmark of Ikaino society not only fails to overturn the power structure subjugating women within that society, but it actually ends up physically binding them to Ikaino and the low status they occupy within it. For example, the son in "Lee-kun's Blues" (Rikun no yu'utsu) is afraid to be seen with his mother outside the boundaries of Ikaino, because "wherever Yonyuni was, she always talked

[367] Karatani Kojin, "Bigaku no kōyō: *Orientarizumu* igo," in *Karatani Kojin shū 4: nēshon to bigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2004), 160. English translation taken from Karatani Kojin, "Uses of Aesthetics: After Orientalism," trans. Sabu Kohso, *boundary 2* 25, no. 2 (1998): 51-152.

[368] I discuss a similar structure of orientalism at work in the representation of first-generation Zainichi Korean women in earlier canonical works of Zainichi literature in Chapter 3.

as if she were still in Ikaino."[369] This fear is ultimately realized when his teacher Yoshimoto recognizes her instantaneously as a first-generation resident Korean: "With just one glance, Mr. Yoshimoto could instantly tell that Yonyuni was from Cheju. This natural talent came with his being born and raised in Ikaino. In the past, Mr. Yoshimoto thought that he would teach under his given name, Lee. But despite the legacy left behind by the pioneers that built this town, it was still a foreign land."[370] While second-generation Zainichi men from Ikaino like Mr. Yoshimoto are able to shed their identities at will, living and working beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood, it is the indelible presence of this hybrid dialect, praised as a border-crossing "bibimbap of language," that confines these first-generation female characters to the space of Ikaino. The younger generation carry their fond memories of Ikaino's peculiar multilingualism out into the broader world, while the older generation of women experience language as a geographic boundary they ultimately cannot cross.

Sō Shūgetsu's "Ningo"

When the second-generation resident Korean poet, author, and essayist Sō Shugetsu published a review of *Ikaino monogatari* in the journal *Kikan zainichi bungei mintō* in February of 1988, she expressed a similar ambivalence about Won's work. In the review, entitled "A woman's image through the eyes of male society: Won Sooil's *Ikaino monogatari,*" Sō openly admits to enjoying the humor of the short stories. She also suggests that she and Won ultimately share the same literary goal, exploring the voices of the voiceless through "the guileless humor

[369] Won, *Ikaino monogatari,* 114. English translation taken from Won Soo-il, "Lee-Kun's Blues," trans. Nathaniel Heneghan, in *Zainichi Literature*, 123.

[370] Won, *Ikaino monogatari,* 115. English translation taken from Won Soo-il, "Lee-Kun's Blues," trans. Nathaniel Heneghan, in *Zainichi Literature*, 124. The reference to "the legacy left behind by the pioneers that built this town" is a reference to the common myth that Ikaino was first settled by the Korean laborers who reclaimed the land it was built on, discussed at length in Chapter 1.

of those who don't have letters. The brash, rough, obscene, blunt, preposterous, and euphemistic words spoken by these women, their 'Ikaino' language that is a chaotic blend of the deep and brilliant mother tongue and the province of Japan where they reside."[371] However, she goes on to point out the potentially misleading nature of "Won-kun, who dreamed of becoming an author, using Ikaino's landscape, its women, and its Zainichi language as a technique of expression," stating that "in that deconstruction of the Japanese language, you can smell the calculations of Won as someone who possesses the Japanese that is the national language of the college entrance exams."[372]

Sō's discomfort with Won's writing lies in the discrepancy she sees between his own erudition and the poverty of the landscape and women that he constantly centers in his writing. For her, this makes his embrace of the "Ikaino language" ring false: "The portraits of women written here were nothing other than images determined at the convenience of male society, images of mothers, easygoing, optimistic, tough. The emphasis on dimwittedness as a form of comedy is something I find difficult to tolerate as a woman."[373] She sets up Won's positionality with regard to Ikaino in contrast to her own, both in terms of educational opportunities and their respective insider/outsider status in the neighborhood: "Just at the time when he left Ikaino, I arrived in Ikaino. Just as Won first took Ikaino, or the Ikainoesque (*Ikainotekina mono*), as a subject after leaving for the outside, I first took it as a subject after coming to Ikaino from outside."[374] By positioning herself as inverting the power relationship that exists between Won

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[371] Sō Shūgetsu, "Otoko shakai no me de mita jozō – Won Sooil 'Ikaino monogatari,'" *Kikan zainichi bungei mintō* no 2 (February 1988), 241.

[372] Ibid, 242.

[373] Ibid.

[374] Ibid.

and Ikaino as a literary subject, Sō sets herself up as capable of portraying Ikaino and its inhabitants with an authenticity that she perceives him to be lacking.

While Sō's characterization here relies on a strict binary that necessarily simplifies the relationship between authors and the spaces they write about, there is some truth to the distinction she's drawing. Won was born and raised in Ikaino, but his family moved out of the neighborhood when he was a still a child (although he never went far, and still lives in Osaka today). Won did attend college, and when he started writing, it was within the milieu of young Zainichi Korean intellectuals and activists associated with the political organization Hanch'ŏng. By contrast, Sō was born in 1944 (six years earlier than Won, who she somewhat condescendingly calls "Won-kun" throughout her review), in Saga prefecture, in a very small ethnic Korean enclave she would later refer to as a "little Ikaino" (*chīsana Ikaino)*. She saw Ikaino as a space where Zainichi Korean women could live as Zainichi Koreans with less shame and more freedom, and in 1960, after graduating from middle school, she moved to Ikaino to find a job. Her work in the factories and food stands of Ikaino became a central theme of her literature, and she has said she first started writing poetry secretly, on scraps of paper in the bathroom of the shoe factory where she worked.[375] She eventually grew acquainted with some of Osaka's literary elites after becoming involved with the Osaka School of Literature (*Osaka bungaku gakkō)*, starting as a student there in 1966, but Sō clearly identified primarily as a working-class writer.

Given how Sō positioned herself in opposition to Won Sooil, it seems worth examining what's different about her own approach to giving voice to first-generation Zainichi Korean women in literature. Like Won, many of Sō's novels and essays focus on the lives of Zainichi

[375] Norma Field, "Beyond Envy, Boredom, and Suffering," 654.

Korean women in Ikaino, but she most explicitly discusses her interest in Zainichi language, and the voices of first-generation Zainichi women in particular, in her essay "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo" (Mother Mun Kŭmpun's Apple). The essay, which Sō first published in *Shin Nihon Bungaku* in 1985 and later included in her collection *Ikaino taryon* in 1986, centers around the figure of the "*ningo*," a "Zainichi-language" term that doesn't quite map onto the Korean *sagwa* (沙果, apple), the Korean *nŭnggŭm* (林檎, crabapple), or the Japanese *ringo* (林檎, apple). In Sō's essay, which incorporates both poetry and prose, the "*ningo*" comes to represent the insufficiency of conventional language for expressing the lives of the first generation of Korean women. She writes, "The flavor of the *ningo*, which can be guessed at by biting into the Western kind of apple called the *sagwa*, is the passionate, translucent – translucent like something already filtered through flesh – flavor of the Koreans who crossed the ocean, the first generation who have reached old age, who now just fade away."[376] This ineffable quality of a word, and bodily sensation, that seems to exist between languages sends Sō on a search for a new form of writing that might capture this visceral form of experience.

Both Sō and Won fixate on the vocabulary unique to "Ikaino-go" (in Won's formulation) or "Zainichi-go" (in Sō's), and on the first-generation women who speak it as a source of inspiration for their own writing. However, their approach to this local language and the value they find within it differs significantly. First of all, this is perhaps a fairly obvious point, but while Won fabricates the voices of the first-generation Korean women who populate his text, Sō is apparently engaging directly with the actual voices of these women. Her essay incorporates several poems by Mun Kŭmpun, a first-generation resident Korean woman and the mother of

[376] Sō Shūgetsu, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Doyō bijutsusha shuppan hanbai, 2016), 257.

one of Sō's friends in Ikaino, who comes to see one of Sō's performative readings. Mun explains to Sō that she too has begun to write poetry, after learning basic literacy at a local night school for Korean women (often called *ŏmŏni hakkyo* or "mother's school" in Korean), saying, "

> 私(わだし)は夜間中学行ってから勉強(べんきょう)して字ぃおぼえでがら楽しいで楽しいでしがたないんです。おぼえた字ぃを毎晩家で練習するんです。ほんで『うだ』書いて声あげて歌(うだ)ってみるんです。子供たちは又(まだ)そんな歌うだってるて嫌がるんですが、何でもっと早ように勉強せえへんがったか、くやしいです.
>
> Once I went to the night school, and once I learned letters, it's been so fun, so impossibly fun. Every night, at home, I practice the letters I learned. Then I write a "poem" (*uda*) and try saying it out loud. My kids complain, saying, again with that poetry? But I'm just sad that I didn't study much earlier.[377]

Sō renders Mun's speech in "Zainichi language,"[378] much like Won's "Ikaino-go" – Mun's pronunciation freely varies between voiced and unvoiced consonant sounds (as in *uda* instead of *uta* for "poem"), and the orthography indicates that some of her vowels are elongated (as in 字ぃ instead of 字). Her speech features aspects of Osaka dialect (for example, the negative sentence ending *sēhengatta* instead of *shinakatta*, and the connecting phrase *honde* instead of *soshite*), as well as other grammatical irregularities (such as *tanoshīde* instead of *tanoshikute*). It's worth noting that Sō's rendering of the Ikaino dialect is much more easily readable than Won's – many of the accented pronunciations are relegated to the *furigana*, and

[377] Ibid., 265.

[378] In a later essay where she returns to the concept of the "*ningo*," Sō expresses this concept of "Zainichi language" through the wordplay 似本語 (*Nihongo,* swapping out the first character of the term "Japanese" with the homophonic character 似, "to resemble"). Sō Shūgetsu, "*Ni*hongo to Nihongo no aida," in *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*., 450.

thus easily ignored if the reader chooses to do so. And yet, Sō clearly finds aesthetic value in Mun's speech patterns, noting that she senses "the magnificent flavor of the *ningo*" in her words.

The first half of "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo" alternates between narrative prose and poetry by Sō. In the latter half of the essay, Sō intersperses her prose with nine short poems by Mun Kŭmpun, titled "Watashi*"* (Me), "Watashi no michi" (My Path), "Te o nikiru" (Grasping hands), "Inori" (Life), "Kairanban" (Circular Notice), "Uda" (Poem), "Seishun" (Youth), "Shimon no koto" (On Fingerprints), and "Haha" (Mother). The essay ends with an extended transcription of a recording Sō made of Mun telling her own life story. Sō's care in not only detailing the influence Mun came to have over her own writing style, but in actually printing and thereby giving an audience to Mun's own poetry and storytelling, gives this essay more in common in terms of methodology with the recent emergence of a number of oral history projects seeking to give voice to first-generation resident Korean women, such as *Watashi mo jidai no ichibu desu* (I, Too, Am Part of This Era, 2019),[379] and Pak Sara's *Chibe no rekishi o kaku* (Writing the History of Home, 2018)[380] than it does with Won's fiction. Moreover, Sō takes Mun seriously as a poet; as she observes the progression of Mun's poetry over time, she notes that Mun has moved from plainly recounting her own feelings to creating fictional characters in the poem "Kairanban" and experimenting with *romaji* orthography in "Seishun." In fact, when Sō initially encounters Mun, she thinks, "The white-haired woman who resembled Kim Talsu was radiating light, the very image of a first-generation Korean."[381] This first impression sets Mun up

[379] Kang Yuni, Suzuki Hiroko, and Tanno Kiyoto, eds., *Watashi mo jidai no ichibu desu* (Tokyo: Nippon Hyoronsha, 2019).

[380] Pak Sara, *Chibe no rekishi o kaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2018).

[381] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 264.

immediately as a legitimate author in her own right, a parallel alternative to one of the figureheads of the male intellectual Zainichi establishment.

It's worth noting here that Sō's depiction of Mun is not without its own potential problems. Sō's gaze toward first-generation women, and her impulse to record and praise their writing, still to some extent positions them as an Other or object rather than subject of knowledge production. Melissa Wender has pointed out the potential romanticization of women's illiteracy in this essay, encapsulated for her in a moment when Sō gently discourages Mun's desire to be "taught history": "Here and elsewhere, Resident Korean women, and in particular, first-generation women, most of whom are illiterate or only semiliterate, occupy a distinctive position in her formulation of the margin. Why should Mun be held back from learning about history?"[382] Sō herself acknowledges this unequal power dynamic when she says, "I am an addict, constantly drunk on that 64-year-old Korean woman called Mun Kŭmpun. … When I stand face to face with Mun Kŭmpun *ŏmŏni,* I find myself soaked in the intoxication of the object we call the Other [*tasha to iu kyakkan*]."[383] She does struggle to overturn this underlying power dynamic by insisting she must learn from Mun rather than teach her, continuously objecting to Mun calling her *sensei* (teacher), although even this gesture is later undercut by her statement that she assigns Mun weekly "homework" (*shukudai*).[384]

Perhaps because of her fascination with Mun's "Otherness," Sō seems to take everything Mun writes as pure, unadulterated self-expression. While this means that she accepts Mun as a writing subject much like herself, Sō doesn't spend much time thinking about the politics of the

[382] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History,* 112.

[383] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 264.

[384] Ibid., 271.

night school for Korean women that mediates Mun's forays into writing. As Song Hyewon states, "the thematic content of the post-liberation writing of Zainichi Korean women, even those who were fortunate enough to become literate, was heavily influenced by the language they studied, where they studied it, and from whom they learned it."[385] The texts produced by first-generation women attending both Japanese-language and Korean-language night schools in their communities were necessarily shaped by the pedagogical and ideological beliefs of the organizations running those schools. It's quite possible, for example, that the literary techniques Sō praises in Mun's poems were a result of coaching by the night school teachers. Song has also pointed out that at one point in the essay, Mun herself expresses frustration that her night school has taught her how to write in Japanese and *romaji*, but never *hangul.* Song reads this as a "sharp critique of a Japan-centric ideology" that Sō fails to engage with in her eagerness to celebrate Mun as a writer.[386]

Nevertheless, Sō cannot be accused of treating the voices of first-generation Korean women in Ikaino as mere local color or aesthetic decoration in her work. By framing her relationship with Mun within the larger context of Sō's interrogation of her own relationship with language, Sō positions these women's voices and written words as holding the power to completely transform her own worldview and her conception of literature itself. At the beginning of the essay, Sō's search for the elusive "*ningo*" is linked to her sense that she has lost her literary voice, which corresponds to an actual decade-long gap between the publication of her initial

[385] Song, "The Literature of Migrant Women in the Postcolonial Period," 24.

[386] Ibid. Thanks also to Kang Yuni for her comments on an earlier version of this work, which shed a great deal of light on the internal politics of the Korean night schools.

poetry collection in 1971 and her second collection in 1984. Sō's alienation from the world of words is linked just as much to gender for her as it is to ethnicity:

> For the Korean women, Zainichi women who kill their own selves just to get by for one more day, how much meaning could letters – words – have? The infertile woman must endure the water of fire, the wildness of the Zainichi man that is like lava without an outlet, and if she doesn't wrap herself in the fortitude of motherhood, she cannot last a single day. Supporting a 'home' on this archipelago where you're sane because you're stupid, you'd go mad if you got sharp, bracing your legs, hands, and neck, what strength can words provide? What meaning can words have?[387]

Sō's disillusionment with "words" here comes from the violent conditions of life as a woman in Zainichi Korean society. Within that context, "literature" not only seems powerless to effect meaningful change or offer material protection, but it also in some sense reinforces these gendered structures of violence. As Sō suggests here, women placed in this situation have no recourse but to become "enduring mothers," conforming to the stereotypes put forth by earlier works of Zainichi Korean literature. As Sō concludes, for women trapped within this cycle of violence and objectification, it's better to remain "stupid," obediently occupying the role of aesthetic object rather than speaking subject.

However, Sō reaches a turning point upon first reading Mun's poem "Me" (Watashi). The poem goes as follows: "When humanity was born, I too was born / I, who wasn't there to see my parents' deaths / When I think of the homeland / I always, always think / Only of pain."[388] Marveling at the poem's radical insistence on the author's own human subjectivity, Sō states that

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[387] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 258.

[388] Ibid., 266. "人間が生まれる時に私も生まれた／親の死に水とらぬ私／故郷思えば／せつないばかり／いつもいつも思うよ"

in this poem, she had finally found her "*ningo*": "The quietness of the 'I' first expressed by an elderly Korean woman, learning letters at the night school near the end of her life, saying, I was also born as a person into this world of people. The translucency. The violently passionate flavor, already filtered through flesh."[389] It is at this point in the essay that the full meaning of "ningo" is made clear, as Sō realizes that what she has been looking for is the ability to express her own "humanity" within a language that has already inherently categorized her as something other than human. She says, "That flavor of *ningo* – should I call it a Korean woman's will, or resistance? – perhaps this story cannot be expressed in Japanese characters, how terribly unfortunate, but the *ningo* that permeates both her and my mother's lives is the proof of humanity."[390] This statement is key not only to understanding the message of this essay, but to understanding Sō's larger writing project that stretches across her poems, novels, and nonfiction, which seeks to create a new literary language that goes beyond the formal, aesthetic, and linguistic conventions of the literary establishment. In "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo," Sō ultimately expresses this as a need to replace "words" with flesh: "I decided to live composing poetry only of flesh. / How painful are poems written on the body… After I parted ways with words, my encounter with true words began."[391]

In Chapter 3, I discuss Sō's concept of the *jōsetsu* (情説, "feelings-text"), which she describes as an alternative or oppositional form of writing against the conventional *shōsetsu* (小説, novel or story). The visceral and affective quality foregrounded in her conception of the *jōsetsu* seems drawn directly from this discovery of the need to "compose poetry on/of flesh,"

[389] Ibid.

[390] Ibid., 271.

[391] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 258.

which is in turn a product of Sō's encounter with the first-generation Zainichi woman Mun. I return to this concept of the *jōsetsu* here because it seems to lie at the heart of the ultimate difference between Sō's literary interest in the voices of first-generation Zainichi Korean women and Won's. Won consistently defines himself as an author in relation to the local and global literary canon – as mentioned above, he compares himself to James Joyce, and he states in the afterword to *Ikaino monogatari* that he has always dreamed of being an author. One of the stories in *Ikaino monogatari*, "Lee-kun's Blues," has also been read as a fairly blatant retelling of Kim Saryang's "Into the Light" (Hikari no naka ni), which was the first literary work by a Korean to be nominated for the Akutagawa Prize.[392] Given this context, we might understand Won's overall literary project as one of bringing new voices into the literary establishment, expanding the Zainichi literary canon to include the "creolized" language of first-generation Zainichi women in Ikaino.

On the other hand, Sō sees the act of "composing poems on/of flesh" as holding the potential not to shift the boundaries of the category of "literature," but to dismantle it completely. She touches on this idea in her review of Won's *Ikaino monogatari,* saying, "The Japanese language is a double-edged sword for the Zainichi people, but if we're going to use Japanese anyhow, we should dismantle the grammar that claims true meaning, without indulging in the modern theatrical techniques of frivolous men that the Japanese literary establishment has fallen into – I want to write the irrationality of Zainichi from head-on."[393] This difference in how each author sees themselves in relation to the broader category of "literature" roughly maps on to their

[392] Nathaniel Heneghan notes the many similarities between these two works in the introduction to his English translation of the work. See Won Soo-il, "Lee-Kun's Blues," trans. Nathaniel Heneghan, in *Zainichi Literature*, 121.

[393] Sō Shūgetsu, "Otoko shakai no me de mita jozō,'" 243.

respective ideas about the literary value of representing Ikaino and its multilingualism. Where Won insists on the particularity of Ikaino and its language, positioning himself as uniquely qualified to translate this space in a meaningful way for a broader audience, Sō's treats "Ikaino" and "Zainichi language" as an adaptable framework that gives virtually everyone equal access to speech and subjectivity. For example, she calls her own hometown in Kyushu, alongside all of Japan's smaller ethnic enclaves scattered across the nation's cities, "little Ikainos" (小さな猪飼野(ふるさと)), glossing the place name "Ikaino" itself with the *furigana* for *furusato* or "hometown."[394] She also insists that the multilingual dialect she grew up speaking, a blend of "Saga dialect, the *Chejumal* (Cheju Island dialect) that is the mother tongue of my parents, and the *yukchimal* (mainland dialect) that is the mother tongue of the Korean laborers and their families who drifted into our home," is equally capable of becoming a literary language.[395] In Sō's vision, Ikaino is not a historical anomaly, but a framework for understanding the broader relationship between land, literature, and language.

The Borrowed Voice and the Epistemology of "the Border"

While I have sought here to explore the difference in Won and Sō's respective visions of "Ikaino-go" or "Zainichi-go" as a literary language, it is worth highlighting that both of these approaches lie along the same spectrum in their appropriation of the voices of first-generation Zainichi Korean women as a source of linguistic authenticity. The aestheticized gaze that frames first-generation Korean women as bearers of culture while simultaneously failing to recognize their fully fleshed-out subjectivity is not unique to these two authors, but symptomatic of the

[394] Ibid.

[395] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū,* 259.

larger patriarchal structures that have long shaped Zainichi Korean literature in general and the literature of Ikaino in specific. Images of illiterate Zainichi Korean women as a romanticized element of the backdrop show up frequently in the literary landscapes of Ikaino. For example, in Kim Sŏkpŏm's novel "Summer, 1945" (1945nen natsu, 1974), he describes the women of protagonist Kim T'aecho's neighborhood (later explicitly named as Ikaino) as embodying a kind of resistance through ignorance in the last years of World War II:

> At the very least, these women, who no matter where they went liked to just sit there conspicuously and loved making jokes, lacked what you might call learning [*gakumon*], but they were the ones who never lost Korea [*Chōsen*]. At a time of emergency, when there was an emphasis on "Japan and Korea as one body" [*naisen ittai*] and "imperialization" [*kōminka*], it was only these women, including Kim T'aecho's mother, who would walk the streets in broad daylight dressed in traditional ethnic clothes [*minzoku ishō*]. The police of the district that included this area densely packed with Koreans in I Ward had forbidden women from wearing Korean clothes. And yet, the women walked the streets and rode the train in Korean clothes. The police pursued them, scrawling X marks on their *chŏgori* [tops] and *ch'ima* [skirts] while they were out in public, staining them with ink. And yet, strangely enough, the Korean clothing did not disappear from the city. This was not some passionate act of resistance, but simply came from the fundamental demands of these women's daily lives.[396]

In the same passage, Kim describes a local woman continuing to refer to Koreans drafted in "the Japanese army" using the Korean term for Japan (*Ilbon*), a clear defiance of the "*naisen ittai*" policies that demanded that Koreans view themselves as subjects of the same imperial state as the Japanese. And yet, Kim goes out of his way to say that her words were "not self-aware" (*kanojo no ishikiteki na kotoba de ha kesshite nai*), but simply an expression of thoughtless

[396] Kim Sŏkpŏm, "Chōka," in *Kim Sŏkpŏm sakuhinshū* 1 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 273.

ignorance. As Ruth Barraclough has pointed out in relation to factory girl narratives in Korean literature, this kind of gendered division of intellectual labor, where first-generation women immigrants are valorized as powerful literary figures while simultaneously asserted to be incapable of producing literature themselves, resembles Jacques Rancière's theory of "exclusion by homage."[397]

Of course, first-generation Zainichi Korean women were not actually incapable of producing literature themselves, despite that common assertion. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Song Hyewon has discussed how the embedding of the ideology of language choice within academia has brought about this misconception, by excluding the variety of texts written in the Korean language by working-class women from previous Zainichi literary histories The long history of Zainichi Korean women attending literacy night schools (*yakan chūgaku*) also speaks to the fact that many of these women wanted to write texts in both Korean and Japanese. However, there has been a tendency to categorize those texts as either ethnographic records or political propaganda rather than engage with them as legitimate literary texts. While the number of texts by first-generation Zainichi Korean women in either language that have been preserved over time is limited, it is still possible and worthwhile to unearth the ones that do exist.

The Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo is one such volunteer-run literacy night school, which has been holding two sessions a week in the Seiwa Shakaikan building in Ikaino since it first opened in 1977. The school has published a collection of essays by the school's students roughly every five years since it opened, in bound editions that reproduce the women's actual handwriting alongside similarly handwritten essays by the school's instructors.[398] Earlier scholarship on

[397] Ruth Barraclough, *Factory Girl Literature,* 6.

[398] Through a combination of the Pak Kyŏngsik collection at the University of Shiga Prefecture and inquiry at the Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo itself, I have obtained access to volume 2 (1984), volume 5 (2003), volume 7 (2012), and

Zainichi Korean women's literature has been quick to dismiss these essays as not "real literature," and it is true that many of the essays are rather formulaic repetitions of a limited set of themes: thank you letters to the teachers of the school, memories of group outings the classes took together, and descriptions of the first time the women were able to ride the train alone or fill out paperwork themselves as a result of their literacy education. The authors of these essays are in many ways visibly constrained by the expectations created by the discursive construct of the "ŏmŏni-tachi" (어머니達, "mothers," itself a linguistically hybrid term), a term that both students and teachers consistently use to refer to the school's students on both an individual and group level. For example, one student author states in a 2003 essay, "I want us to become exemplary *ŏmŏni-tachi*" (*mohanteki na ŏmŏni-tachi ni naritai to omoimasu*)," indicating the extent to which the students' writing potential has already been circumscribed within a predetermined role based on assumptions about their gender and age.[399] However, the longer essays by the school's more advanced students narrating their life stories are compelling, both for their historical content and for the women's unique authorial voices, which often break free from the template set out for them with remarkable humor and self-awareness.

One essay that stands out from the Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo's second essay collection, published in 1984 (and thus around the same time as both Won's *Ikaino monogatari* and Sō's writings about the concept of the *"ningo*"), is "Gakkō e ikitakatta" (I Wanted to Go to School) by Yu Haekyŏng. The twelve-page narrative of her life details her birth in a Hokkaido coal mine in 1931, her itinerant life moving throughout Japan with her mother after her father returned to Korea and couldn't find a way back to Japan in the postwar period, and her experience getting

volume 8 (2017). At present, I have been unable to ascertain which of the other volumes are currently extant.

[399] Ko Chisŏn, "Ŏmŏni gakkō," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 5: (2003), 68.

bullied out of an elementary school in Kyūshū because she was only one of about five or six Korean students.[400] In detailing the series of historical circumstances that have shaped her life in Japan, Yu's personality clearly comes through. She slyly states, "I'm interested in history, and I know a little bit," immediately before bluntly describing the trauma of her older brother's death in Okinawa after being conscripted, leaving behind a pregnant wife.[401] She is also introspective about her own relationship to the concepts of letters and learning, and to the Ikuno night school itself, writing, "I am a mass of complexes" (*watashi wa conpurekkusu no katamari desu*.) [402]

Many of the women write with a sense of humor even as they detail lives of hardship. In the same issue, the essay "Mukashi no omoide" (Memories of the past) by Kim Sunyŏl conveys the bilingual puns elementary school students used to subvert the ban on use of the Korean language in colonial Korean schools, and writes of coming to Ikaino as a process of discovering a sense of belonging after changing jobs many times due to her inability to communicate in Japanese factories (although this happy resolution still involves a teenager working fulltime in an Ikaino rubber factory).[403] In the later 25th anniversary essay collection, the author Han Sŏnhŭi riffs on the meaning of personal names, joking, "My real name [*honmyō*] is Han Sŏnhŭi. What a precious name, right? If only the *kanji* for Sŏn (仙) where replaced by *Sen* (千), I would be Senhime, and maybe my home would be Osaka Castle."[404]

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[400] Yu Haekyŏng, "Gakkō e ikitakatta," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 2: *ŏmŏnitachi no bunshū* (1984): 61- 72.

[401] Ibid., 66-67.

[402] Ibid., 70.

[403] Kim Sunyŏl, "Mukashi no omoide," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 2: *ŏmŏnitachi no bunshū*, (1984): 73-79.

[404] Han Sŏnhŭi, "Sensei no okotoba," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 5: *kaikō 25 shūnen kinen bunshū* (2003), 94. The author is punning both on her name's use of the character 姫, "princess," as well as Senhime, the name of the daughter of one of the Tokugawa shoguns, as a prototypically "Japanese" name.

Upon accessing the archive of extant texts, and the multiaccentual voices contained within, it becomes difficult to simply dismiss these essays as mere propaganda or purely formulaic, and recent scholarship has seen some new willingness to engage with these women as legitimate authors. In addition to Song Hyewon's work excavating early texts by Zainichi Korean women, Kang Yuni has written of the need to separate the essays of women at a similar literacy school in Kawasaki from the highly politicized discourse surrounding the institutional context of their production: "I cannot unconditionally encourage the *halmŏni* [grandmothers] to aim for literacy in Japanese, but holding up the acquisition of Korean literacy as the more substantive issue also leaves me with doubts. Rather, we have to be careful about bringing these issues as-is into these women's studies. Because it is a 'noble' discourse that is completely detached from the difficulty of the daily lives of these illiterate *halmŏni*, and the actual context that imposed it on them. We might say the better lives of these women have been almost completely ignored amidst the prioritization of ethnic freedom and liberation."[405]

The essay collections themselves emphasize the supposedly unmediated nature of the texts, with a disclaimer in the table of contents of each volume warning readers that the grammatical errors, spelling mistakes, and other "irregularities" (*futekisetsu na hyōgen*) have been left uncorrected on purpose. Sentences that veer between Japanese *kana* and Korean *hangul* indicate that some students either received some formal education in Korea before immigrating to Japan, or are currently in the process of learning literacy in both languages.[406] Kang has written of the use of these unedited reproductions of first-generation Zainichi women's

[405] Kang Yuni, "Tohō mo nai 'yohaku' o mitsumete," in *Watashi mo jidai no ichibu desu*, 189.

[406] For example, Ko Hwasun's 2012 essay, which describes her experience attending elementary school before both her home and school were burned down in colonial Korea, contains blended-language sentences such as "先生名は金육문선생님입니다." Ko Hwasun, "Watashi no omoide no sensei," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 7: *ŏmŏni to itsu made mo* (2012), 18.

handwriting as a demonstration of the political power of multilingualism. She states, "These women's 'incorrect' Japanese writing exists outside the model of the nation state. In that sense, the words of the *halmŏni* might be called a 'lacuna' (*yohaku*) in the national language (*kokugo*) established by the state. That 'lacuna' holds the shapeshifting potential to erode and rewrite the 'original text' – the potential to relativize 'correct' Japanese and broaden the existence of the Japanese language."[407] The idiosyncratic language that appears in these essays is undeniably appealing – and yet, the presentation of linguistic "mistakes" here somehow feels different than those preserved in the pages of *Jindare* decades earlier. The mediating presence of the (mostly Japanese) volunteer teachers who compile the essay collections, and the disclaimer about the "incorrect" language use (which assumes a speaker of standard Japanese who might otherwise be disgruntled by these uncorrected "mistakes"), make these linguistic irregularities feel somewhat performative.

While the voices of these women writers are on some level a more "real" form of expression than the way their borrowed voices appear within the works of authors like Sō and Won, it's still possible to glimpse a kind of ventriloquism in the way these "*ŏmŏni-tachi*" have been coached and prompted by their teachers. This is apparent in the endlessly repeating essay titles – for example, the 2012 essay collection from the Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo contains three essays titled "Kokyō" (Homeland), two essays called "Charife no koto" (About *Charihoe*[408]), two called "Watashi no omoide" (My Memories), and three about "Ensoku no omoide" (Memories of an Outing), indicating that the students were likely assigned topics for their essays

[407] Ibid., 190.

[408] *Charihoe* is a raw seafood dish that is part of Cheju Island's traditional cuisine.

rather than freely expressing themselves.[409] There's also some romanticism evident in the fact that nearly every essay written by the volunteer teachers throughout the years contains some variation on the same statement that "I've learned more from the *ŏmŏni-tachi* more than they've learned from me."

The unsolvable power imbalances inherent to the curated production of the writings of "*ŏmŏni-tachi"* become even more clear in Iwai Yoshiko's 1984 book *Omoni no uta: yonjūhassai no yakan chūgakusei* (Ŏmŏni's Song: A 48-Year-Old Night School Student).[410] Iwai, who spent her career working with Zainichi women at Osaka's Tennoji night school starting in 1969 and started her own community literacy project after retirement, sets out here to tell the life story of one of her students, Hyŏn Siok, who was illiterate when they first met. And yet, the structure of the work as an (auto)biography is highly ambiguous – the text starts with an original poem attributed to Hyŏn, the introduction and conclusion are written in the voice of Iwai, and the rest of the text is written in the voice of Hyŏn, aside from very occasional bracketed asides where Iwai confirms or corrects the historical details of "Siok-san's" narrative. However, only Iwai is credited as an author, and there are moments in the text that don't quite make sense as a literal representation of Hyŏn's memories – for example, when describing her life as an illiterate Korean schoolgirl on Cheju Island in the 1930s, the narrative is somehow able to present an exact list of the Chinese characters and their Korean and Japanese readings that her father was teaching to the village's school-aged boys.[411] How much of the content actually came directly from Hyŏn? How much has Iwai edited, rephrased, or embellished?

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[409] Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo. *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 7: *ŏmŏni to itsu made mo* (2012).

[410] Iwai Yoshiko, *Omoni no uta: yonjūhassai no yakan chūgakusei* (Tokyo: Chikuma bunko, 1989). An earlier, out-of-print version of the book came out from Chikuma Shobō in 1984).

[411]Iwai, *Omoni no uta*, 161.

The text makes no attempt to elucidate, with Iwai simply stating in the introduction, "Right now, we are teacher and student at the night school. However, I might be the one who's learned more. Siok, who spends every day in close contact with many night school students, says, 'It's not just me who's worked hard to get here,' but as a Japanese person of the same age, I was surprised at the huge meaning held in each of Siok's stories. There lies the Showa-era history of Korean women, not included in any textbook or history book. I thought, I would now like to properly write down the vivid memories engraved in the bodies of the people who had no letters [*moji o motanakatta ningen*]."[412] The promotional blurb on the back cover of the 1989 softcover edition is equally vague, saying that the book "pursues through listening and writing down [*kikikaki*] the life of the most quintessential Zainichi Korean *ŏmŏni.*" While the stated aim is to overcome the violent gaps in the (post)colonial archive, these literary projects that seek to rehabilitate the voices of the "voiceless" often end up walking the line between amplification and ventriloquism, risking reification of the system that treats these women as objects to be observed and evaluated without allowing them any actual agency. At the same time, the context of reception matters: while the presentation of the book obscures the question of authorship for a broader Japanese-language reading audience, the reaction to the book among *ŏmŏni hakkyo* students themselves demonstrates the ultimate value of the work. Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo student writes, "On Monday, teacher Fumiiwa Yūko read to us from the book that Hyŏn Siok-san wrote, and I was moved and given hope by the figure of Hyŏn, who truly worked hard to study throughout many practice sessions from the first time she held a pencil, in the sections 'My Encounter with Night School' and 'My First Class.'"[413] This account both unproblematically

[412] Ibid., 14.

[413] Ch'ŏn Imsuk, "Watashi to, omoni gakkō," *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 7: *ŏmŏni to itsu made mo* (2012), 40.

frames Hyŏn as the "real" author of the volume and indicates the significance this work held for other first-generation Zainichi Korean women in the community who were themselves struggling to express themselves in writing.

The Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo essay collections also rather romantically emphasize the symbiotic relationship between these women and the local community. Multiple volumes present the lyrics of a song written about the night school by one of its teachers: "As the streets of Ikaino grow dark, commotion lingering in the shopping street / Sounds of daily life heard from the alleyways, the lights of the Shakaikan are warm / People come and go but the world doesn't change / People from the past with the same memories / always, forever, be by my side / The *ŏmŏni* come after work, their strong hands gripping pencils."[414] It's true that these women are integral to the culture and history of Ikaino – the essay collections sometimes acknowledge their students' alternate identities as owners of local butcher shops, cafes, and restaurants, and a survey in the 2003 edition confirms that the vast majority of them are working women despite mostly being in their 60s or older[415] – but the association of the *ŏmŏni*-tachi with Ikaino as "world that doesn't change" seems to simultaneously present them as being not of the contemporary world. I think it's possible to see the issue surrounding the instrumentalization of first-generation Zainichi Korean women's voices as linked directly to the politics of representations of Ikaino as an inherently "marginal" or "border-crossing" space.

In "Mun Kŭmpun ŏmŏni no ningo," Sō writes, "There is nothing as powerless as words from below, and there is nothing as violent as words from above."[416] It's worth keeping this

[414] Ikuno Ŏmŏni Hakkyo, *Ikuno ŏmŏni hakkyo* vol 5: *kaikō 25 shūnen kinen bunshū* (2003), 10.

[415] Ibid., 15 and 79.

[416] Sō, *Sō Shūgetsu zenshū*, 260.

statement in mind whenever we choose to approach literature through the lens of *Nihongo bungaku* (Japanese-language literature) or *Ekkyō bungaku* (Border-crossing literature), categorizing literary texts through notions of border (*kyōkai*, 境界), periphery (*henkyō*, 辺境), or boundary-crossing (*ekkyō*, 越境). While authors like Won have (valuably) sought to give voices to the women of Ikaino at the "margins" of Japanese society, Sō points out that Ikaino has long served as a "center" of power and culture for resident Koreans throughout Japan, and it is only through the framework of the nation that it can be positioned as a marginal space. She writes, "Saga was itself a peripheral land, but the Osaka I landed in – Osaka City, which includes over 110,000 Zainichi Koreans – was also a peripheral land of Japan as a nation-state."[417] Any understanding of Ikaino as a geographically or linguistically "marginal" space on some level ends up reinforcing its relationship of subjugation to the Japanese nation. As Katherine McKittrick has written, "the margin (or periphery) underpins a political agenda that gives authority to self-body perspectives but, due to its racially inhabitable materiality, simultaneously denies deep geographic inquiries."[418] In her quest to liberate black feminism from this kind of "margin-politics," McKittrick suggests the possibility of moving beyond the periphery/center model in thinking instead about how some lost narratives are "hiding in plain sight," not existing in the margins but rather in "'the last place they thought of'; geographies of black femininity that are not necessarily marginal, but are *central to* how we know and understand space and place: black women's geographies are workable and lived subaltern spatialities, which tell a different geographic story."[419] It seems possible to reframe narratives of Ikaino in a similar way. If, as I

[417] Ibid.

[418] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 54-55.

[419] Ibid., 62.

argue in Chapter 1, we can understand Ikaino as an "invisible town," a "town that is, even when it isn't,"[420] that seems to open up new avenues of possibility for Ikaino-language literature to occupy a similarly hidden-yet-central role, suggesting new formulations of literature that question the framework of the nation-state and its national language in ways that exceed the boundaries of the neighborhood itself.

However, it is easy to valorize creolization or hybridity in texts as "boundary-crossing" without examining the power relations obscured within that term, or considering the extent to which multilingualism is a practical rather than an ideological concern for those struggling to make their voices heard. What (if any) is the relationship between Kim Sŏkpŏm's original idea of *Nihongo bungaku* as a deliberate deconstruction of the Japanese language, and the struggle of a first-generation resident Korean woman at a local night school learning to write for the first time? Even within Won's fiction, the literal immobility of these woman bound to Ikaino even as they long to return to Cheju is a constant theme, making it difficult to describe them as "border-crossing" in any real, material sense. While Sō's exploration of the significance of first-generation women's speech in her own life hints at the revolutionary potential the act of writing can hold for insisting on forms of human subjectivity that do not depend on categories of ethnicity, class, or gender, it is important to remember that there is danger in the gaze that ascribes this liberatory potential to the powerless without considering the actual conditions and constraints governing their daily lives.

[420] Kim Sijong, *Ikaino shishū*, 2.

Contemporary Multilingualism in Ikaino

The legacy of Ikaino as a multilingual literary landscape has persisted into the present day, and recent authors have explored methods of capturing "Ikaino dialect" in poetry and prose that does not resort to directly borrowing the speech of the older generation of Zainichi women. One such writer is the contemporary poet Zhong Zhang, a stateless Zainichi poet who maintains stateless *chōsenseki* citizenship status and locates his own writing practice in the "Eastern outskirts of Ikaino."[421] Zhong's poetry and prose essays rely heavily on interplay between the Japanese and Korean language, including extended discussions of what it means to be a *saram* (サラム, 사람, Korean for "person") versus a *hito* or *ningen* (人 or 人間, Japanese for "person"). In 2009, he released a collection of essays on Zainichi literature, statelessness, and life as a Korean in Japan entitled *Saramu no arika* (Where the *Saram* Are). Zhong has also written metacommentary on the Zainichi relationship with multilingualism into his poetry. In his poem "Zainichi saramu maru" (Zainichi *Saram Mal* / The Zainichi People's Language), which itself mixes Korean terms in with Japanese, he describes the Zainichi community's endless reinvention of language as follows: "The words of Zainichi *saram*, they are / new words / spun out / from the Japanese of no return, and / from the *uri mal* that can't ever be reached / … / Japanese's / wild child / of Korean," ultimately asserting "*saram mal*" (literally, "the people's language") as a source of Zainichi empowerment.[422]

Here, I would also like to consider Kim Yuchŏng (who I introduced at the end of Chapter 3) as a writer whose recent literary portrayals of Ikaino subvert the conventions of Ikaino

[421] Zhong Zhang, *Saramu no arika* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2009), 54.

[422] Zhong Zhang, *Kappo suru Zainichi* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2004), 12-15. Zhong provides translations of the Korean words in this poem in the footnotes. *Uri mal,* which literally means "our language," is a common way of referring to the Korean language in Korean.

multilingualism established by the earlier experimentations of Won and Sō. On one level, Kim's border-crossing characters also carry on the Ikaino literature tradition of testing linguistic boundaries. The codeswitching speech of daily life is a regular feature of her portrayal of the Tsuruhashi market and the Miyukidōri shopping street. More importantly, Kim draws attention to the ways in which the linguistic particularities of the local community persist beyond the neighborhood's borders. In "Tanpopo," she makes a point of emphasizing the protagonist's father's use of Japanese inflected with Cheju dialect when she shows him pictures of the grandchildren he can't meet in person while visiting him in Pyongyang in 1974.[423] "Murasame" similarly comments on how local Ikaino dialect has come to inflect the Japanese speech of Koreans living in Cheju Island: "When Cheju Islanders mix their speech with Japanese, they tack on the sentence ending *'yagē'* (meaning 'I think' or 'it's so')."[424] By constantly commenting on the continued irregular language use of characters who have passed through Ikaino en route to South or North Korea, Kim emphasizes that these forms of multilingualism cannot be reduced to a hyperlocal oddity. Rather, encounters with Ikaino dialect outside the national borders of Japan are a material manifestation of the cultural and historical links between Cheju Island, Ikaino, and North Korea, conveying the idea of Ikaino as the center of an expansive, complex, and living network of transnational connections.

Beyond illustrating the way "Ikaino-go" lives beyond the neighborhood's borders, Kim is also interested in rethinking the conflation of multilingualism with specifically Zainichi Korean identity in Ikaino literature. Her 2015 story "Tamayura," her most experimental work to date, is

[423] Kim Kaeja [Kim Yuchŏng], "Tanpopo," *Hakua* no. 7 (October 2000), 76-77. Kim initially published under her birthname, Kim Kaeja, before switching to the penname Kim Yuchŏng. To avoid confusion, I refer to her by her penname throughout this section.

[424] Kim Kaeja [Kim Yuchŏng], "Murasame," *Buraku kaihō* no. 505 (July 2002), 43.

written entirely in a thick blend of various dialects in the voice of an old woman we know only as "Ishi," who refers to herself using the Kansai dialect pronoun *ate*. The story starts abruptly, in the middle of a conversation we are only hearing one side of, with no initial information beyond the fact that her interlocutor is male: "*Naa, ansan, donai omoiharimasu?*" [So, brother, what do you think?][425] The text uses unconventional orthography, using smaller *hiragana* to indicate elongated vowels and irregular pronunciations. As with Won Sooil's *Ikaino t'aryŏng,* discussed above and published the following year, proceeding through this text is a slow and laborious task for the reader not versed in Ishi's particular dialect of Japanese. Much like Won Sooil, Kim here seems interested in deliberately re-centering the experiences and speech of a hyperlocal community, perhaps at the expense of catering to a broader, mainstream readership. By writing in heavy dialect, she transfers the burden of communication from the marginalized characters being represented within the text to her readers, implicitly questioning the hegemony of standard Japanese as the default literary language (and, by extension, speakers of standard Tokyo dialect as the default readers of Japanese-language literary texts.)

"Tamayura" tells Ishi's life story as a woman from a poor family who was born in Osaka, traveled around Japan, survived wartime and postwar hardship, and ended up in the Tsuruhashi marketplace running a wholesale seafood stand for the final 65 years of her long life. The story primes us to read it as a work of "Zainichi literature" in a number of ways, from the author's Korean name, to the unfamiliar orthography, to the early establishment of Tsuruhashi as the primary setting. Ishi's narration immediately brings up Tsuruhashi's entanglement with both the history of Koreans in Japan and the politics of language use. On the second page of the story, she says, "Did you know it? About the same numbers of Koreans [*Chōsen* チョーセン] as Japanese

[425] Kim Yuchŏng. "Tamayura." *Hangno*, no. 1 (September 2015), 211.

set up villages here. Yeah. Since before I was born. Huh? You say it's called *Kankoku* [カンコク] now? Saying *Kankoku* is the newer way. All we know about is the *Chōsen* that came over to sell ginseng [*Chōsen ninjin*] before the war. You can't tell the difference between us."[426] This final line is a first hint at a fact that is only gradually made explicit to the reader – Ishi is not Zainichi at all, but Japanese, and the sprinkling of Korean vocabulary we originally expect from the text never materializes.

The narrative voice is nonetheless insistent on its own multilingual nature – just not in the way we initially expect. Ishi explains her distinctive way of speaking as follows: "My language is a jumble of my mother's Tokyo dialect and the words of the places I drifted through and lived in, all over. Compared to the locals you might call it new, or rather weird, but in the end I'm just like the *Chōsen*."[427] This emphasis on linguistic diversity within Japan's borders gives new meaning to Ishi's assertion that Tsuruhashi is "a stateless [*mukokuseki*] bustle. Here, really, there is everything."[428] Ishi's story does not attempt to erase the differences between her own experience and the Koreans around her – in the same passage, she speaks of her awareness of the imperialist connotations of her positionality as a Japanese person infiltrating a Korean space. Nevertheless, "Tamayura" seeks to expand our conception of "statelessness" and question the preexisting categories of identity through which texts like these are typically read. It suggests that Ikaino as a multicultural or "stateless" space is also uniquely suited to provide a sense of home to the chronically homeless, impoverished Ishi, who clearly identifies with the way the Koreans around her have endured the many upheavals of wartime and postwar Japan. The text

[426] Ibid., 212.

[427] Ibid., 213.

[428] Ibid., 223.

subverts our expectations by centering a voice that is not normally heard in narratives of Ikaino – the voice of one of Japan's many internal migrants, who has Japanese citizenship but nevertheless feels herself to be estranged from conventional understandings of "the nation." In this way, the story questions the relationship between Ikaino literature and the broader category of "Zainichi literature."

Kim foregrounds the question of language use in both the content and form of "Tamayura"; even the title (玉響), an archaic term for a brief or fleeting moment, contains the character for "echo" (響), pointing back to the story's focus on orality and the sounds of speech. The choice to make Ishi the center of the story hints at a broader critique to be made of the model of *Nihongo bungaku* as a descriptor for Zainichi Korean and other "minor" literatures: it places the burden of deterritorialization of language solely on former colonized and diasporic subjects, or at its broadest, "users of Japanese who come into sustained contact with, or adjacency to, languages other than Japanese."[429] Kim Sŏkpŏm's original formation of *Nihon(go) bungaku* likewise claims the ability to expose the "gaps" and "entanglements" of language as a "unique characteristic" (*tokushusei*) of Zainichi Koreans.[430] This category in its original formulation seems to reject outright the possibility that authors in Japan who are not bilingual or ethnically non-Japanese might perform a similar kind of destabilization of the Japanese language. The result is a one-dimensional view of language as still ultimately defined by one's relation to static categories of the nation and its borders, even though those borders are now being framed as porous rather than rigidly defined.

[429] Nishi Masahiko, quoted in Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language,* xvii.

[430] Kim Sŏkpŏm, *"Gengo to jiyū,"* 66-67.

In reality, language use is shaped through the intersection of a number of demographic factors such as class, gender, and region, any one of which might be manipulated to expose the construct of "Japanese" as a monolithic category. For example, Eve Zimmerman has described the way that Nakagami Kenji, a "monolingual" author of Japanese literature, defamiliarizes the Japanese language through the preservation of markers of linguistic difference, as when the *burakumin* characters in Nakagami's *Sennen no yuraku* (1982) begin to chant "*banbai, banbai*" in response to the *burakumin* "Liberation Edict," a misrendering of the characters for the celebratory chant *banzai,* which they have never heard spoken before and lack the educational context to read correctly. Zimmerman's reading takes this speech error as a "tool of resistance," stating, "The word *banbai* moves from being a slip of the tongue to being the defining element of a culture that will preserve its own speech and stories. Moreover, it fractures what is seen as monolithic – in this case, language in praise of the emperor."[431] This is exactly the work of "deterritorialization" that has long been posited as a feature of *Nihongo bungaku*, although Nakagami has not typically been categorized in terms of *Nihongo bungaku* due to his Japanese citizenship. I see the work of Ishi's narration in "Tamayura" portraying a similar function in challenging the conventions of this way of categorizing literature, suggesting that the monolingual paradigm is still intact so long as the category of "Japanese-language literature" exists in parallel or supplement to the category of "Japanese literature" rather than replacing it altogether.

[431] Eve Zimmerman, *Out of the Alleyway: Nakagami Kenji and the Poetics of Outcaste Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 161.

Epilogue:
Ikaino's Afterlives

Since I started this research project at the beginning of my graduate career, both the local space of Ikaino and the broader landscape of Zainichi Korean media have undergone significant transformations. In February 2023, marking the 50th anniversary of the official erasure of the place name "Ikaino" from Osaka city maps, a new Zainichi Korean museum opened its doors in that very neighborhood, now known as Ikuno ward. Called the Osaka Korea Town Museum (J: the *Osaka Koriataun rekishi shiryōkan* / K: *Osak'a K'oriat'aun yŏksajaryogwan*), the organization's board of directors seems to include both local businesspeople and scholar/activists involved in the community. The website's trilingual English/Japanese/Korean website features a "Founding Mission Statement" that includes many of the same narratives of Ikaino I examine in this dissertation, including its claim to be the original settling place for immigrants from Baekje in the premodern period.[432] Notably, and perhaps because of recent backlash from local activists and historians who have pointed out the historical inaccuracies I discuss in chapter 1, the mythology of Ikaino as land built by Korean immigrant laborers is not mentioned here. It simply states, "In the 1920s, it is said that mail from the Korean Peninsula, particularly Cheju Island, would arrive safely here with just "Ikaino, Japan" written on the envelope," and goes on to foreground the area as a tourist destination driven by the so-called "Korean Wave" of the 2000s.

In front of the new museum sits a large stone slab labeled in Korean and Japanese as the "Monument of Coexistence" (J: *kyōsei no hi* / K: *kongsaeng ŭi pi*). The reverse side is engraved

[432] "Osaka Korea Town Museum: Founding Mission Statement," Osaka Korea Town Museum, accessed April 1, 2023, https://oktmuseum.or.jp/en/toppage-en/.

with a poem newly written by Kim Sijong, now in his mid-90s, in the spring of 2022. The poem is titled simply “Dedication poem” (献詩 *kenshi*). As a bookend with “Invisible City,” the Kim Sijong poem with which I start Chapter 1, I will include a full English translation of the poem here.

From the time when people first settled here
Ikaino itself was a maze.
Bridges stretching across the foam
Gazing out at the opposite shore, the city was cut off.
There, even the customs of that land
Were relegated to the ancient traditions of the land they came from.
Japanese that is not quite Japanese loudly made itself heard,
Spreading a strange smell into the street
Unfamiliar foods
Freely provided and lively.

No ripples of wind, no crabs crawling
Though stagnant, the canal is a river collecting sewage
Growing dark in a foreign land
It was the real existence of a homeland grown old.
With no one knowing where or how the mouth of the river meets the sea,
The village was huddled at the waterway’s edge.

So-called cultures are unique by nature.
The pickled vegetables essential for all three meals
And even the traditions of the *chesa*[433]
Customs as we grew to know them in our dwelling place
Become an unwavering standard in distant Japan
Like a stubborn reason to go on living

[433] *Chesa* (祭祀) refers to traditional Korean ancestral rites.

The previous generation of Zainichi lived uncompromisingly.
That obstinate persistence
Became the language of a silent vitality and was passed down
Until today, as the story deep in the hearts
Of the generations that followed.
It's precisely because of the stubbornness of Zainichi tradition
That *yakiniku* and *kimchi* are liked by everyone
And have become plentiful throughout Japan.

All around, everyone, all of us
are brusque *Chōsenjin*.
Right in the middle, we set up shop
Endured and shared our lives together
Finally becoming the Japanese people of Koreatown
The beloved "cousins from next door."
After all, the current flows to the expansive sea.
To the Korean town at the ends of Japan
Japanese youth come filing through.
Rivulets combine to become the mainstream.
The path of the people who brought the culture
Is now being opened wide.

April 9, 2022

(Elderly) person of the wind Kim Sijong[434]

This poem seems worthy of consideration in full because it effectively brings together many of the features of the material and literary space of Ikaino discussed throughout this dissertation with Ikaino's very different present and possible futures. Here, Kim neither invokes the place name of Ikaino itself, nor does he bring the mythological land reclamation narrative to

[434] This text from the "Monument of Coexistence" was reprinted in full in the evening edition of the *Mainichi Shimbun* on May 13, 2022, when the monument was first installed in advance of the museum's opening.

the forefront – and yet many of his preoccupations with this space remain the same. The imagery of Ikaino as a maze "cut off" from the rest of the city and shaped by unfamiliar sights and smells might be read as a rehashing of the imagery of the "invisible city," and his assertion that it has been that way since "people first settled" in this space is accompanied by a familiar blending of premodern, imperial, and postwar temporalities. Kim emphasizes the multilingualism of this diasporic space, both in the agency he assigns to "Japanese that is not quite Japanese, loudly making itself heard" (*Nihongo tomotsukanu Nihongo ga kowadakani haba o kikasete*) and in his reference to a "language of silent vitality" (*mono iwanu seiri no gengo*) that is produced and passed down by successive generations of Zainichi Koreans.

And yet, the overall impression this poem leaves is one of large-scale movement, symbolized by the initial description of the Hirano canal as a stagnant "river collecting sewage" that nevertheless serves as an imagined portal to "the homeland" (家郷 *kakyō*), which eventually transitions into the language of flow (*nagare*), both from Ikaino to the "vast ocean" between Japan and Korea, and the phrase "rivulets combine to become the mainstream" as a representation of the changing reception of cultural difference in Japan over time. There is an accompanying transition in terminology from the rather unusual term "zaisho" (在所, dwelling place) to refer to life on the Korean peninsula to use of the parallel term "Zainichi" (在日, residing in Japan) to describe emergent cultures of Koreanness in Japan. The blurring of past and present in evocations of the homeland gradually turn to a deliberate blurring of "Japaneseness" and "Koreanness" in the present, through the phrases "Finally becoming the Japanese of Koreatown" (*iyo iyo Koriataun no Nihonjin to natta*) and "a Korean town at the ends of Japan" (*Nihon no hate no Korian no machi*).

We can see here Kim's attempt to reckon with everything that has changed since he first began writing about this space in the immediate postwar period. He bears witness to Ikaino's transformation from a segregated and disavowed space, to a bearer of foreign "culture" in the form of foods that gradually became normalized in Japan, to the capitalist melting pot mentality of Ikuno Koreatown as a trendy gathering spot for Japanese youth. The "brusque *Chōsenjin*" once treated as threatening aliens have been transformed into "our beloved 'cousins next door'" (*itoshī "tonari no itoko" tachi*), and the landscape has irreversibly changed. Throughout the poem, Kim casts a questioning gaze on each of these conceptions of "culture," and the statement "So-called cultures are unique to begin with" seems to summarize a broader interest in local customs that exist somewhere between the national spaces of "Japan" and "the homeland." And yet, there is also earnest optimism to the poem's last lines, which acknowledge that the path of those who have long been forced to serve as the bearers of these forms of "culture" is finally growing easier.

The new Osaka Korea Town museum is not the only movement towards cultural preservation in the area over the past few years. During the pandemic, the local Miyukimori Elementary School, a public school that historically offered an "ethnic course" (minzoku gakkyū) where its many Zainichi Korean students could learn about Korean culture and history, finally shut down permanently after many years of declining enrollment. Fortunately, a number of local NGOs were able to band together to take over the space, preserving the school building and transforming it into a community center called "Ikuno Park," which houses a children's library, a community garden, and a "children's cafeteria" (*kodomo shokodō*) that serves free meals to local children, and periodically hosts an International Night Market, among other community activities. During my last visit to Japan in fall of 2022, I was able to attend a talk

there by the author, activist, and teacher Kim Hyangdoja, who has been involved in the movement to provide free night school literacy programs to Korean women in the area since the mid-1970s and published a memoir called *Ikaino roji ura tōryanse* (Through the Back Alleys of Ikaino) in 1988.[435] While there is still a great deal of (not necessarily unjustified) handwringing over the influence of K-pop tourism and commercialization on the area's history, recent years have shown that the present-day community still feels connected in many ways to this urban landscape's past, and is willing to go to great efforts to try to preserve it.

Recent years have also seen literary and pop culture representations of Zainichi Koreans reach a global audience on an unprecedented scale. In 2020, the English translation of the novel *Tokyo, Ueno Station* (JR Ueno eki kōen guchi, 2014) by the Zainichi Korean author Yū Miri won the National Book Award for Translated Literature. The win brought new and timely attention to a story written in protest against the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, and also sparked new enthusiasm for translated works by Yū and other Zainichi authors within the English-language publishing sphere. The next English translation of her work, a novel called *August Ends (8gatsu no hate*, 2004) that details a woman's journey to Korea to explore her family's colonial-era history, is slated for publication in summer of 2023.

Perhaps more importantly, the Korean American author Min Jin Lee's 2017 novel *Pachinko* came out just as I was formulating the scope of this dissertation. Both the novel and the subsequent TV adaptation, released on Apple TV in spring of 2022, have drawn even greater media interest on an international scale, and it wouldn't be an exaggeration to say *Pachinko* has changed almost everything about how the average non-specialist understands and engages with my work. The novel traces multiple generations of a single family from colonial Busan, to

[435] Kim Hyangdoja, *Ikaino roji ura tōryanse* (Nagoya: Fūbaisha, 1988).

wartime and postwar Osaka, to New York City in the 1980s. It was a New York Times bestseller and finalist for the National Book Award when it came out, and the TV show, co-starring the K drama idol Lee Minho, was immediately renewed for an additional season that is currently in production. The TV adaptation capitalizes on a moment of international fervor for Korean dramas, both as part of the culture of *hallyu,* or "the Korean Wave," on a global level since the 1990s, but also as a result of the huge success of recent South Korean media such as *Parasite* and *Squid Game* in the United States. A critically acclaimed transnational coproduction of this scale centered around the lives of Zainichi Korean characters would have been unthinkable even five years ago.

Pachinko as a media franchise aptly represents the complicated transnational entanglements surrounding the production and reception of "Zainichiness" in contemporary media: both the novel and the TV show were primarily written by Korean-Americans with no direct personal connection to the Korean diaspora in Japan, and the show was shot in Canada and South Korea with a primarily Korean cast. The script features extensive code-switching between the Busan dialect of Korean, the Osaka dialect of Japanese, and English, indicated onscreen through multicolored subtitles – but the showrunner Soo Hugh has said she needed the help of translators to understand the Japanese and Korean portions of the final scripts, and some of the Korean cast members studied Japanese for the very first time in order to deliver their multilingual lines of dialogue. In scholarly circles, there is ongoing debate over how Pachinko should be categorized within the disciplinary boundaries of area studies and ethnic studies – and yet, it has unquestionably become the primary cultural touchstone through which a global audience has come to understand the past and present of the Korean diaspora in Japan. This is

arguably true even in Japan, where the Japanese-language translation of the novel was finally published in 2020.

In keeping with the complicated transnational origins of Pachinko as a text, a major feature of the TV show is its rich recreation of the landscapes of imperial-era Tokyo and Osaka, all of which were carefully constructed in Canada due to Japan's prolonged COVID-19 border closures. One of the settings featured prominently in both the novel and the show is Ikaino, and its recreated set seems to be a familiar visual echo of media depictions that have come before, such as Sai Yōichi's 2004 *Blood and Bones*.

In the show, Ikaino is introduced by Isak's brother simply as "Ikuno ward, our neighborhood" (*Ikuno-ku ya, uri tongne*), and is primarily portrayed as the abject landscape in which Sunja abruptly finds herself adrift after a harrowing journey by boat from colonial Korea to Japan in episode 5. Getting off the trolley in the city's Korean quarter, Sunja and Isak are immediately confronted by the area's dark, narrow, and chaotic alleyways, with ramshackle houses and the sight of pigs roaming through the streets. By the end of the episode, the neighborhood is further framed as a space that exists dangerously beyond the law: Sunja and her new sister-in-law Kyunghee quickly find themselves threatened by loan sharks eager to take advantage of the newly-arrived immigrants. This portrayal seems directly drawn from Min Jin Lee's novel:

> They got off at Ikaino, the ghetto where the Koreans lived. When they reached Yoseb's home, it looked vastly different from the nice houses she'd passed by on the trolley ride from the station. The animal stench was stronger than the smell of food cooking or even the odors of the outhouses. Sunja wanted to cover her nose and mouth, but kept from doing so… Ikaino was a misbegotten village of sorts, comprised of mismatched, shabby houses. The shacks were uniform in their poorly built manner and flimsy materials. Here and there, a stoop had been

> washed or a pair of windows polished, but the majority of the facades were in disrepair. Matted newspapers and tar paper covered the windows from inside, and wooden shims were used to seal up the cracks. The metal used on the roof was often rusted through. The houses appeared to have been put up by the residents themselves using cheap or found materials—not much sturdier than huts or tents. Smoke vented from makeshift steel chimneys. It was warm for a spring evening; children, half-dressed in rags, played tag, ignoring the drunken man asleep in the alley. A small boy defecated by a stoop not far from Yoseb's house."[436]

While Pachinko draws on existing tropes of this area as a lawless and impoverished space, as both the book and TV show progress, Ikaino also emerges as a space with the potential for new and less oppressive forms of identity to be formed. Take, for example, the show's portrayal of Isak's church as a hub of an underground, anti-imperial, and multiethnic labor movement, or the novel's portrayal of Sunja and Kyunghee's efforts to take control of their circumstances and achieve self-sufficiency by becoming food vendors at Ikaino's Tsuruhashi station. These fraught and imperfect attempts at creating spaces of resistance or liberation are themselves drawing on Ikaino's symbolic importance in Zainichi literature written in Japanese, as discussed throughout this dissertation. For example, Sunja's experience joining the work force as a local kimchi peddler might be read as drawing on the history of Ikaino as a space of female labor, as discussed in Chapter 3. Frustratingly (for this particular viewer), the first season ends in the late 1930s, as Japan begins to move towards total war and before some of the novel's most interesting portrayals of Ikaino occur, so it will remain to be seen how the series engages with the neighborhood and its history in the upcoming Season 2.

In wrapping up this dissertation, it seems worth asking the obvious question: how might we understand *Pachinko* as a global media franchise within the local context of "Ikaino

[436] Min Jin Lee, *Pachinko* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2017), 100.

Literature," and the much broader context of diasporic literature writ large? I think it's possible to read this work in two ways. The cynical, but less interesting reading, might take *Pachinko* as a transposition of someone else's history onto a familiar Asian-American immigrant narrative. However, thinking of the very first line of the novel – "History has failed us, but no matter" – we might also read this work as yet another literary voice laying claim to Ikaino as a space of diasporic imagination and grappling with the same questions of collective memory and mythmaking, insisting that narrative need not necessarily yield to the historical archive or follow national boundaries. In that sense, *Pachinko* not only demonstrates that the project of writing Ikaino is still in progress today, but it also hints at the potentials of these narratives to form new and unexpected connections between diasporic spaces on a global scale.

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